31 1956

MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER

Two-way Discrimination

The Montgomery *Advertiser* has been publishing an interesting series of articles on racial discrimination in the North. The subject is a timely one, and the Alabama newspaper has not had much difficulty in finding instances of racial discrimination on the part of Northern communities, including communities where the press has had a good bit to say about discrimination in the South.

This is a healthy exercise. To be sure, not all the broad conclusions of the *Advertiser* are justified, and some of its reproaches are unfair. Yet its basic charge is essentially true. The North is not so free of racial discrimination as some of the criticisms of the South might lead a reader to infer.

It would be sad if such exchanges were to lead either section of the country to attempt to justify its own shortcomings on the theory that the other section is also derelict. Two wrongs never have made a right, and they furnish no salve for anyone's conscience. But the Southern criticism can serve a valuable purpose if it causes Northern communities to give more thought to the situations in which their practices respecting discrimination are not consistent with their preaching.

Advertiser praised for race articles

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 4 —(AP)—The House of Representatives overwhelmingly passed a resolution yesterday commending The Montgomery Advertiser for its current campaign aimed at showing that racial unrest exists in the North as well as in the South.

Editor-in-Chief Grover C. Hall Jr., has been publishing a series of articles and interviews for several weeks aimed at proving that Northern states have their racial troubles, but that newspapers there underplay them.

The House resolution introduced by Rep. G. B. Mathison of Henry County urged other Alabama newspapers "to join in The Advertiser's campaign to present the Negro in his true light—as an American dilemma—in the hope that the Northern press will assume its obligation to present the racial problem in its proper perspective."

It expressed hope further that such an approach would bring "greater understanding of the problem" and that it would result in "the repudiation of agitators and troublemakers in our society and the cessation of the outside attacks on the Southern way of life."

Tell It Not in Gath

When Northern newsmen covering the Negro boycott of Montgomery buses swarmed into the city room of Alabama's Montgomery *Advertiser* (circ. 60,144), Editor-in-Chief Grover Cleveland Hall Jr., 41, did his best to answer their questions. He also asked questions—and decided from the answers that the North's own racial sins were being covered by its press in a "conspiracy of silence." To prove his point, Hall launched a daily series on Northern discrimination. Said he: "Whatever we reveal will not solve any problem Alabama has. Our purpose is to point out to the self-righteous North that it's not doing so damn well either in solving the race problem."*

To get the series, Reporter Tom Johnson and other staffers telephoned Northern editors and public officials to ask about discrimination in their areas. They found plenty, and Hall let the stories sprawl over his editorial page under the standing rebuking headline: TELL IT NOT IN GATH, PUBLISH IT NOT IN THE STREETS OF ASKELON.† When the *Advertiser* questioned screwball Mayor Orville Hubbard (TIME, March 5, 1951) of Dearborn, Mich., he bragged that not a single Negro could get a place to live in his city of 114,000, though 15,000 of them worked there. Said the mayor: "I am for complete segregation, one million percent, on all levels."

Dirty Wash. The *Advertiser's* series also reported that Chicago had assigned 150 police to the Trumbull Park development (TIME, May 17, 1954) to prevent violence over an influx of Negro residents. Hall's wry comment noted that Chicago race relations "seem incredibly violent to a Southerner," since "in all the Confederacy, there's not a single Negro family I know of that needs police protection."

Last week Hall angrily charged the Detroit press with burying news of the Rouse case (TIME, April 16), in which a part American Indian family was forced to move out of a Detroit neighborhood after a mob rioted around the house in the belief that they were Negroes. Commented Hall: "One paper ran it on page 3, one on page 16, and one on page 60. One story was only three paragraphs long. Anything like that happening in Montgomery would have made the lead story in all of those papers. Yet they ignore their own dirty wash. It makes me mad."

Both in Detroit and Chicago, Hall found, editors deliberately play down racial troubles in their own cities. The papers feel that full coverage of racial outbreaks might make them worse. By common consent, newspapers and radio stations in Chicago publish nothing about a tense race situation during its "incipient" stage; if a riot actually breaks out they report it, but in the past tense as if it had already blown over, even if it should still be raging. Concludes Hall: "The race issue is not a Southern dilemma but a national problem. Discrimination is discrimination everywhere, not just when it happens under a Southern magnolia."

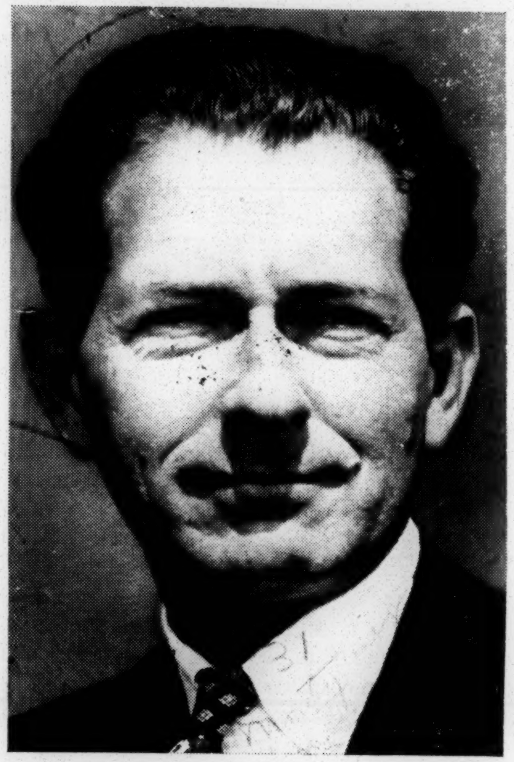
Middle Ground. Editor Hall's father, editor of the *Advertiser* before him, won a 1928 Pulitzer prize for editorials attacking the Ku Klux Klan. Young Hall worked as a police reporter, capital correspondent, and columnist before he took over the editor's chair in 1947. He was soon running one of the nation's liveliest editorial pages. He has editorialized wittily, and sometimes savagely, on everything from post office pens to international policy —with plenty of attention in between to blasting Alabama's Governor James ("Kissin' Jim") Folsom ("This untaught knave . . . lacks the grace and prudence to keep zippered his flapping mandible to conceal his void").

On integration, Hall has taken a middle-ground position; he thinks it unfeasible for years to come in the Deep South, but he avoids preaching resistance. He has rapped the White Citizens' Councils as "manicured Kluxers," and given the Negro bus boycotters a fair shake in his news columns. But his latest campaign is drawing praise from Southern extremists, and it won a laudatory resolution from the Alabama legislature. Admits Hall: "I am, unhappily, comforting a lot of people I don't want to comfort."

Yet Hall's series is also turning the North's eyes on its own vulnerability. In an exchange of open letters, Hall prompted Editor James Wechsler of the New York *Post* to assign Reporter Ted Poston to do a series on anti-Negro discrimination in New York. This week, describing how it feels to be a Negro up North, Reporter Poston, a Kentucky-born Negro, agreed that "there is no real Mason-Dixon line to American race prejudice." But he also made an important distinction that has slipped past Hall in his series thus far. Wrote Poston: "Prejudice up here is often a reflection of individual bias and ignorance. But it has neither the backing of the state nor the power of public opinion behind it."

* For a confirming item, see EDUCATION.

† Thus David voiced the wish (*II Samuel 1:20*) that the slaying of King Saul and his son Jonathan in battle with the Philistines could be kept from the Philistines themselves lest they rejoice.



EDITOR HALL
A two-sided story.

Alabama Racial Series Lauded

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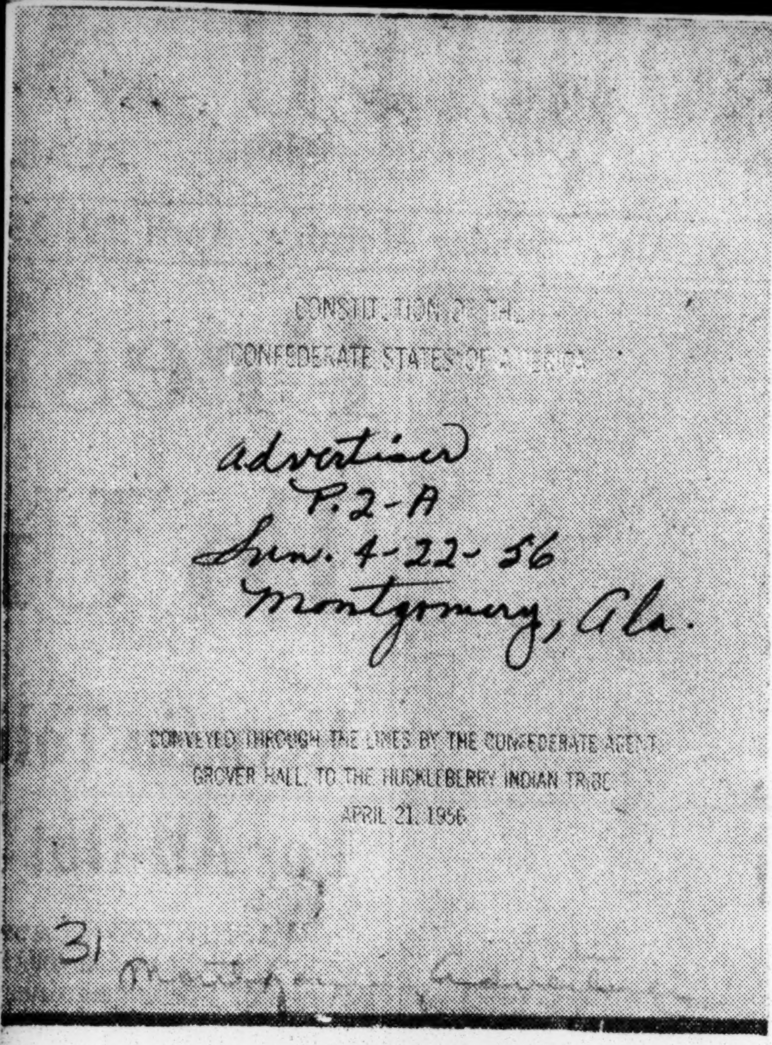
The House resolution, introduced by Representative G. B. Mathison of Henry County, urged other Alabama newspapers "to join in the Advertiser's campaign to present the Negro in his true light—as an American dilemma—in the hope that the Northern press will assume its obligation to present the racial problem in its proper perspective."

It expressed hope further that such an approach would bring "greater understanding of the problem" and that it would result in "the repudiation of agitators and troublemakers in our society and the cessation of the outside attacks on the Southern way of life."

Before approving the resolution, 82-3, the House voted, 75-6, to suspend its rules and bring the issue to an immediate vote.

Representative Bryce Davis of Cullman County opposed it, arguing that several Alabama papers "have done a good job of upholding our way of life" and questioning the propriety of singling out one paper.

Mr. Davis is a close friend of Gov. James E. Folsom, who has been repeatedly criticized by Mr. Hall in the Advertiser.



CSA CONSTITUTION

This is the cover on the copy of the Constitution of the Confederate States of America which was presented to the Huckleberry Indians in New York last night by Grover C. Hall Jr., editor-in-chief of The Advertiser. He made the presentation following an address to the club on "The Southern Way of Life Up Narth." The cover states: "Constitution of the Confederate States of America Conveyed Through the Lines by the Confederate Agent, Grover Hall to the Huckleberry Indian Tribe April 21, 1956."

IN NEW YORK, ADDRESS

Advertiser P.1

Hall Declares Racial Strife Not Restricted To Southland

Sun. 4-22-56 Montgomery, Ala.

NEW YORK, April 21 (AP)—Editor-in-chief Grover C. Hall Jr. of The Montgomery Advertiser said tonight that discrimination against Negroes is an American problem rather than just a Southern problem.

"There is an exasperating failure of the American press," he charged, "to present a faithful, unsparing picture of American race disharmony from New York to Los Angeles.

"It is a sorrowful but evident fact—not yet adequately grasped or reported by the press—that wherever the Negro migrates in significant numbers, he encounters rejection, overtly and legally in the South, covertly and illegally in the North."

Hall made his remarks in a speech prepared for a banquet of the Huckleberry Indians, a social group within the New York Athletic Club.

The Northern "abolitionist" press, Hall said, has created a stereotype of the racial issue, "whereon we see that segregation is newsworthy when it occurs in de land o' cotton, that the South and segregation go together like spaghetti and meat balls."

He said this "dereliction in nationalizing the discrimination story could be redeemed with swiftness if defensive Southern editors and publishers would rise from their hams, give some positive stimulation to the stereos of the Associated Press, and send their own staff writers to the North to write the virgin story."

Advertiser

Hall said that only once in 125 years has The New York Times, published in a city where live more than one million Negroes, carried a picture of a Negro bride on its society pages. P.2-A

"That auspicious event occurred on Sept. 10, 1954," he said, "and at The Times office they give you that date out of hand like an Englishman giving the date of Hitler's blitz."

He further said that in what he described as the "South baiting" St. Louis Post-Dispatch, "the Negro bride is also left waiting at the altar."

In Los Angeles, he continued, The Los Angeles Times "refuses to run Chinese brides. And since there is a great deal of friction in Los Angeles, I assume that a Negro bride's picture hasn't got a Chinaman's chance."

Hall accused the Northern press of failing to make an issue of cities like Dearborn, Royal Oak and Wyandotte, Mich., where he said "not a single Negro resident is permitted."

Near Chicago, he said, "there is, for example, Trumbull Park, where every day 93 policemen are required to guard the lives of 30 Negro families. In all Alabama, there is not a single Negro family in need of police protection."

Hall said that recently when 500 Detroit suburbanites tossed stones through the home of a family thought to be Negro, not one of the three Detroit papers played the story on page one, as they did when Autherine Lucy, Negro co-ed, was expelled from the University of Alabama.

"I found, on examination of the three Detroit papers, that what is a 'mob' in Alabama is delicately referred to as a 'crowd' in two of the papers," he said

The Alabama editor said that segregation, as a national rather than a Southern problem, will "not achieve a sudden, tidy Hollywood ending" as a result of the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision against segregated public schools.

"Nevertheless," he said, "we Southerners rejoice in the expectation that the hard lot of the Negro will continue to ease. This easement will depend, not upon the exertions of his tearful sponsors nor upon the rasping agitations of the NAACP, but upon the diligence with which he works his passage to personal respectability.

"We Alabamians assuredly are not spending $33,000,000 this year on Negro education with the expectation that he will remain in his present condition. But in the states like Alabama, there will be no general race mixing as far as the eye can see."

PAPER, NEWSMEN INVOLVED

Advertiser P.1

Motion For Non-Suit Filed By Plaintiff In Libel Case

Thurs. 4-26-56 Montgomery, Ala.

A $250,000 damage suit against The Montgomery Advertiser and two of its staff members was dismissed yesterday in Circuit Court at the request of the woman who filed the suit.

A non-suit was entered on motion of the attorney for Mrs. Dorothy Maund, who sued The Advertiser Co., City Editor Joe Azbell and Reporter Steve Lesher over a story which appeared in the paper March 6.

The story appeared under the headline, "Daily Worker Atricles Carry Byline of Montgomerian." It mainly concerned Mrs. Maund's husband, Alfred Maund, who is makeup editor of The Nation, a weekly magazine, printed at Aubrey Williams' Southern Farmer plant here.

Circuit Judge Walter B. Jones turned down a motion filed by Mrs. Maund's attorney, Clifford J. Durr, in which he asked that Judge Jones recuse himself because he contributes a weekly column for The Advertiser called "Off The Bench."

The case was to be heard before a jury.

Judge Jones stated on his oath as circuit judge that he "has no contractual connection with The Advertiser Co. or the paper whatsoever; that he has never received one cent for his writings, does not receive any at this time, does not own any stock in the company, and never owned any stock in the company; that he is not kin by blood or marriage to Joe Azbell or Steve Lesher; that he has no common law or statutory disqualification in this case; that he contributes his services to The Advertiser voluntarily, can quit whenever he gets ready, and the editors can decline to receive any of his writings if they so desire."

The Advertiser Co. was represented in the case by the law firm of Steiner, Crum and Baker.

Southern Editor Refuses To Team With Reporter

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 4-6-56

NEW YORK — (ANP) — A Southern editor has called off a proposed parallel North-South survey of racial discrimination in New York and Montgomery, Ala., because a Negro reporter was assigned to him for the suggested series.

Editor Grover C. Hall Jr., of the Montgomery Advertiser, declined to team with Ted Poston of the New York Post. P.3

Hall originally proposed that Post Reporter Murray Kempton or Editor James A. Wechsler be assigned to do the survey of racial conditions in New York.

Wechsler replied that both he and Kempton felt that Poston was the logical choice for the assignment, because of his wide experience and contacts with the city's colored population.

Wechsler suggested that Hall come north to do the series on New York with Poston, then the two return to Montgomery for a similar survey. Results of the surveys were to be published in parallel columns in both newspapers.

Hall called off the play, saying: "My first proposal and your acceptance did not mesh... Your alternate proposal - my reliance on assistance of the well-known Negro reporter, Ted Poston - is obviously an inadequate arrangement for obtaining this particular story."

Notified that Hall was dropping the proposed survey, Wechsler said: "I think we've said everything that needs to be said about Mr. Hall's refusal to work with a Negro newspaper man. I'm sorry we won't be seeing him."

Citizen Movement Gets Results—$6,500 To $17,500

Advertiser P. 4-A
Wed. 6-13-56
Montgomery, Ala.

Some weeks ago *The Christian Century*, a journal of great influence, complimented *The Advertiser* for its coverage of the virgin story of race disharmony in the Northern provinces.

For this, we were grateful, but it was nevertheless necessary to chide *The Century* for its dreamy approach to the harsh realities of Northern race strife. *The Century* deplored the fact that Dearborn, Michigan's fourth largest city, permits no Negro to spend the night within city limits. *The Century* opined that there must be a Christian movement started instanter to get rid of Mayor Orville Hubbard.

The Advertiser tried to pierce the gentle doctrinaire mists enveloping *The Century* with the observation that Mayor Hubbard was not the reason for this total segregation—what it had to get rid of was the citizenry of Dearborn which agrees with him. Anyhow, *The Century* has its citizen movement in action in Dearborn and yesterday the result came on the AP wire—

DETROIT, June 12 (AP) — Mayor Orville Hubbard of suburban Dearborn, pro-segregationist who says he has kept Negroes from living in Dearborn, was voted a salary increase from $6,500 to $17,500 annually yesterday.

Voters turned down similar increase for other Dearborn officials.

The issue was the first at the polls since Hubbard had been quoted as saying [in an *Advertiser* interview]: "I am for segregation one million per cent, at all levels . . . The people of Dearborn are behind me."

31 1956 JACKSON ADVOCATE

Negro paper rebukes northern critics of Mississippi

Tribune P.T

JACKSON, Miss. — The Jackson Advocate, Negro weekly which apologizes for white segregationists of its state, implied a criticism of Oregon Congresswoman Edith Green, who routed a trip from Portland, Ore. to Washington, D. C. through the South "to see for ourselves what is going on there", and who spent two days in Jackson, capital of the state, after which she wrote in her newsletter to her constituents that Mississippi is the "storm center" of the South.

Fri. 1-20-56

The Advocate pointed out that Oregon has 11,529 Negroes, two more than the 11,527 population of Tupelo, Miss. and 36 less than the Negro population of Attala county, Miss.

"Oregon's Negroes constitute about one percent of the state's total population. More than 45 percent of Mississippi's population is Negro."

Los Angeles

In addition to her newsletter, the congresswoman gave an interview to a reporter for the Jackson Daily News in which she said Negroes in Jackson had told her they were "not interested in integration, but in the right to vote and justice in courts.

Calif.

"These are inherent rights in a democracy. It seems to me that should be Mississippi's first step.

"I think it is vital that those of us who live remote from these storm centers take warning before it bursts upon us. There is a crisis in the South."

EDITOR GREENE PARTICIPATES IN MEMPHIS RADIO FORUM

Advocate Sat. 9-15-56

Jackson, Miss.

Memphis, Tenn. Sept. 11—Percy Greene, Editor and Publisher of the Jackson Advocate, Mississippi's leading Negro weekly newspaper was one of the participants in the regular Sunday Public Affairs Forum of Radio Station WDIA here Sunday.

P.1

The topic for discussion was, 'Should the Negro leave or remain in the South."

Pointing out that while Negroes are starting a new migration away from the South, an increasing number of northern industries are moving to the South, the participants agreed that viewing the future of the South the Southern Negro is not helping himself by leaving, and that they should remain in the South to share in its future development, the South being the only remaining undeveloped section of the nation.

On the question of the attitude of the Southern white man regarding Negroes leaving the South the participants agreed that while there was some notable evidence to the contrary, the White business man with a stake in the economic future of the South does not welcome Negro migration to other parts of the country.

Advocate

Evaluating Booker T. Washington's famous dictum, "Let Down Your Buckets Where You Are," the group agreed that that advise is the best 'nut shell" advise that can be given to Negroes who choose to remain in the South.

Other participants on the forum included Prof. Blaid T. Hunt, Principal, Booker Washington High School, of Memphis, Rev. D. F. Martinez, President, Johnson Memorial College, Batesville, Mississippi, and Harold Whalen, Actuary, Union Proctective Assurance Company of Memphis, Tenn.

31 1956

AFRO-AMERICAN

Flash News In Brief

Afro-American Sat. 4-7-56

ALA. PASTOR FREED

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Disorderly conduct charges against the Rev. U. J. Fields, one of the indicted bus boycotters, were dismissed Friday when George W. Durden, a deacon, withdrew the charges.

Baltimore, Md.

IKE MAY CONFER ON CIVIL RIGHTS PROBLEM

WASHINGTON — President Eisenhower has indicated he may call several conferences, including one with southern governors, on the civil rights issue. The President's views were contained in a telegram to Florida's Gov. Leroy Collins, who had suggested such a conference.

* * *

ENGLAND BECKONS TO MISS LUCY

LONDON, England — "Our Sphere," a colored newspaper, here, has invited Miss Autherine Lucy to study in England with tuition and rent free.

* * *

TEXAS TOWN DESEGREGATES ONLY SWIMMING FACILITY

CORPUS CHRISTI, Texas— The only municipal swimming pool in Corpus Christi will be integrated this summer. The move was unanimously voted in a meeting last week of the park and recreation board. Texas Citizens Councils asked for separate pools.

KY. TOWN TO INTEGRATE

ELIZABETHTOWN, Ky. — The Elizabethtown High School will be integrated this fall, according to the recent vote of the board of education. The elementary school will remain segregated.

* * *

TO ATTACK VA. RACISM

RICHMOND, Va. — NAACP attorneys will launch a new attack against school segregation in this state within the next two weeks. A petition will be filed to compel Prince Edward County to comply with the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision.

* * *

SOUTH FLAYS "3 Fs"

NEW ORLEANS—The "Three Fs" is the label Southern pro segregationists have put on Falstaff beer, Ford automobiles and Phillip Morris cigarettes. A spotty, sporadic boycott has been attempted against these companies since a rumor invaded the South that they had supported the NAACP.

* * *

INTERPOSITION REPEAL TO CAUSE STRIFE IN ALA.

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — A fight loomed in the Alabama Senate late last week over the repeal movement against the interposition bill passed several weeks ago.

* * *

MIXED CHURCHES MUST PAY MISSISSIPPI TAX

JACKSON, Miss. — "Dear God! This puts me in a position where I might see a colored person come into church and he would be told to get out of the House of God."

This was the statement of Mrs. John Farese, only woman member of the Mississippi Senate which last week affirmed its position that churches that desegregate will lose their ad valorem tax exemption.

* * *

SEGREGATION REPORT DUE

RALEIGH, N.C. — North Carolina's segregation committee will make recommendations on school segregation to the public, it announced last week. The group will first submit its report to Gov. Luther Hodges.

* * *

TO TEACH MIXED CLASSES

TOPEKA, Kas. — Vance J. Williams has been employed by the Topeka Board of Education to teach integrated English classes in the city schools. He was formerly president of Kansas Technical Institute.

Baltimore, Md.

EYE MIXED SPORTS BAN

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — A bill is still on the Alabama House calendar to prohibit integrated sports participation and viewing. The measure would ban mixed baseball, football, basketball and also public meetings.

* * *

BATTLE NULLIFICATIONISTS

RICHMOND — The NAACP announced this week that it intends to file a Federal Court suit soon to require Prince Edward County Schools to comply with the U.S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated schools.

* * *

ALABAMA JUDGE PLEDGES TO UPHOLD SEGREGATION

LANETT, Ala. — Justice James J. Mayfield of the Alabama Supreme Court last week in an address to the Valley Lions Club said he "will not stand by and see the U.S. Supreme Court abolish our southern way of life."

* * *

RACIAL TENSIONS THREAT TO SOUTHERN BUSINESS

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Boyd Campbell of Jackson, Miss., president of the US. Chamber of Commerce, told business and industry leaders meeting here last week that racial tensions in the South are a threat to Southern industrial progress.

* * *

TWO KY. SCHOOL BOARDS TO INTEGRATE IN FALL

MADISONVILLE, Ky. — The Hopkins County Board of Education will integrate first grade classes in September on a "voluntary" basis. Harrodsburg Board will integrate grades 9-12 of West Side and Harrodsburg High in September.

* * *

PADUCAH TEACHING STAFFS TO CONTINUE SEGREGATED

PADUCAH, Ky. — Teaching staffs will continue to be segregated in Paducah public schools in September, but it will be left up to parents whether a child shall attend an all-white or colored staffed school, Dr. Ralph Osborne, superintendent, reported.

* * *

CHANCE FOR 'MAIN STREAM'

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn. — "We'll find out whether we're men or craven cowards. This is our chance to leave the bayous and backwaters and get into the main stream of American life."

Dr. Gordon A. Rogers, state president of the NAACP in Alabama made this declaration last week at the Walter White memorial service here.

* * *

KY. TOWN MIXES SCHOOLS

PIKEVILLE, Ky. — Integregation at Pikeville High School will begin next fall, the city board of education announced. There will be no change in elementary schools or Pike county schools.

* * *

'PLEASE CHANGE RULING'

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — The Alabama Legislature last week urged the U.S. Supreme Court to modify its school desegregation rulings. It said: "No decree by any court can change the feeling of the people of the South."

* * *

INTEGRATION CONFERENCE

WILBERFORCE, Ohio. — NAACP Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall will be the principal speaker April 14 during the annual Human Relations conference at Central State College.

* * *

DEMS MUST DROP DIXIE

ST. LOUIS — "They (the South) are fighting all things that appear to be good for America as a whole," said John I. Rollings, president of the Missouri Federation of Labor.

He said on a television program last week that the Democratic Party will have to exclude the "Solid South" from its ranks.

* * *

TEST WILL LOCATE TALENTED N. Y. PUPILS

NEW YORK — A new series of tests will be conducted in high schools with large enrollments of Puerto Rican and colored pupils to discover talented youngsters who may be sent to colleges to help end a manpower shortage in science.

ADLAI URGES 'SPEEDY' END TO DISCRIMINATION

NEW YORK — Adlai Stevenson, democratic presidential nominee aspirant, last week urged a "speedy" end "to unfair discrimination" in a statement to a group of foreign language newspaper editors.

* * *

DAWSON, WASHINGTON TO DEBATE POLITICS

WASHINGTON — Rep. William L. Dawson, vice chairman, Democratic National Committee and Val Washington of the Republican National Committee will debate the 1956 Presidential election at the Washington Alpha Phi Alpha house here Thursday night.

* * *

PHILADELPHIAN SEEKING ELECTION TO CONGRESS

PHILADELPHIA

Walter Tresville, Federal employee of 6502 Musgrave St., became the fourth to seek nomination to Congress last week when he entered the April 24 primary race from Philadelphia's Sixth Congressional District. The others are Earl F. Dales (4th), Lenerte J. Roberts (2nd) and Dr. Horace Scott (4th).

* * *

TUBMAN TO VISIT W. GERMANY

MONROVIA, Liberia — President William V.S. Tubman has accepted an invitation to visit West Germany. The national legislature approved a three-month leave of absence for him last week.

* * *

DR. WIGGINS IMPROVING

CAMDEN, N.J. — Dr. Ulysses S. Wiggins is reported improving at Cooper Union Hospital where he was carried March 13 after suffering a stroke at his home, 1025 S. Fourth St.

* * *

PUERTO-RICAN GROCERS UNITE

NEW YORK — About 1,000 store-keepers last week formed into Puerto Rican National Merchants United last week. The group will purchase and advertise cooperatively.

* * *

ONE PHILADELPHIA BANK PRESIDENT WEARS SKIRTS

PHILADELPHIA — Mrs. Harriet Wright Hines, vice president of Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company here, is acting president while the president, Bishop R. R. Wright Jr., is in South America and the West Indies.

* * *

DR. PROCTOR SPEAKS AT STEEL PIER SERVICES

ATLANTIC CITY — Dr. Samuel D. Proctor, president of Virginia Union University, Richmond, spoke at the annual Easter Day sunrise services on the Steel Pier Sunday, first of his race in its 33-year history.

* * *

SHE WAS A BIRD IN A GILDED CAGE

CHICAGO — Stanley G. Janis, 41, locked the doors of his apartment every day that he went to work. Left behind his wife, Betty, 21.

Weary of being "a bird in a gilded cage" she filed a divorce after 15 months.

Her husband pleaded in court: "She was all mine and I wanted to keep it that way."

* * *

PREACHER ELOPES TO AFRICA WITH BABY SITTER

LONDON, England — Mrs. Mary Edwards, 24, a shopgirl, was shocked to receive a letter from her husband after he eloped to Central Africa with their baby sitter—her best friend.

The husband, Byrn Edwards, is teaching in Bulawayo, Rhodesia. The baby sitter is Miss Pamela Leyshon, 21.

"He has asked me to divorce him — but I never shall. I know he will come back to me one day . . . and I shall be waiting," Mrs. Edwards said.

* * *

BERSERK MAN CAPTURED ASLEEP IN CREEKBED

CALLANDS, Va. — Lum Harris, about 46, went bersek in his home here last week and beat his father severely with a hammer and chain.

He held off 20 police—wounding four — in a 10-hour gun battle before escaping in the night, only to be captured asleep is a creekbed near here with a wound in the right eye and right leg.

* * *

4 BALTIMOREANS KILLED BY MURDERER-ARSONIST?

BALTIMORE — Local police and FBI agents are investigating the deaths of Mrs. Bessie Ward, 35, her expectant daughter, 17, both fatally beaten, then burned in a house along with the daughter's two children, Mary L. 2, and Paricia, 1.

* * *

RICHMOND TEACHER FACES MORALS COUNT

RICHMOND Va. — Albert V. Norrell 3rd, local teacher and scion of a prominent family here, was slated to face trial in Juvenile Court March 29 on a morals charge involving a 15-year-old boy.

* * *

WASHINGTON PHYSICIAN JAILED, LOSES LICENSE

WASHINGTON

Accused of performing an abortion on a 24-year-old woman, Dr. Schley Brown was stripped of his license to practice and sentenced in District Court Thursday to serve from two to eight years in D.C. jail.

* * *

SAVED ON EVE OF EXECUTION

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Roosevelt Smitherman, 23, saved on the eve of his scheduled March 30 execution by a reprieve granted by Gov. James Folsom. Smitherman is charged with slaying a white man who was trying to collect money from him last February.

* * *

ANOTHER POLL GOOFS

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — A statewide poll by the Minneapolis Tribune predicted Adlai Stevenson would receive 52 per cent of the Minnesota primary vote with Estes Kefauver getting 39 per cent. Kefauver was given 57 per cent, Stevenson, 43 per cent.

* * *

'HAD TO SAY YES'

WASHINGTON — "I had to say yes because they told me they didn't have time to build up another candidate," President Eisenhower was quoted as saying by a United Press dispatch, which was later ordered killed.

* * *

GA. GOP'S WALK OUT

COLUMBUS, Ga. — When the Muscogee County Republican convention voted only white persons into office and voted down a six-member slate of delegates proposed by colored members, the 40-strong colored group left the meeting.

They promised opposition at district, state and national levels. James W. Andrew was elected county Republican chairman.

* * *

HELD ON NARCOTICS CHARGE

LOS ANGELES—Billy Anderson, 28-year-old son of the famed Eddie (Rochester) Anderson, was indicted last week for possession and sale of marijuana. He was among 200 suspects arrested.

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CAPE TOWN SEGREGATES

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — After existing for years as South Africa's most liberal city, Cape Town finally gave in to the central government and segregated park benches, beaches and the city auditorium.

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MILWAUKEE MAYOR HURT BY 'WHISPER CAMPAIGN'

MILWAUKEE — A whispering campaign that began four years ago threatens the try for re-election of Mayor Frank Zeidler. It was repeatedly rumored that the mayor was enticing southern colored people to come to Milwaukee and that he was going to integrate city residential areas.

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ADVISOR MEETS EMPEROR

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia — Emperor Haile Selassie granted Dr. Francis M. Hammond an audience last week. The advisor on minorities affairs of the United States Information Services is on the last stage of an African tour.

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MAD AT 'MUGWUMPS'

HURTSBORO, Ala. — The white student, expelled from the University of Alabama for his part in the Autherine Lucy riots and his criticism of school officials, attacked "fence-straddlers and mugwumps" at a White Citizens Council last week. Leonard Wilson accused the school president and Gov. James Folsom of "pussyfooting" to dodge the segregation issue.

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PV COED HIRED BY AIRLINE

DALLAS, Texas — Miss Evelyn Alfred has been employed in the personnel division of American Air Lines at Carter Field. A native of Baytown, she will be graduated from Prairie View College in June. She is the first colored to be hired in such a capacity by the airlines company.

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BTW 'WORTHY OF HONOR'

WASHINGTON — Booker T. Washington is "worthy of national honor," agreed the government advisory board on historic sites. It said, however, that the memorial authorized last week by the Senate to be placed at his Virginia birthplace, should instead be placed at Tuskegee, Ala.

* * *

SIX KILLED IN AUTO CRASH IN LOUISIANA

SHREVEPORT, La. — All six passengers in two cars which collided here Thursday were killed. Dead are Joseph Roberson, 47, his wife, Alecia, 44, and son, Otis, 21, of Houston, Texas. Killed in the second car were Arthur Davidson, 39; his wife, Mary 68, and daughter, Helen, 35, all white, of Shreveport.

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PHILADELPHIAN HELD

UPPER MARLBORO, Md. — Raymond L. Liverpool, 34, of Philadelphia was charged with automobile manslaughter Friday growing out of an accident which resulted in the death of Emerson H. Truitt, 23, grandson of the late former Governor Harrington.

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WILLIE SOCKS THREE

PHOENIX, Ariz—Willie Mays hit three home runs, a triple and walked for a perfect day at bat Saturday when the New York Giants clobbered the Baltimore Orioles 27-10 in an exhibition game.

AFRO writer off to frozen Arctic

Afro-American P.2
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 8-4-56

BALTIMORE

"I've always been fond of the Arctic . . . this will make my 13th trip to that region . . . I'm looking forward to renewing many acquaintances and revisiting Army bases there . . ."

The speaker was 60-year-old Herbert M. Frisby, wartime correspondent in the Alaskan Command, as he left on Thursday for Seattle and Alaska.

Mr. Frisby has headed the science department at Douglass High School for the past 35 years. During the summers in World War II and every summer since then, he has traveled to the Arctic.

While he is in Greenland and Alaska, he will again send stories which are to appear in the AFRO-AMERICAN.

* * *

FOR HIS TRIP to Seattle on Thursday, Mr. Frisby traveled by B. and O. train. He will switch to airplane when he reaches the West Coast and fly to Elmendorf Air Base outside Anchorage, Alaska.

"Ever since I was a child I have loved the Far North." Mr. Frisby said. "I am looking forward to this trip." His voice was as eager as that of any six-year-old as he departed for his adventure.

Wearing a summer - weight suit when he departed from Mt. Royal Station in 80 - degree weather, Mr. Frisby made his first stop in Chicago. After a two-hour layover, he got another train to St. Paul, Minn., where he got a Pullman for Seattle.

He sent the bulk of his clothing (54 pounds, in all) ahead to Seattle Wednesday. Included were long underwear; heavy-duty shoes with rubber bottoms and leather tops, gloves, mufflers, sweaters and a heavy Arctic cap.

* * *

"THE TEMPERATURE — range will not be as drastic as you might think," Mr. Frisby said. "In Juneau, (Alaska) the weather will be just about like it is here; then, in Anchorage, the temperature will be from 50 to 60 degrees; on the Arctic Coast, the temperature was 40 below zero."

"Last August, when I was in Greenland, the temperature was was 40 below zera."

The veteran Arctic explorer, who has gone north every year since 1943, said that he will be working on several research and writing projects.

"I want to write some stories on how the United States tax dollar is being spent to further security in the Arctic; the role of the colored service man in the Arctic since integration (the last time I was there they were segregated and discriminated against in a very bad way).

* * *

"I ALSO WANT to see if they are using native manpower in Arctic defense and to what extent — I've heard that Eskimos are doing menial work on the DEW (Distant Early Warning) Line — a string of radar towers right across the top of the world.

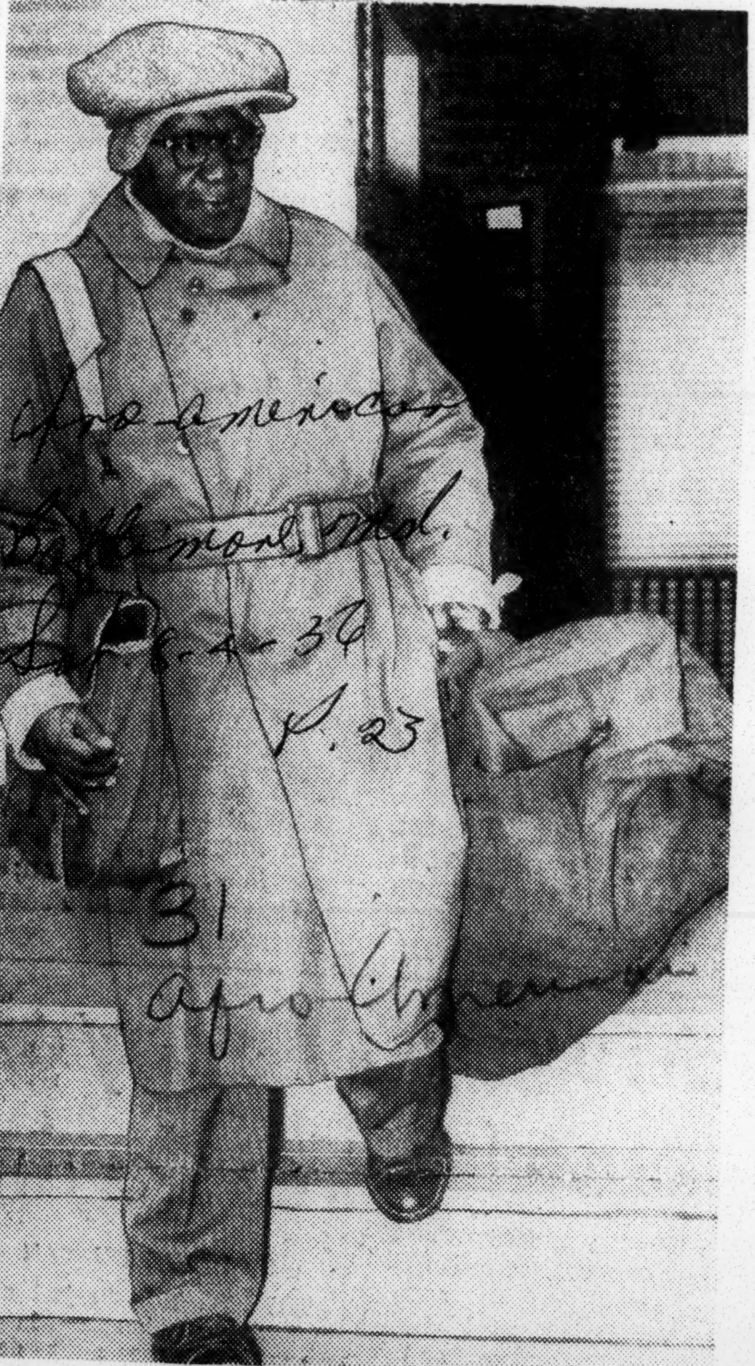
"Then I want to study the sealing industry in the Pribiloff Islands and mainly, I want to pay some tribute to Matthew Henson." (Matthew Henson was in the first party of American explorers . . . — reach the North Pole.)

"I'll be gone about a month—during that time, I'll be the guest of the Alaskan Air Force Command — just as I was the guest of the Greenland Air Force Command last year.

"I'm also interested in checking on the morale of men in the service who are assigned to isolated outposts — like the Aleutian Islands."

Waiting here to give him a warm welcome home from his cold journey will be Mrs. (Annie R.) Frisby and a son. H. Russell Frisby, a domestic analyst in criminal court.

Also waiting will be a brother, J. Arnett Frisby, a real estate broker; and a sister, Mrs. Viola Freeman, a public school teacher.



HERBERT M. FRISBY
Clad for sub-zero

Afro American Sept. 9-13-56 Baltimore, Md.

WHAT AFRO READERS SAY - - -

'I wholly disapprove of what you say but will defend to the death your right to say it.' — Voltaire on Helvetius.

JOHN H. MURPHY DAY

Amherst, Va. — Back in 1850 John H. Murphy Sr. had a thought and from his thought we today have the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspaper. This thought has brought much help to our people.

When we needed encouragement under hardships this great man's thought provided a way to let the world know our side of life.

So Mr. Murphy's thought has given prestige to our people, inspired their hopes, given them a feeling of security in themselves, a thing that cannot fail.

Your service to our people and the world has been a monumental thought not made of stone. It ought to be commemorated each year. I think one day in the year should be set aside as John H. Murphy Day and the proceeds go for some worthy cause. Let everyone sell a paper on that day.

I have been reading the AFRO for 58 years, and these are my thoughts about it. There is not anything that has done so much for our people except the Bible. The AFRO comes next.

We must press on as there is much to be done, so men with good thoughts and courage, like John H. Murphy Sr., will help to bring our freedom to use some day. I live in Baltimore but am here on vacation.

(Mrs.) ELLA CALLAHAM

PRAISE FROM "SMALL VOICE"

Washington — Please count mine as one of the many "small voices in the wilderness" who want to commend Tennessee Judge Robert Taylor and Texas minister, the Rev. D. W. Clark, for their forthright stands in the desegregation ruckus in the South.

Judge Taylor proved his fitness for the position he holds by dealing with racist John Kasper without hesitance when the race-baiting Citizens Council representative went into Clinton, Tenn., to stir up trouble over the school issue.

The Rev. Mr. Clark proved his fitness for the cloth when he defied a mob of his fellow whites in Mansfield, Texas, and openly scolded them for their cowardly behavior.

ROSS EDWARDS

WHAT HO, DEMOCRACY!

Baltimore—I am not a Communist. I have no leanings whatsoever in that direction. Yet, when I read the newspapers day in and day out, I am forced to

THE WEATHER

NORTH AND MIDDLE ATLANTIC

Sept. 12, 13—Fair.
Sept. 14, 15, 16—Rain.
Sept. 17, 18—Changeable.

New Moon	Sept. 4	1:57 a.m.
First Quarter	Sept. 11	7:13 p.m.
Full Moon	Sept. 19	10:19 p.m.

SEPTEMBER 1956

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
-	-	-	-	-	-	1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	-	-	-	-	-	-

	Sun Rises	Sun Sets
Wed., Sept. 12	5:20 a.m.	6:00 p.m
Thurs., Sept. 13	5:21 a.m.	5:58 p.m
Fri., Sept. 14	5:22 a.m.	5:56 p.m
Sat., Sept. 15	5:24 a.m.	5:54 p.m
Sun., Sept. 16	5:25 a.m.	5:53 p.m
Mon., Sept. 17	5:26 a.m.	5:51 p.m
Tues., Sept. 18	5:27 a.m.	5:49 p.m

HOLIDAYS AND HOLYDAYS

Sept. 12—Defender's Day in Md.
Sept. 15—Yom Kippur (Jewish holy day).
Sept. 16—Cherokee Day in Okla.

wonder why the Western powers are continually plagued with so many different forms of unrest.

Our own record on the matter of racial amity is disgraceful. That goes without saying. And Uncle Sam must be ready to expect a hard time convincing other peoples of the world that his way of doing things is the exemplary way.

But the U.S., is not alone in this matter of internal strife. The British, right this minute, are being kept busy trying to quell disturbances all over the world.

They are fussing and fuming with Egypt over the Suez Canal; they're involved in a mess in Greece on the Cyprus issue; they're nursing a constant grudge against Russia, and they have their hands full with the Mau Mau in Africa.

Meanwhile France is still faced with a severe Indonesian problem and hard put to control the seething cauldron that for a long time has been part and parcel of her colonial holdings.

Is it any wonder that I wonder?

HAROLD LACY

WE MUST RALLY

Chicago — The NAACP is to the colored American as General Foch was to the Allied Armies during World War I.

When the Germans were battering the gates of Paris, France, and were closing in on the Allies from all sides, General Foch rallied his forces and declared: "I am getting ready to attack."

It is going to take something of this spirit to carry the colored man through our current crisis. We must rally bravely if we are not to be overwhelmed in the Old South's bold attempt to crush us completely.

For years we took it for granted that the Old South meant what it said when it contended for the separate but equal status for race relations.

And when it became evident that there would be separateness without equality, colored Americans rallied under the NAACP. Little by little this organization has won legal victories in behalf of the race.

Within recent years it has become the arm of redemption. But now in desperation the Old South has declared war on the NAACP and every indication points to the NAACP's defeat.

We must rally, however, because the colored man's future is no less in jeopardy than was the allied cause. What are we going to do?

I suggest the organizing of Colored Citizens Councils to take up where NAACP branches have been outlawed. You cannot whip a man that keeps coming back!

GORDON B. HANCOCK

AFRO IN FOREFRONT

Louisville, Ky. — Although I am a little tardy attending to this, I wish to say that the delay has not in the least reduced my admiration for the splendid work done by the AFRO in the political convention coverage.

To my way of thinking, it was a magnificent piece of editorial performance — from both the reportorial and commentary viewpoint.

It established once more, firmly in my mind, the hold your fine newspaper has on the rest of the field. There is no question but that the AFRO remains in the forefront of colored journalism.

SIDNEY W. LISTER

'I AM GLAD WITH. . .'

Baltimore — I read the recent article in the AFRO magazine by the Rev. Ralph Robbins stating "I'm Glad That I'm White, But. . ."

I am not white and I am glad for I am content with the way God chose to make me. The color of the skin has nothing to do with what's inside and that's what counts.

I am glad of the "but" because it shows that his conscience bothers him. It would be a grand thing if more of the whites would come out into the open.

The color question is a millstone around the necks of white Americans and will eventually prove their undoing unless they can change their attitude toward minority groups.

(Mrs.) CARRIE ROBINSON

PROGRESS NOTED

Nogales, New Mexico — Here desegregation, integration, atomic and hydrogen bombs, and rock 'n' roll are news items. But I can't help but think of all the lovely people I've had a chance to visit with again.

It was also encouraging to note the great amount of progress which is being shown by colored persons in northern California, San Francisco, Oakland and the Bay area.

The southern colored migrants have contributed greatly to the racial advancement of Los Angeles.

After coming to California, they barged into many places the home folk did not frequent and consequently, these places are now open to colored persons.

EARL J. MORRIS

ASKS HELP FOR HUSBAND

New York—My husband, Robert Thompson, was notified that his pension for 100 per cent disability incurred in front-line service was to be discontinued because he had allegedly violated Public Law 144.

That law permits the Veterans Administration to deprive a veteran of his pension if he is "guilty of mutiny, treason, sabotage and giving aid to an enemy of the United States or its allies."

These allegations are in fundamental contradiction to the facts. The high calibre of my husband's service record is a matter of public record described in news dispatches across the nation.

If the Veterans Administration is prosecuting my husband because he is a Communist and as such is now serving a sentence under the Smith Act, I would like to point out two facts:

First, his political affiliations were well known at the time of his induction into the Army, and

Secondly, if the prosecution is based on the fact that he was convicted under the Smith Act . . . none of the aforementioned offenses cited entered into the Smith Act trial.

Won't you please help in having the Veterans Administration reinstate the pension of my husband who justly earned it when he was giving his life for his country?

I urge you to write to Representative Olin Teague, Chairman, House Committee on Veterans Affairs, House Office Building, Washington, D.C., and to Peyton H. Moss, chairman of the Committee on Waivers and Forfeitures of the Veterans Administration, Washington, D.C.

(Mrs.) LEONA THOMPSON

AN EX-MAYOR REMINISCES

Miami, Fla.—After almost two years of service as Mayor (because of heart trouble), I was forced to resign by order of my doctor.

With the cooperation of the local B'nai B'rith, I had brotherhood blotters circulated in schools. The city had nothing to do with sponsoring this project.

I used every effort and influence to comply with the Supreme Court decision, but our city administration had no jurisdiction over the school system.

I had a weekly broadcast and constantly reminded the people and officials of our responsibilities. There was and is resistance, but this is a great cosmopolitan area and in the due course of a reasonable time, I am sure will lead the way for Florida, although the rest of the state will be somewhat slower.

While I cannot deny that in some petty ways, there exists prejudice and hate, there is a very rare exhibition of it on the social scale.

I am a Jew, yet was elected in a city where less than 10 per cent of the population was Jewish.

Public facilities have been and will gradually increase for use by colored people. I advocated it and I'm sure my administration went a long way in sponsoring equal dignity to all human beings — although there is much remaining prejudice.

There has been much marked progress, however, in human understanding and rights formerly denied are now commonly shared.

ABE ARONOVITZ

31 1956

AFRO-AMERICAN

News In Brief

Afro american P. 1
Sat 4-14-56

$1,403 FOR REV. KING

ASBURY PARK, N.J. — The Asbury Park Press drive started March 24 to pay the fine and court costs levied against the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., leader of the bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala., had reached a total of $1,403 early this week.

Baltimore, Md.

ADLAI'S AFRAID

KINGSLAND, Ga. — Ignoring the fact that both Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman won without the South, Adlai Stevenson told newsmen here that the Democratic party would be destroyed if the South walked out this year.

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DIDN'T DUCK

NEWTON, N.J. —Harold Raynor of Lake Lenape was cruising along Tranqulity - Andover road when something smashed through his windshield and landed on the front seat. It was a wild duck which had failed to duck.

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BACKS SUPREME COURT

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. — One of the six gubnatorial candidates has publicly announced he supports as right the Supreme Court's decision against school segregation. He's Peaslee Streets who is also supporting Estes Kefauver in the preferential primary.

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QUAKERS TO ALA.

PHILADELPHIA — A "good-will" team of Quakers, headed by Clarence E. Pickett, secretary emeritus of the American Friends Service Committee, will soon journey to Montgomery to examine the racial situation there.

* * *

COMMITTEE FORMED

MOBILE, Ala. — An interracial committee comprised of 17 white and 13 colored persons was named last week by Mayor Joseph Langan to seek remedies for racial problems before they become severe. It is the first committe of its kind in Alabama.

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BENNY CARTER ACCUSED

LOS ANGELES — Benny Carter, the saxophone - playing bandleader has been sued for $50,000 by his former wife, Laverne Carter, a singer, who claims he severely beat her. They were divorced a year ago but Carter continues to serve as her business manager.

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RUNS FOR SENATE

WELDON, N.C. — Declaring it's time "for the interests of the majority race in Halifax county to be protected," Augustus C. Cofield, a funeral director, has announced as candidate for the N.C. State Senate. Colored people outnumber whites in the county.

Baltimore, Md.

MILWAUKEE ALDER(WO)MAN

MILWAUKEE—Mrs. Vel Phillips, 32, who practices law with her husband, Dale, here, was elected alderman from the second ward in the recent election.

Mrs. Phillips is a graduate of Howard University. Losing in the race for county supervisors were Isaac N. Coggs in the 5th District race and James W. King in the 2nd District.

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FLA. COUNCILMAN?

RIVIERA BEACH, Fla. — If all goes well with F. H. Cunningham, attorney, in his runoff election on April 17, this community will have its first colored councilman.

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37th CITY FEPC

BALTIMORE — With passage virtually a certainty next week, Baltimore is expected to be the 37th city with a Fair Employment Practices Ordinance on its books. The Baltimore measure was stripped of enforcement powers before being accepted by the City Council.

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WOULD KEEP JIM CROW

RALEIGH, N.C. — The long delayed report of the N.C. Advisory Committee on Education recommended Thursday that segregation be continued in the state's schools next year. The commission has no colored members.

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GANDHI'S SON DIES

DURBAN, S. Africa — Manilal Mohandas Gandhi, second son of the great Indian leader, and bitter foe of segregation, died here last week at the age of 64.

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URGED TO DEFY MOB

DETROIT — John W. Rouse, a Cherokee Indian, whom a mob of white neighbors mistook for a colored person, was beseeched not to sell his home by the Rev. John E. Coogan, chairman of the Detroit Commission on Community Relations.

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NEW ORLEANS APPEALS

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court has been asked by the Orleans Parish School Board to order further hearings before a three - judge Federal court on the constitutionality of Louisiana's segregation laws passed in 1954 to evade the May 17 decision.

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WORKERS MAY REVOLT

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — "Let 'em quit! That's what a majority of the 1,500 members of Local 408, AFL - CIO Steelworkers Union, said of a threat of a handful to organize a separate union in protest of the union's national policy against segregation.

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STORE DYNAMITED

GEORGIANA, Ala. — A store owned by Roy Gandy, 28, who refused to join a strike against the W. T. Smith Lumber Co., was damaged by dynamite Thursday. 500 members of the International Woodworkers of America, principally colored, are striking against the firm.

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NEW JC ORDINANCES

LIPSCOMB, Ala. — Discovering that no such laws were on the books, the city council last week hastily enacted ordinances compelling segregation on public transportation systems, in public eating places and in places of public assembly.

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AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS

ST. LOUIS, Mo. — The United States refuses to ratify a proposed United Nations covenant on human rights because it is a matter that is primarily the obligation of the states, James F Green of the State Department told an audience here Friday.

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NEED 86,000 TEACHERS

WASHINGTON—Colored teachers need have no fear of losing their jobs because of desegregation because the nation with all of them working is still 86,000 teachers short of the need, the National Education Association reported Thursday.

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CHARGES DISMISSED

ST. LOUIS, Mo. — Charges of criminal assault against 16-year-old Clem Crockett were dismissed Friday because Crockett was under 16 on Feb. 2, 1955 when the crime was committed.

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PROBLEM NOT NEW

RALEIGH, N.C. — Problems on interracial marriages are not new, the Rev. Marshall Shepard of Philadelphia told Shaw University students here. Moses, he said, caused much dissatisfaction when he married an Ethiopian woman.

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WOULD BAR RACE ISSUE

NEW YORK — If both parties heed a warning given here by Maryland's Governor Theodore, McKeldin, neither will make an issue of segregation. McKeldin voiced such a plea while appearing on the "Pulse of the Nation" series of the National Republic Club.

* * *

'A GREAT AMERICAN'

WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE, Va. — Booker T. Washington was described as "a truly great American," by Assistant Postmaster General Albert Robertson Thursday during the initial issuance of a commemorative stamp honoring Tuskegee's founder.

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ORIGIN OF 'YELLOW ROSE'

CONCORD, N.H. — "The Yellow Rose of Texas," a Confederate marching song during the Civil War was written by Josiah Moody Fletcher of Nashua, it was disclosed here. It was included in a volume published in Nashua in 1890.

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PRINCESS TO KENYA

LONDON — Princess Margaret next September will tour the Zanzibar protectorate off the East African coast and Kenya, the home of the Mau Mau, Buckingham Palace announced.

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DEFY COURT RULING

BATON ROUGE, La. — Park and recreation officials of nine Louisiana cities adopted strong resolutions here urging the legislature to enact laws that would prevent use of public parks and playgrounds by colored citizens.

* * *

COLLINS WOULD ARGUE

WASHINGTON—Florida's Gov. Leroy Collins has petitioned the Supreme Court for permission to appear in person to argue against its March 12 decision ordering immediate integration of the University of Florida

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FACES DEPORTATION

ASBURY PARK, N.J. — Because he entered the country on a fraudulent passport, Chu Leung, Chinese laundryman, who has been married to a colored woman here 16 years, faces deportation at the hands of U.S. immigration authorities.

* * *

$185 TO NAACP

ELIZABETH, N.J—Employees of both races at the Evans Rule Co. here last week contributed $185.20 to the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund, asking that it be ear-marked for the defense of the Montgomery bus boycotters.

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PLAN INTEGRATION

RICHMOND, Va. — Plans to integrate their businesses were laid here last week at the Agency Officers Conference of the National Insurance Association.

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SUED FOR $20,000

WASHINGTON — Kenneth S. Alexander, former Dunbar Hotel bookkeeper has been sued for $20,000 by the General Accident Fire and Life Assurance Co., which it is claimed Alexander "wrongfully used" while working for the hotel.

* * *

TRACK GROOM SHOT

BALTIMORE — Edward Burrell, groom at Bowie Race Track was found shot in his car Wednesday. Police jailed Benjamin Corbin Jr., a seaman, in the shooting. Mrs. Corbin had called to warn Burrell the night before, Burrell's mother told the AFRO.

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LAD KILLED BY TRAIN

BALTIMORE — Attempting to rescue his pet dog, Teddy. Thursday cost the life of George Roberts, 14, when he was struck by a speeding Pennylvania railroad train.

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DEPUTY U.S. MARSHAL

BALTIMORE — William A. (Box) Harris, Maryland's first parole and probation officer is expected to be named the first U.S. Deputy Marshal here next week.

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FEDERAL POLICE UNIT SUGGESTED FOR SOUTH

CHICAGO — Senator Richard L. Neuberger (Dem., Oregon), said Saturday that unless the South respects the voting rights of colored citizens, the United States may have to set up a Federal police force like the Royal Canadian Mounties.

* * *

N.C. SEGREGATION CASE SET FOR TRIAL APRIL 26

GREENSBORO, N.C.—Federal Judge Johnson J. Hayes this week denied a petition for trial of the Montgomery county school segregation case before a three-judge federal court. The suit is scheduled to be heard by Judge Hayes here, April 26.

* * *

EXTRA GREEN

BALTIMORE — A few warm days painted lawns with bright green chlorophyl. Forsythia and hyacinths are in bloom. Look next for flowering quinces and jonquils.

In Norfolk, Va., azalia buds are bursting and have been blooming a week.

It is now time to plant roses. Next week get out the lawn mower.

Other News In Brief on Page 8)

$1,200,000 CHURCH

BROOKLYN — Concord Baptist Church worshipped in its completed auditorium Easter. Pastor Gardner Taylor presided. The church cost $1,200,000.

Some 3,000 worshippers heard Borough President John Cashmore thank God that there is no church in Brooklyn where colored and white are not welcome to worship side by side.

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ELLA AND TINY

NEW YORK—Tiny Bradshaw and his group are rocking and rolling at New Town Tavern in New Jersey.

Ella Fitzgerald supplants Gypsy Rose Lee at the Celebrity Room.

At Belleview Stratford, Monday, the Golden Slippers Award went to Marian Anderson.

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PENN RELAYS

PHILADELPHIA—At the 62nd annual relay carnival here April 27-28, Eastern colleges and high schools will separate the boys from the men.

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SOMETHING

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — Three colored players were on the college all-stars when they met the Phillip Oilers in the Olympic basketball finals.

In the last quarter, all the college all-stars were colored. Bill Russell and K. C. Jones,

San Francisco; Carl Cain, Iowa, were picked on the Olympic team, with Hal (King) Lear of Temple, alternate.

* * *

PERSUASION

LONDON, England — Cherry Wilson, 17-year-old typist who eloped with a Jamaician and was to marry him last Thursday is back home.

The wedding didn't come off because her dad took lodgings next door to the couple and called on them every day.

* * *

LOUSING UP STALIN

MOSCOW — The Red Party Congress is now making a heel out of the late Premier Stalin.

Thirty delegates fainted when Party Chief Kruschev told how Stalin murdered 5,000 Russian officers ran World War II without knowing what a proper map was, and made Kruschev dance the Gopack, a difficult jig for an old man. "I danced it," the Party leader said.

Delegates shouted, "Why didn't you kill him?"

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NO LADDERS

LONDON—Fifteen Denier nylon stockings at $1.80 are advertised here guaranteed against ladders (runs) for 30 days. Guarantee doesn't cover cuts and cigarette burns.

* * *

BIGGEST BUST

NEW YORK — A Broadway star says: "I have a 25-inch waist, 36-inch hips and 40-inch bust," er . . . "bustwise, the biggest on Broadway."

SHREVEPORT, La. — A speedy hearing on a request for the admission of 19 colored students to Northwestern State College here has been asked of a three-judge Federal court. A temporary injunction restraining the school from using race as an entrance barrier is also sought.

* * *

NINE YOUTHS FREED

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Nine teen-aged youths, held on charges of a 42-year-old white woman that they had criminally assaulted her, were cleared by the Jefferson County grand jury Friday. Evidence showed she had relations with the boys voluntarily, the jury was told.

News In Brief

Afro-American P. 1

Baltimore, Md

$8,900 FOR LAWYERS

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — The Montgomery Improvement Association has agreed to pay lawyer's fees of $100 for each of the 89 indicted bus boycotters or a total of $8,900. At least $10,000 more would be needed if appeals are necessary, it was estimated.

BUS CO. WANTS HELP

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Mayor W. A. Gayle, complaining that thousands of dollars were pouring in to help the bus boycotters, called on white believers in segregation to give financial support to the bus company. He reported receipt of $53 from Atlanta segregationists.

Sat. 3-17-56

ALA. U. DEFIED

TUSCALOOSA, Ala. — Leonard Wilson, the 20-year-old law student, who was pictured haranguing the campus mob against Miss Lucy, has defied the University of Alabama to expel him for his attacks against school officials.

* * *

DRIVERS LOSE $41,000

MONTGOMRY, Ala. — The 32 white bus drivers and five shop employees laid off as result of the bus boycott have lost $41,000 in wages, the company estimated Friday. The company has been losing an estimated $3,200 a day in revenues during the 14-week-old protest.

* * *

RETRIAL DENIED

NEW ORLEANS — A three-judge Federal court Thursday denied the plea of the Orleans Parish school board for a rehearing on the court's order to begin desegregation of this city's schools.

* * *

NAACP ON TRIAL MONDAY

BATON ROUGE, La.—A hearing on a suit to dissolve the NAACP is scheduled for Monday, March 19 before Judge Coleman Lindsay here. The state seeks to invoke an ancient law aimed at the Ku Klux Klan.

* * *

DESEGREGATION VOTED

HARRISON, Ky.—The Harrison County school board Friday voted to integrate its schools in all classes by September, 1956.

* * *

NO RUSH EXPECTED

RALEIGH, N.C.—No rush of colored students to the University of North Carolina is anticipated by Floyd B. McKissick, one of the lawyers, whose suit opened the school to all students. Ten colored students are now enrolled, seven on the graduate level.

* * *

SOMERSET IS READY

SOMERSET, Ky.—The Somerset board of education has voted to desegregate its schools with the opening of the fall term in September.

* * *

CYNTHIANA BEGINS

CYNTHIANA, Ky. — Colored and white students will be integrated in three upper grades of Cynthiana High School next September, the school board has announced. No integration plans were made for the first nine grades.

Afro-American

NO 'INTERPOSITION'

WASHINGTON — Congressmen from 10 Southern states backed away from calling for "interposition" in a manifesto inserted Monday in the Congressional Record. Instead they praised states making a "lawful resistance" to the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

P. 2

'GRADUALISM' HIT

NEW YORK — Charging that the Government does not follow a policy of 'gradualism' in taxing or drafting its citizens, Dr. Channing Tobias, NAACP board chairman, declared Friday it should not follow such a policy in dealing with racial problems.

* * *

KILLER CALLS MORTICIAN

RICHMOND, Va. — A man, who admitted he had just killed a man, phoned A. D. Price Funeral Home here Sunday, and calmly announced he wanted to make burial arrangements. The body of Ernest L. Miles was found at the address given.

* * *

THURGOOD ON EASTLAND

NEW YORK—Commenting on the selection of Sen. James Eastland of Mississippi as Senate Judiciary chairman, Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, said: "I have terrible difficulty in separating Adlai Stevenson's Democratic Party from Senator Eastland's Democratic Party. If I can ever separate them, I would assume I would be for Adlai Stevenson, but until I can separate them, I am against Senator Eastland's Democratic Party."

* * *

ROBESON APPEAL UP

WASHINGTON — An eight-judge U.S. Court of Appeals will soon rule on whether Paul Robeson must file an affidavit that he is not a member of the Communist party before receiving a passport.

* * *

PRESSURE ON IKE

WASHINGTON—Seven Democratic congressmen, including Ike's own representative, have called upon the President to declare he would deny Federal aid to education funds to schools not complying with the Supreme Court's desegregation order. But the President refuses to be committed.

* * *

BROWNELL'S CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM PRESENTED

WASHINGTON — Sens. H. Alexander Smith and Clifford P. Case, both Republicans of New Jersey, said last week the Justice Department's legislative civil rights program "would be announced shortly."

* * *

LOUIS MAY NOT PLAY AT GRACE KELLY WEDDING

PHILADELPHIA — Louis Armstrong said here Friday he may not be able to accept the invitation to play his trumpet at the wedding of Grace Kelly to Prince Rainier of Monaco on April 2. He's due in Australia on that date.

* * *

NIXON STATES HIS VIEWS ON JOB DISCRIMINATION

WASHINGTON — Vice President Richard M. Nixon said in a magazine article last week that in order to halt job discrimination, top executive posts in business and industry must first be integrated.

* * *

LOUIS TO WRESTLE

PHILADELPHIA — Former heavyweight champion Joe Louis reportedly has signed a contract guaranteeing him $100,000 a year as a professional wrestler.

* * *

SLAYER GIVEN CHAIR

WASHINGTON — Russell Carter, 19, was sentenced to the electric chair Friday in the bathtub slaying of 15-year-old Caroline Nelson last May 31.

* * *

CLERIC LOSES JUDGMENT

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — The Rev. Louis C. Taylor, a presiding elder of the [illegible] Church, was ordered by a Circuit Court jury to pay Charles Craycroft $3,229 damages in an assault case.

* * *

GOLD COAST JUSTICE GETS APPELATE POST

ACCRA, Gold Coast (ANP)—Sir Arku Korsah, 61-year-old Gold Coast Supreme Court judge, has been appointed a justice in the West African Court of Appeal.

* * *

ALABAMA GIRL RECEIVES LIFE PRISON SENTENCE

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Frankie M. Gunn was sentenced to life in prison here last week for the fatal shooting of her white employer, John Davis, last December. She was reportedly 14 when the shooting took place.

BRITISH CHURCHMAN HITS SO. AFRICAN VOTERS ROLL

LONDON—Canon L. John Collins, chairman of Christian Action, last week, asked the world to protest a plan by the South African Government to oust mixed blood voters from the electoral roll.

* * *

ALABAMA COUPLE ASSAILED BY RHODESIA CITIZENS

LUSAK, Northern Rhodesia — Mr. and Mrs. John Rhoden, State Department visitors from Alabama, were sharply criticized by white Central Africans for saying "so many" of them were "ignorant."

* * *

WASHINGTON—A Census Bureau report released last week said that colored persons are now holding better jobs than they were before World War II and there was a three per cent increase in "white collar" workers.

* * *

HOLDING PARKING SPACE COSTS 'PRINCE' $34

DETROIT—Prince A. Nicholson of 8450 Linwood, one of Prophet Jones' aides, was fined $34 in Traffic Court for eight parking tickets received "holding a spot for Prophet Jones."

* * *

HOW TO LIVE TO BE 100 YEARS OF AGE

OXFORD, Md.—Perry Brooks, who celebrated his 100th birthday Saturday, attributes his long life to "not drinking, not running around and staying out of trouble."

GRAY AMENDS BUS SUIT

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — The "umbrella" suit in U.S. District Court here asking that city and state laws requiring segregation on buses be held unconstitutional was amended Friday by Fred D. Gray, attorney. The name of Mrs. Jeanetta Reese was stricken as a plaintiff and the names of members of the Alabama Public Service Commission here were added as defendants to the action.

* * *

CANADIANS WARNED TO SHUN TALK ABOUT RACE

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — Members of the National Ballet of Canada, currently on tour of the South, were warned not to discuss the racial issue while appearing in Montgomery and Birmingham. "It was a routine precaution," Celia Franca, director of the troupe, said.

* * *

VOTE NAACP PROBE AT S.C. STATE COLLEGE

COLUMBIA, S.C.—The S.C. legislature Thursday approved a measure calling for an investigation of NAACP activities at S.C. State College at Orangeburg. There is no NAACP branch on the school's campus.

* * *

COUNCIL 'DISTURBED'

SELMA, Ala.—The pro-segregationist White Citizens Council here was placed in a position of disclaiming one of its own officers Saturday when Leonard Wilson, Selma law sophomore at the University of Alabama, was denounced for "intemperate statements against the school's officials."

SPEED HEARING ASKED

31 1956

AFRO-AMERICAN

Joseph A. Shephard promoted to editor

Afro-American P.20
Sat. 2-11-56

BALTIMORE

Joseph A. Shephard has been promoted to acting assistant managing editor of the Baltimore AFRO-AMERICAN, according to an announcement this week from Carl Murphy, president.

Mr. Shephard succeeds Jesse L. Walker, who resigned.

A native of Wilmington, N.C., Mr. Shephard came to Baltimore at the age of two and was educated in the Baltimore schools, graduating from Douglass High School in the class of 1932. He attended Virginia Union University.

Baltimore, Md.

MR. SHEPHARD first joined the AFRO staff in 1939 as a reporter in the Washington office.

From 1947-49, he served as editor-reporter and photographer with the Carolinian in Raleigh, N.C., and from 1949-54 as reporter-rewrite man with the Norfolk Journal and Guide. He returned to the AFRO staff as a reporter in June 1954.

From October 1944 to May 1945, he was a general assignment reporter with the now defunct Washington Tribune.

From 1945-47, he was a national news reporter for the Chicago Defender.

Mr. Shephard is married to the former Miss Anne W. Ferebee. They have a four-month-old son. They make their home at 816 Radnor Ave.

JOSEPH A. SHEPHARD

Governor, judge in selectees

Afro-American
Sat. 3-3-56
Baltimore, Md.

NEWARK

Nine individuals and a women's club in Trenton were selected by the New Jersey AFRO-AMERICAN judges recently as worthy of being placed on the honor roll for 1955, for their accomplishments and contributions to the welfare and progress of their communities and state.

The individuals include:

* * *

GOV. ROBERT B. MEYNER, who was cited for his contributions to good government and better human relations; Judge Roger M. Yancey of Newark, first person of his race to be appointed as a trial judge in the history of the state;

Timothy Still, Newark, president of the Tenants' League of the Rev. William P. Hayes Housing Project; Lawrence J. MacGregor, president of the Summit Trust Company; Mrs. Gladys Churchman, executive director of Friendly Neighborhood House, Newark;

John H. Perry, member of the board of education in Englewood; Freeholder John H. Brandle of Hudson County; Edward T. Bowser Sr., former assemblyman of East Orange; and Robert W. Bingham, Trenton youth leader.

Also chosen for a spot on the honor roll was the Nu Trends Club of Trenton, which has made notable contributions to charitable, humane and civic causes, particularly hospitals.

Afro-American P.17 Sat. 3-3-56
Baltimore, Md.

JUDGE ROGER M. YANCEY

Nine Placed On New Jersey Honor Roll For 1955

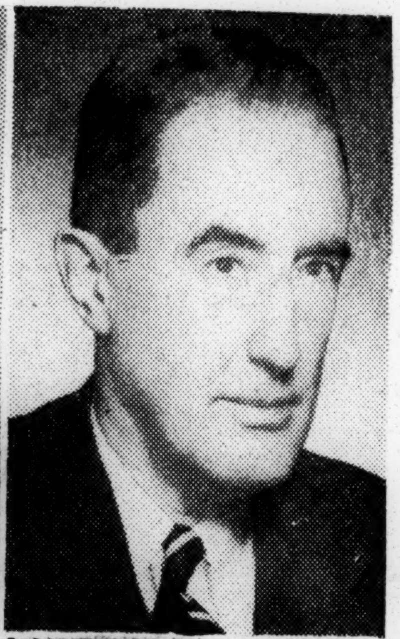
MRS. GLADYS CHURCHMAN

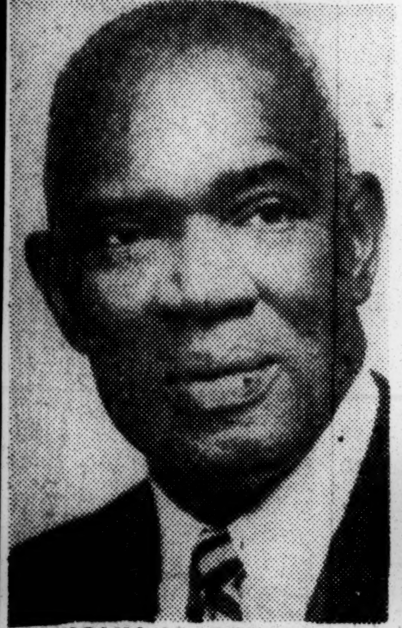
TIMOTHY STILL

ROBERT B. MEYNER

JOHN H. BRANDLE

ROBERT W. BINGHAM


LAWRENCE MacGREGOR


JOHN H. PERRY

EDWARD T. BOWSER SR.

Read Carl Murphy's Story

In the magazine section of The Afro-American for February 18, 1956 there is a story by Carl Murphy, illustrious editor of The Afro and Spingarn Medalist, which every Negro should read. The title is, "The U. S.'s First Colored Catholic Bishop." Here is Mr Murphy's lead paragraph:

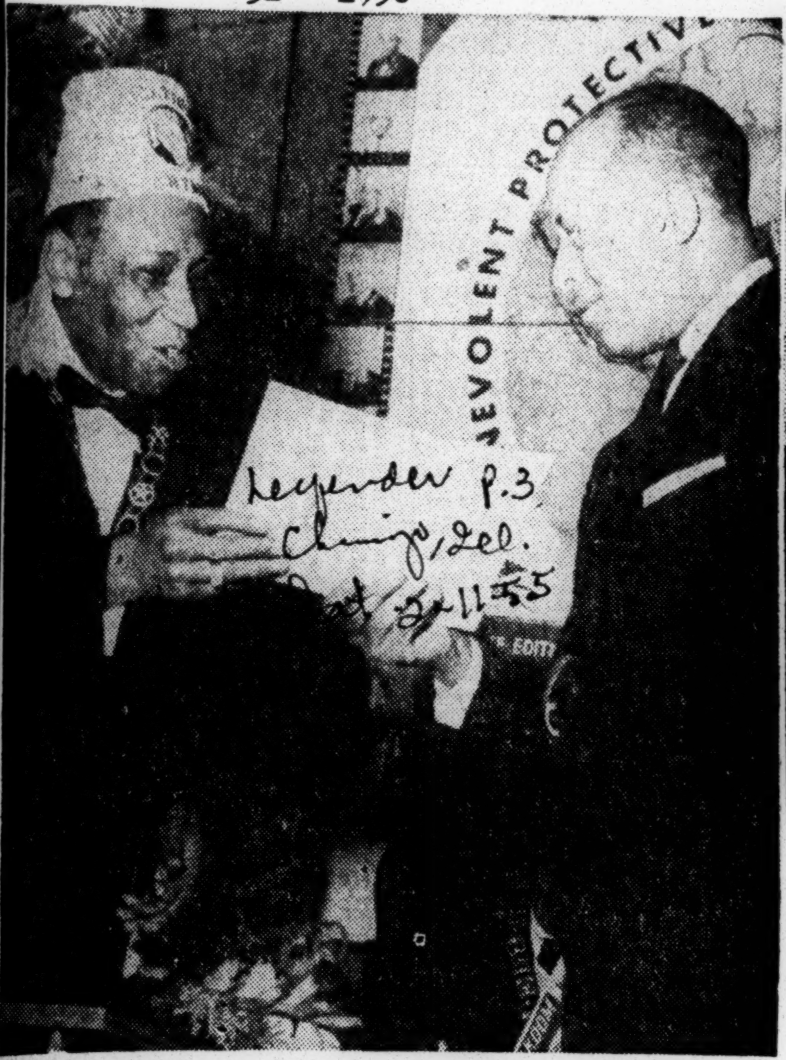
"Fifty-four years after his death, the great Catholic church tells the story of one of its heroes. He was Bishop (James Augustine) Healy, (1830-1900) a Georgia slave boy, 46 years a priest of the church, for 25 years beloved bishop of the diocese of Portland, Maine, and assistant to the Papal Throne, a rank next to Cardinal."

Mr Murphy goes on to say of Bishop Healy: "His father was an Irish deserter of the British army in the War of 1812, who settled in Clinton, Ga., purchased and married without a ceremony a 16-year-old slave girl. Their ten children constituted one of the most remarkable families in the history of the U. S. Catholic Church. Some children were dark in complexion and their African ancestry was mirrored in their faces and hair. Others were lighter in color. Three boys became priests, the oldest a bishop, the third child a president of Georgetown University in Washington, the fourth son, pastor of Boston's largest Catholic Church (St. James) and a candidate for the bishopric. Three of the Healy girls gave their lives to the Church and two of them became superiors in Catholic nunneries in the U. S. and Canada."

There could be no more powerful proof of the cruelty and barbarism and idolatry of the institution of slavery in the United States than the story of this Healy family. The slave laws in Talmadge's Georgia condemned this family to every degradation and denied it every right of citizenship. Fortunately, as Mr Murphy puts it, "Healy, an Irisman who loved freedom, circumvented them." But millions could not escape and the slave system vented its spleen upon them.

Stories like this make clear two duties. One is that we as Negroes, in the new day of freedom that is now upon us, must become, more than we have ever done before, the great channel through which the true story of our history becomes available. Mr Murphy says that "legend and mystery surrounded the life of Bishop Healy until last year when Albert S. Foley, a southern Jesuit priest and teacher at Alabama, wrote a book titled 'Bishop Healy, Beloved Outcast.'"

The second duty is that we must find ways and means to let this true history answer the lies of all those who now or later try to justify the segregation philosophy by claiming that Negroes do not deserve full freedom and citizenship rights. We cannot depend upon others to perform fully either of these duties, and more than we could have depended upon others to do what Thurgood Marshall and those like him have done.



AGE-DEFENDER PUBLISHER CITED — An award to New York Age - Defender publisher John H. Sengstacke "in recognition of distinguished and meritorious performance of public service in fostering, promoting and developing American ideals," is accepted by Ted Coleman (right) general manager of the Age. Making the presentation during the recent I.B.P.O.E. of W. National Mid-Winter conference in Philly, is George W. Lee, commissioner of education of the Elks.

FULLER JOINS AGE — The future of the New York Age Defender looked very promising this week as John H. Sengstacke (seated left) publisher of the Age Defender, announced that S. B. Fuller (seated center) president of Fuller Products company, had joined the Age organization. Looking on are (seated right) Miss Augusta Bolden, newly appointed business manager, and (standing) V. Quinton Nunn, a Fuller executive, and Theodore L. Coleman, newly appointed Age editor.

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 9-26-56 P. 1

JAMES L. HICKS, managing editor of the New York Amsterdam News, is welcomed into National Citizens For Eisenhower-Nixon by John Reed Kilpatrick, National Chairman of the Citizens organization. Mr. Hicks, a veteran Negro writer, has recently been appointed Special Assistant to Richard L. Tobin, Director of Public Relations for National Citizens for Eisenhower-Nixon. Left to right: James L. Hicks; Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, Special Assistant to Mrs. Dorothy D. Houghton, Co-Chairman of the Citizens organization; John Reed Kilpatrick, National Chairman; Richard L. Tobin, Director of Public Relations.

Deceitful and Unethical

Journal + Guide Sat. 9-29-56 Norfolk, Va. P. 8

JAMES E. HICKS, managing editor of the New York *Amsterdam News*, went to Clinton, Tenn., to report riot developments for his paper.

Promptly the Associated Press and the International News Service, and other news services, sent out wire stories to the effect that "JIMMY HICKS, Negro managing editor of the Harlem (N. Y.) Amsterdam News was there covering events." The stories of the press services varied (we are quoting INS verbatim), but all of them placed MR. HICKS and his paper in "Harlem, N. Y."

We suppose that these newsgatherers are simply ignorant of New York geography, as they are of many other things. That would be the charitable way to put it. They think of "Harlem" as they do of Yonkers or Albany, a separate city, or, they think that the word "Harlem" as applied to a section of New York City connotes something that stinks.

If they think of Harlem as simply a colony of Negroes within New York City, we remind them that white Americans, Spaniards, Italians, Greeks, Germans, Frenchmen and white South Carolinians are quite likely to be in a majority there during the daytime, and after 10 p.m. the in-migration of former white Virginians, North Carolinians, Georgians, and residents of other states place the Negroes in a small minority.

And the AP, UP and INS newsgatherers are not alone in their deceit. We have daily newspaper editorial writers who refer to REPRESENTATIVE ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, as representing the "Harlem" district. He is never referred to by some of the papers as a New York congressman.

HULAN JACK is president of the borough of Manhattan, but he is often designated in the news and editorial columns of southern newspapers as "HULAN JACK, of Harlem," and recently he was referred to by a news announcer on TV as "president of the borough of Harlem."

Harlem is no more a separate city, or a city within a city than Richmond's Second Ward, and when OLIVER HILL was a member of Richmond's city council we never heard him referred to as OLIVER HILL of the Second Ward, or of CHURCHILL, or of FULTON.

The truth is that they just can't take it. It is as hard for the average white newspaper and the TV and Radio newscasters in the United States to treat Negroes with dignity as it is for a Camel (cigarette) to pass through a needle's eye. They just do not have the decency to do so, when it is deserved, and when it is the obvious thing to do. We say "average," because it is only fair to say that there are some brilliant exceptions, as to newspapers, radio and television.

HARLEM EDITOR AIDS EISENHOWER GROUP

Times P. 11

A Negro editor joined the Citizens for Eisenhower-Nixon yesterday. A Democrat, he said he had voted for Adlai E. Stevenson in 1952. In announcing his switch, James L. Hicks, managing editor of The Amsterdam News, predicted that many other Negro Democrats would do the same.

Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, the first Negro to be elected to the Pennsylvania Legislature, was with Mr. Hicks when he made his announcement. She is now identified with the Women's Division of the National Citizens for Eisenhower-Nixon. Mrs. Fauset was a Democrat when she was elected to the Pennsylvania Legislature from Philadelphia in 1938.

Mr. Hicks made his announcement in the offices of the National Citizens for Eisenhower-Nixon, 45 East Forty-seventh Street. His appointment as special assistant to the group's director of public relations was announced yesterday.

The editor said he agreed completely with Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Democrat of Manhattan, that a great many Negro Democrats would vote Republican this year.

Mrs. Fauset is seeking Negro representation on Eisenhower-Nixon committees across the nation. "That is a new step forward—what we might call a little bit of advance political integration," she declared.

31 1956 ST. LOUIS ARGUS

High court rules on ownership of Argus

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Dat. 12-29-56

ST. LOUIS (ANP) — The Missouri Supreme Court has affirmed the ruling of a lower court in a legal battle over control of the St. Louis Argus, a weekly newspaper.

The state high tribunal affirmed the ruling of Circuit Judge Ivan Lee Holt Jr., which holds the trust agreement of the St. Louis Argus Publishing Company valid and properly operated under its present management.

The decision, which was handed down earlier this year by Judge Holt, removed Mrs. Edwina Wright Mitchell as trustee of the corporation. Mrs. Nannie Mitchell-Turner is president and Frank W. Mitchell Sr. is publisher.

* * *

MRS. EDWINA MITCHELL had attacked the trust agreement left by the late founders of the Argus. William Mitchell and J. E. Mitchell, brothers.

An injunction sought by Mrs. Edwina Mitchell following the ruling by Judge Holt was set aside by Judge Robert Aronson.

Following the ruling of Judge Holt, a reorganization was held which named Mrs. Turner and Mr. Mitchell to their present positions. J. Alphonso Lynch was named as the court appointed trustee.

31 1956

CALL

Headlines of 1955

(At the beginning of each year, the editors of THE CALL look back over 52 issues of this newspaper and bring to CALL readers a summary of the year's headlines. Here, in capsule form, is our customary review of the year just past.)

JANUARY

Call

Former TSU professor files $125,000 lawsuit against a district judge in Houston for dismissing the teacher's suit against Philander Smith college . . . AME Bishop D. Ward Nichols gives up $8,500 which he had withheld in escrow from Wilberforce university . . . Kansas City board of education refuses to scrap plans to build the new junior high school near the Athletics' baseball stadium . . . Nine women hired as elevator operators at the Jackson county courthouse . . . Harry B. Wilson, secretary-treasurer of the Mason and Plaster Tenders Union, dies of heart attack . . . New elementary school at 24th and Agnes named "Phyllis Wheatley school" . . . Dr. William H. Bryan passes American Board of Surgery examination . . . Two charged in holdup-slaying of 82-year-old grocer, David M. Dillingham, on Colborn road in Jackson county . . .

Marian Anderson acclaimed in Metropolitan Opera in "Masked Ball" . . . John M. Wright, 86-year-old Topeka courthouse "dean" dies . . . Miss Earline Bryant, former Kansas Citian, appointed confidential stenographer to Governor Ed C. Johnson of Colorado . . . Five-million-dollar damage suit filed against Chicago Transit Authority . . . Earl Pitts files as candidate for city councilman from third district . . . Moberly again bares hate fangs, insults native of Panama . . . Carl R. Johnson endorsed for municipal judge by Citizens' association . . . Elks' grand secretary asks dismissal of $21,000 suit filed by Trezzvant Anderson to recover "secret profits" in sale of the John Brown farm to the Elks

Fri. 7-6-56

Mrs. Annie Lee Moss restored to duty by Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson . . . 965 children move into new Phyllis Wheatley school . . . Capital Transit company in Washington finally gives in and agrees to employ platform workers without regard to race . . . Navy refuses to cancel visit of U. S. aircraft carrier Midway to Capetown, South Africa, despite protests from NAACP . . . Tanner Bryant goes to trial for 1953 slaying of Dan C. Matthews in Kansas City, Kas. . . . All-white jury selected . . . Illinois Communist Leader Claude M. Lightfoot convicted of violating Smith act in first trial of an untested clause in the statute . . . President Paul E. Magloire of Haiti visits President Eisenhower . . . NAACP seeks aid from White House for victims of economic pressure in Mississippi . . . Dr. Regina M. Goff, Morgan State college professor, gets FOA post in Iran . . . Rev. Philip J. Houston, pastor of the St. Paul Baptist church, Kansas City, dies at St. Margaret's hospital.

Kansas City, Mo.

FEBRUARY

William J. Scott Jr., night clerk at Paseo Y.M.C.A., found beaten to death . . . Lewis W. Clymer files as candidate for city councilman from first district . . . Federal judge dismisses $125,000 lawsuit by former professor at Philander Smith . . . Citizens launch drive to elect Carl R. Johnson . . . Rep. William L. Dawson (D. Ill.) accused of accepting money from Chicago gambling places . . . Charles A. Gates, commanding officer of the 242nd Missouri National Guard battalion, promoted to rank of lieutenant colonel . . . Tanner Bryant sentenced to three years for slaying of Dan C. Matthews . . . 22-year-old vagrant, Essex Charles Brandon, admits fatal beating at Paseo Y . . .

P. 7

Rep. Dawson denies taking gambling money . . . Congress gets batch of civil rights measures . . . D. C. district judge dismisses Elk suits because of fraternal oath . . . Negro guests forced to leave Lincoln Day dinner in Miami, Fla. . . . Mrs. Thurgood Marshall dies of cancer in New York . . . Missouri legislature gets civil rights bill . . . Miss Norma Jean Hodison of Topeka appointed to personal staff of Gov. Fred Hall . . . NAACP takes issue with city counselor, says city does have authority to pass civil rights bill . . . Hold last rites for Rev. S. R. Prince in Fort Worth . . . Miami mayor condemns Lincoln Day hotel ouster . . . Wheatley hospital directors buy Lakeside hospital . . . Waverly, Iowa, residents welcome Negro Air Force captain to former all-white housing project . . . AME Bishop D. O. Walker cleared in Los Angeles case . . .

MARCH

Carl R. Johnson piles up big vote in city primary, running second only to H. Roe Bartle, candidate for mayor . . . Dawson candidates make clean sweep in Chicago . . . Kansas City board of education outlines plans for integrated school system . . . ICC examiner hits bias in Greyhound Bus case . . . Leona H. Pouncey, Kansas City lawyer settles damage suit for $20,000 . . . Election board promises to end race labels on poll sheets . . . Matt Henson, North Pole explorer, dies at age of 88 . . . National Council of Churches hits economic pressure on Negro citizens in Mississippi . . . Racial flareups occur at St. Louis high school . . .

Walter White, executive secretary of NAACP dies of heart attack in New York . . . Senate Judiciary committee approves nomination of Judge John Harlan to Supreme court . . . Charlie "Yardbird" Parker, alto-saxophonist, dies in New York, buried in Kansas City . . . President Eisenhower and nine others receive Russwurm awards from Newspaper Publishers association . . . Alonzo Redmon, state supervisor of Negro education, says outlook bright for integration in Missouri schools . . . Three airlines hire first Negro clerks in New York . . . U. S. Circuit court at Richmond, Va., rules out "separate but equal" doctrine in public parks and playgrounds.

Carl R. Johnson elected first Negro municipal judge in history of Kansas City . . . Dr. Harold L. Gear, superintendent of schools in Phoenix, Ariz., addresses Urban League banquet in Kansas City . . . Throngs attend last rites for Walter White . . . FEPC bills get favorable action in Missouri legislature . . . Three Negro teachers fired from Hannibal, Mo., school system . . . Atchison announces plans to integrate teachers in September . . . Kansas Senate abolishes Kansas Technical Institute at Topeka.

APRIL

Call

Protest bias at city market cafe . . . Sen. Styles Bridges apologizes for using term "white GI's" in radio interview . . . Rev. R. A. Simpson, 71-year-old retired minister of C.M.E. church, dies . . . Louis Lautier named correspondent to Asian-African conference at Bandung, Indonesia . . . Supreme Court hears "how and when" arguments on school integration . . . Dr. Robert A. Ellis denied membership in Kansas City Dental society because he is a Negro . . . Roy Wilkins succeeds Walter White as executive secretary of NAACP . . . Carl Johnson sworn in as municipal judge . . . T. H. Mayberry elected as St. Louis alderman . . . Human Relations Commission to study city market bias . . . National Urban League holds board and staff meeting in Kansas City . . .

Moberly school board fires all eleven of its Negro teachers . . . Supreme Court begins job of writing school decision . . . Roy Wilkins says NAACP will strive to end all jim crow by 1963 . . . Negro P.T.A. Congress disbands organization . . . Cecil V. Reeves, former Kansas City singer, fatally shot in Detroit by his wife, who then turned gun on herself in suicide attempt . . . Moberly teachers start fund to fight ouster by school board . . . Two Sumner high school tudents, Beckwith Horton and Miss Myrna Thomas, win top honors in Greater Kansas City Science Fair . . . Mrs. Gertrude Keith named site clearance project manager for Attucks housing project . . . Death to John H. Gregg, district manager of Atlanta Life Insurance company in Kansas City . . . Mississippi Methodist white women denounce White Citizens Councils . . . Greenfield, Mo., fires two Negro teachers . . . Bishop William A. Fountain of A.M.E. church dies . . .

MAY

Fri. 7-6-56

Chester A. Franklin, founder and editor of THE CALL, dies May 7 at age of 74 . . . Police Detective William Kenner slain in attempt to make arrest . . . Missouri and West Virginia lead in school integration . . . St. Stephen Baptist church opens $70,000 Youth Center . . . Mourn Editor Franklin's death all over nation . . . Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, prominent educator, dies of heart attack . . . Missouri legislature honors memory of C. A. Franklin . . . Franklin will provides for establishment of trust fund to aid in leadership training of youth . . . Kansas City, Kas., Yellow Cab company integrates drivers . . . PTA groups say color line is fading.

Mrs. Reeves, recovering in hospital, refuses comment in slaying of husband . . . Roy Wilkins asks probe of murder of Rev. George W. Lee in Belzoni, Miss. . . . Thurgood Marshall promises legal aid to Negro teachers fired from their jobs . . . Throngs to rites for Mrs. Bethune at Daytona Beach, Fla. . . . Supreme Court orders "prompt and reasonable" start toward full compliance with earlier order banning segregation in public schools . . . Kansas Citians express mixed reactions to school ruling . . . Slaying of musician mars opening of Moulin Rouge hotel in Las Vegas . . . Fear of cancer of cancer drives woman, 62, to suicide . . . Georgia predicts century of school litigation.

JUNE

P. 4

A crowd of 5,000 attends National Baptist Sunday School Congress in Kansas City . . . Top NAACP officials interpret court ruling . . . Miss Consuelo C. Young, associate professor of journalism at Lincoln university, named librarian and director of U. S. Information Center in Bombay, India. Clarence Sayles wins CALL-Carnation Milk Healthy Baby contest . . . Rep. Adam Clayton Powell refuses to retreat from amendment to bill barring jim crow in the National Guard . . . Newspaper publishers hold 17th annual confab in Kansas City . . . Carl Murphy, editor of the Afro-American newspapers, chosen by the NAACP as recipient of the 40th Spingarn medal . . . Brig. Gen. B. O. Davis Jr. named vice commander of the 13th Air Force on Formosa . . . Five get commissions from West Point Military academy, including John M. Brown, former Kansas Citian . . . Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier resigns as president of Texas Southern university.

San Antonio College admits Negro youth . . . All colleges in Oklahoma drop race barriers . . . Editorial in Kansas City Bar Journal hits Bar association for rejecting application of Judge Carl R. Johnson . . . Elmer Powell, Kansas Citian, ordained Catholic priest at Bay St. Louis, Miss. . . . Roy Wilkins raps Ike at NAACP meeting at Atlantic City for his opposition to anti-segregation amendments . . . 80 hit by food poisoning at Ushers convention in Jefferson City . . . Bishop D. Ormonde Walker, fifth district A.M.E. bishop, dies at Douglass hospital in Kansas City, Kas. . . . Dr. Maynard P. Turner resigns as president of Western Baptist seminary . . . Attempt is made to assassinate President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia . . . THE CALL launches campaign to bring 7-year-old Clemons Johnson Jr. from Japan to see his father in federal penitentiary in Leavenworth . . . NAACP lists 1954 gains . . . James Carter, 11, elected mayor of Kansas City Junior City camp at Swope Park.

JULY

Kansas City, Mo.

Hundreds attend funeral rites for Bishop D. O. Walker . . . Bishop Frederick D. Jordan travels 13,000 miles from South Africa to deliver eulogy at services . . . A.M.E. ministers and laymen adopt resolution asking that fifth Episcopal district not be split into three parts . . . Rep. Powell's anti-bias rider to Military Reserve bill is defeated . . . Court opens University of Oklahoma to all races . . . Judge Harold A. Stevens appointed to New York Supreme Court bench by Gov. Averell Harriman . . . Rev. D. A. Holmes weds the former Mrs. Evelyn J. McGinnis . . . Overflow crowd of 800 at St. Joseph Catholic church to hear Father Elmer Powell sing his first mass . . . Fifth A.M.E. district split into three sections and divided among Bishops Joseph Gomez, H. Thomas Primm and Frederick D. Jordan . . . Federal judge in Virginia opens state parks to all races . . .

ICC hears final arguments in railroad segregation cases . . . 700 pay tribute to Dr. George W. Carver at Diamond, Mo. . . . Edwin T. Pratt named community organization secretary of Urban League of Kansas City. E. Frederic Morrow named to administrative post in the White House . . . Roy Wilkins urges more anti-bias amendments to Congressional bills . . . Georgia Teachers for-

bidden to teach mixed classes by state board of education . . . Federal district court orders South Carolina county to end racial discrimination in conformance to Supreme Court's decision . . . Miss Belva T. Simmons of St. Louis appointed to staff of Senator Hennings' Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights in Washington . . . Father Robert A. Martin resigns as rector of St. Augustine's Episcopal church . . . Rep. Adam Powell in fist fight with Rep. Cleveland Bailey over school bill . . . Bishop and Mrs. Jordan fly back to South Africa . . .

End jim crow on South Carolina busses and trolley cars . . . Hold Masonic rites for Amos Smith who died at age of 81 . . . Shake-up in Chicago Urban League — Sidney Williams and other staff members fired . . . Missouri Prince Hall Masons reelect Dr. Samuel E. Moore as grandmaster . . . Integration without mishap at Hoxie Ark. . . . Missouri lawyers map plans to combat intolerable firing of Negro teachers . . . Federal court voids Oklahoma election law . . . Princeton U. employs first Negro teacher . . . Mr. and Mrs. Girard T. Bryant return to Kansas City from year in Thailand.

AUGUST

Georgia board of education orders teachers to quit membership in NAACP . . . George L. Brown of Denver elected to Colorado state legislature . . . Step-up in school integration in Dixie . . . Dr. Frank L. Horne and Mrs. Corienne Morrow dismissed from Home and Housing Finance Agency in Washington . . . Mrs. Frankie Freeman of St. Louis appointed to state attorney general's staff . . . NAACP challenges Georgia teacher purge . . . Alabama tries to stop NAACP fund-raising . . . Roy Wilkins urges U. S. probe of intimidation of voters in Mississippi . . . G. T. Bryant assigned "temporarily" to Lincoln high school . . . Churches rally to help bring boy from Japan to see his daddy . . . Congress repeals GI anti-poll tax law . . . Houston businessman says Dr. Lanier fired to preserve TSU jim crow . . . NAACP protests Dr. Horne's ouster . . .

Tanner Bryant, slayer of Dan Matthews, dies of heart attack at Kansas state penitentiary . . . Dr. Horne refuses substitute $12,960 job . . . Val Washington cites civil rights gains under Eisenhower . . . Report criticized by Rep. Cellar (D.) of New York . . . Gloria Lockerman, 12, wins $8,000 on TV $64,000 program . . . Seventh Day Adventists in 10-day camp meeting at new camp site near Muncie, Kas. . . . Gov. Archie A. Alexander resigns as governor of Virgin Islands . . . Georgia state board of education hands down ruling that Negroes must resign from NAACP or lose jobs . . . Seventy-five Negro families lose homes in northeastern flood waters.

Fourteen-year-old Emmett Till of Chicago found slain near Greenwood, Miss., after he was accused of "wolf-whistling" at a white woman . . . Two men arrested in kidnap-slaying . . . Attorney Generall Brownell orders FBI probe into reign of terror in Mississippi . . . Ike appoints Walter A. Gordon of California as governor of Virgin Islands to succeed Archie Alexander . . . James A. Hazlett named new superintendent of schools in Kansas City . . . Plans for integration completed . . . Indian ambassador insulted at Houston airport cafe . . . CAA orders probe of bias . . . Ike pledges aid in fight against job bias . . . G. T. Bryant offered administrative assistant post at Manual high school . . . Elks reelect officers at 56th annual confab at Atlantic City . . . 55 foreign students at K. U. Orientation center spend week-end in Kansas City . . . Rev. F. Lemoyne Whitlock named new community service worker in Kansas City welfare department.

SEPTEMBER

Two indicted in kidnap-murder of Emmett Till . . . Crowd of 10,000 attends rites for boy in Chicago . . . Girl, 17, found pregnant in Missouri state prison, names guard as father of child . . . Alabama U. denied new trial in effort to keep Negro students out of school . . . School desegregation under way in 11 states . . . Texans urge probe of Citizens Councils . . . School integration in Kansas City off to good start . . . Gloria Caruthers of Kansas City, Kas., named research assistant on Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency by Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. . . . Gloria Lockerman takes $16,000 instead of trying for $32,000 on TV quiz program . . . THE CALL seeks probe of prison laxity in pregnancy of girl inmate . . . Baptists meeting in Memphis, Tenn., denounce pastor who joined hands with whites in Mississippi . . . Till murder case set for trial September 19 . . . Students integrated in 43 of 92 public schools in Kansas City . . .

Clemons Johnson Jr., arrives from Japan to see daddy at Leavenworth penitentiary . . . National Urban League, meeting at Milwaukee, attacks housing bias . . . NAAACP protests school discrimination in Kansas City, Kas. . . . Witnesses tell of death screams in Emmett Till murder trial at Sumner, Miss. . . . Boy's uncle points out abductors . . . Negro jet pilot snubbed at Birmingham airport cafe . . . 21 others refuse to eat . . . J. Delmas Escoe, city editor of THE CALL, named assistant counsel of Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights in Washington . . . University of North Carolina told to admit Negroes . . . All-white jury finds two Mississippi white men not guilty of murder of Emmett Till after 67 minutes of deliberation . . . Clemons Johnson meets father . . . Kansas City NAACP holds memorial mass meeting for Till.

OCTOBER

James L. Hicks tells true story of Till trial . . . Missing Till witness found in Chicago . . . Kansas City reserve teachers protest statement by Supt. Hazlett that all "available" reserves are being used . . . Lionel Hampton and band injured in bus crash in New Mexico . . . Miss Carolyn Webster selected as Royalette . . . Willie Reed, Till slaying witness, afraid to go back to Mississippi, to remain in Chicago . . . Carolyn Webster dances at American Royal Coronation ball . . . Kansas Citians raise $189 to help in Reserve Teacher fight . . . Congressman Powell back from European tour, says segregation returning to Army . . . Air Force reprimands two men who balked at segregation at Birmingham airport cafe . . . Roy Wilkins raps at address by Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook of Georgia . . . Says NAACP has no connection with communists . . . Lewis W. Clymer refused membership in Kansas City Bar association . . . Picket Texas state fair at Dallas but 181,725 persons attend anyway . . . Everett P. O'Neal named to direct United Campaign team 3 of division 9 . . .

A.M.E. pastor disappears in Lake City, S. C., after allegedly firing at car shortly after his church was destroyed by flames . . . Vice President Nixon says it's good business to end job bias in summing up Conference on Equal Job Opportunity . . . Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell urges vigorous attack on job bias . . . Till case causes loss of U. S. prestige abroad . . . Rev. Joseph A. DeLaine, S. C. pastor, flees to New York . . . Roy Wilkins commends Missouri for speed in desegregation . . . Earl D. Thomas, Lincoln high school principal, earns Doctor of Education degree at K. U.

NOVEMBER

Death of second boy in Mississippi termed "accident" . . . NAACP pledges aid to reserve teachers . . . Fund for Republic makes $50,000 gift to NAACP . . . Newspaper publishers confer with Brownell, ask federal intervention in Mississippi . . . Kansas City, Kas., NAACP sues school board . . . Till slayers also cleared of kidnap charges . . . NAACP says case not yet closed . . . AME bishops air trouble in court fight . . . Civil Appeals unit says Mrs. Morrow wrongfully fired by Housing agency . . . THE CALL wins blue banner in United Funds drive . . . Herschel L. Williams gets 10-year prison term for slaying of Detective William Kenner . . . Supreme Court dooms all segregation, removes bars in public recreation . . .

Rev. William B. Hurse dies of heart attack; autopsy rules out foul play . . . Mississippi people say they have had enough . . . Hicks tells why he had to go back to Mississippi . . . South Carolina governor attempts to extradite Rev. DeLaine . . . NAACP drops Mrs. Bradley, mother of Emmett Till, when she sought payment for tour . . . Bishop and Mrs. James Arthur Hamlett leave on round-the-world tour . . . Supreme Court strikes down racial tags on ballots . . . W. W. Caldwell Jr. appointed clerk in charge of mail bag depository . . . James C. Potter named new Wheatley hospital board president . . . Hennings committee probes "guilt by kinship" practices.

Moberly teachers ask [illegible] damages in loss of employment . . . Three lawsuits planned against Mississippians . . . Claude R. [illegible] manager of Watkins Homes; tenants want him to stay . . . Man posing as Till witness found to be imposter . . . Mrs. Sarah E. Griffin of Jackson county Home for Aged dies . . . Maryland ends segregation in National Guard . . . Wheatley hospital campaign revived, Rev. John W. Williams named chairman . . . AME's hold Southwest Missouri conference at Ebenezer church, Bishop Jordan presiding . . . Gus Courts, NAACP leader, shot in Belzoni, Miss. . . . Rep. Charles C. Diggs says he will challenge Mississippi congressmen . . . ICC rules out segregation in Interstate travel . . . Fight attempts to extradite Rev. DeLaine.

DECEMBER

Kansas City Bar association ends racial ban, admits three Negro lawyers . . . Boy, 15, admits killing NAACP head in Gonzales, Texas . . . Georgia governor makes Pittsburgh U. player popular . . . Negroes boycott busses in Montgomery, Ala. . . . Students at Georgia Tech stage riot when governor suggests Tech not play in Sugar Bowl because Pittsburgh team has Negro player, Bob Grier . . . Carl Johnson reelected NAACP branch head . . . Dr. Theodore R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., tells 1500 persons in Kansas City that he is next on Mississippi "death" list . . . Filling station attendant shot by Milam's friend in Sumner, Miss . . . City hospitals get windfall from Ford Foundation . . . Joe Louis to wed Rose Morgan on Christmas Day . . . H. W. Sewing and Atlanta Life settle case out of court, Sewing getting $13,500 . . . Mrs. Earnestine Daniels Mayberry appointed secretary in school board offices.

John Alderson, prejudiced Los Angeles fire chief, discharged . . . Thurgood Marshall weds Hawaiian-born secretary in national NAACP office . . . Dr. Howard denies he is going to flee Mississippi . . . White Mississippians say they will aid slain man's family . . . Floyd Wiggins, Lincoln high school boy, chosen by Rep. Richard Bolling to attend Air Force academy . . . Negro elected vice mayor of Cincinnati . . . Dr. E. A. Walker, 78-year-old Kansas City physician, takes his own life . . . Bewley tells inside story of why he resigned Watkins Homes post . . . Woman, 27, dies in fire, probe underway . . . Mystery surrounds death of man who fell from train in Tennessee . . . Plot to extort $15,000 from publisher foiled . . . Mississippi puts NAACP at top of "black list." . . . Sen. Douglass threatens civil rights fight if Lyndon Johnson calls up natural gas bill.

At 18th Annual Meeting

Weekly

K. C. News Executive Urban League Speaker

New Orleans, La.

Sat. 5-19-56

31

Dowal H. Davis, general manager of the Kansas City Call, will be the featured speaker for the 18th Annual Meeting of the Urban League of Greater New Orleans, Thursday, May 17, 6:30 p. m. at Hayes' Restaurant, announced Mrs. Leo Mervis and Mrs. Gladys S. Raymond, co-chairmen for the meeting. Mr. Davis will speak on the subject: "The Challenge to the Urban League Today."

Mr. Davis, a vice-president of the National Urban League, has a rich background of training and experience and for some years has been much in demand as a public speaker.

In 1946 and 1948 he was a member of a group of publishers invited to tour Europe by the Secretary of War, and also in 1949 made a Navy tour with a group of industrialists. Mr. Davis was a member of the United Nations Day national committee from 1949-52; of the Atlantic Union Committee, 1949-52; and of President Truman's Committee on governmental contracts in 1952.

He is a member of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., and a past president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association.

Chronicle Editor Gets A New Job

Charles J. Wartman, executive editor of the "Michigan Chronicle" was named assistant to Vice Chairman William L. Dawson of the Democratic National Committee this week. Wartman will coordinate the campaign activities of Cong. Dawson's office in addition to handling press relations and publicity.

Wartman has been associated with the "Michigan Chronicle" for 14 years and has been executive editor since 1949.

He represented the Democratic National Committee through Vice Chairman Dawson's office during the 1952 Presidential Campaign as a reporter and observer on the Stevenson campaign tour.

TAUGHT SCHOOL

A graduate of Virginia State college and Atlanta university, Wartman was an instructor in the history department of Virginia State college before serving in the Army in 1942.

Wartman is a member of the Michigan State Fair Commission to which he was appointed by Gov. G. Mennen Williams in 1949 and in 1954-55 he served on the Intergovernmental Relations Commission of Michigan.

He resides with his wife and two children at 19934 Indiana ave. in Detroit. He is a member of Alpha Phi Alpha and Sigma Pi Phi fraternities.

31 1956

PITTSBURGH COURIER

Negro Paper Names Prattis as Its Editor

Pittsburgh, Nov. 11 (P) — Percival L. Prattis, veteran newspaper executive and civic leader, has been named editor of The Pittsburgh Courier, national weekly Negro newspaper.

Prattis is the first to hold the position since the death of Robert L. Vann in 1940. Vann's widow is president of the paper.

A native of Philadelphia, Prattis has served as city editor, managing editor, and executive editor during his 20 years with The Courier.

Executive Editor for 16 Years

Courier Sat. 11-17-56

P. L. Prattis Named Editor of Courier

Pittsburgh Pa. P. 2

Percival Leroy Prattis, experienced newspaper executive, was named as editor of the Pittsburgh Courier by the board of directors of the 47-year-old institution, Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president, announced Friday.

Mr. Prattis' appointment marks the first time the paper has had an editor since the death of Robert L. Vann in 1940.

Born in Philadelphia in 1895, Mr. Prattis has had a long and illustrious career as a journalist and as a civic leader.

HE CAME to this paper in 1937 . . . 20 years ago . . . after working with the Michigan State News, the Associated Negro Press, the Chicago Defender and the Amsterdam News.

With the Courier he has served as city editor, managing editor and executive editor.

Among his more important "news beats" were the Haile Selassie interview in London in 1936, coverage of the United Nations' San Francisco conference in 1945, and the World Trade Union Conference the same year.

He also covered Europe during its post-war building period and did a series from Israel and the Middle East.

A member of more than 30 civic organizations, on both the national and local front, he has a wide circle of friends.

Among the organizations of particular note with which he is associated are: member of board of trustees, Pennsylvania Training School; board of directors, Community Chest of Allegheny County; board of directors, United Community Defense Services; executive committee, national board of directors, National Conference of Christians and Jews; public affairs committee, National Council of the YMCA; board of directors, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers; vice president, board of directors, Hill City.

A graduate of Christiansburg Industrial Institute and Hampton Institute, he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Wiley College in 1944.

■

HE MARRIED Helen Marie Sands in 1939, and their daughter, Patricia Adrienne, 15, is an accomplished musician.

He is a member of Pittsburgh's Loendi Club, the Frontiers of America, the Masons and Wesley Center AME Zion Church.

31 1956

PITTSBURGH COURIER

News in Brief

Cup of Coffee May Cost Grant

NORMAN, Okla.—Student leaders at the University of Oklahoma are hopping mad because the refusal of a cup of coffee to Ted Harris of Philadelphia might cost their school a share of a $128,000 grant. Harris, director of the National Student Association foreign student scholarship program was turned down by a waitress when he sought the coffee in the local railroad station.

Courier P.3

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Riley Quits as Baptist School President

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Dr. Victor T. Glass will succeed Dr. Ralph W. Riley as president of American Baptist Theological Seminary on June 1. Dr. Riley will go to Newark, N. J., as pastor of Hopewell Baptist Church.

Pittsburgh Pa.

Lucy Riot Suspects' Trial Postponed

TUSCALOOSA, Ala.—Three white men, charged with disorderly conduct during the Feb. 6 rioting over Autherine Lucy at the University of Alabama, have had their cases postponed indefinitely.

Sat. 4-7-56

Comic's Son Indicted on Charges of Dope

LOS ANGELES—Billy Anderson, professional football player and son of comedian Eddie (Rochester) Anderson, has been indicted by a Federal grand jury and charged with sale and possession of marijuana.

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Lorch Trial Slated for April 16

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Dr. Lee Lorch, head of the Philander Smith College department of mathematics and former Fisk U. mathematics department head, will face trial on April 16 on charges of contempt of Congress. Lorch had attempted to enroll his daughter in a Negro school and also has been accused of being "pro-Communist."

* * *

Pro-Integration Editor Loses His Post

NEW ORLEANS—Robert D. Barnes, editor of the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce Bulletin, has charged that he was fired from his post because of his opposition to segregation and membership in the Southern Conference Education Fund.

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Harvard Glee Club Cancels Florida Appearance

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—Harvard University's Glee Club has cancelled an appearance at Florida State University because the school was unable to guarantee equal privileges to a Negro member of the group.

* * *

35-Cent Meal Costs Man His Life

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—An argument over a 35 cents meal cost Winston Taylor his life when he was shot by Alvis Lloyd Kuhn, cashier at the cafeteria for Negroes.

* * *

Two Men Start Fight, Both Are Slain

JACKSON, Miss.—Two Negroes started a fight in a business establishment owned by W. L. Lynch Jr., cafe owner, and as a result both are dead. Lynch is being held under $10,000 bond for the slaying of Jeffie Lee White and Isom Cassel.

* * *

White Man Accused of Rape in Alabama

MOBILE, Ala.—William N. Keenan Jr. has been charged with the rape of a Negro woman in Flomaton, Ala. Keenan is at liberty under $2,000 bond.

* * *

65-Year-Old Man Seeks Virginia Council Seat

RICHMOND, Va.—Grover C. Grant, 65, former state employe, has announced himself as a candidate for Richmond's City Council.

* * *

Drop Charges Against Montgomery Pastor

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Charges of disorderly conduct brought against the Rev. U. J. Fields of the Bell Street Baptist Church have been dropped.

* * *

Shot At, Pastor Flees Louisiana Town

AMITE, La.—The Rev. Philip R. McCurdy of Miami, Fla., is being sought by local authorities for allegedly cursing the husband of a white woman. Officials say the minister fled after being fired on by the white woman's husband.

* * *

Attorney Seeks Council Seat in Alabama

FAIRFIELD, Ala.—Atty. Demetrius C. Newton will be a candidate for the Fairfield City Council from Ward 4, Position 1.

* * *

Boy Shows Progress After Heart Operation

ATLANTA, Ga.—Henry Davis, 10, of Elko, Ga., who underwent an operation for the correction of a serious heart defect at Hughes Spalding Pavilion is showing steady progress.

Top Prize to Call-Post

Courier P.23

Courier Cited Six Times by Publishers

Pittsburgh Pa.
Sat. 6-23-56

The Pittsburgh Courier came in for its share of honors by crashing the winners' circle in six of 10 categories in the National Newspaper Publishers Association's 1956 Merit Awards Contest.

31

The Courier made its best showing in the Best Original Column classification, winning first and third positions.

Still more honors were bestowed upon the Courier which placed second in each of the following categories: Best News Story, Best News Photo, Best Editorials, Public Service and Promotion.

■

ALL AWARDS will be made at the annual banquet of the National Newspaper Publishers Association in Pittsburgh, June 22.

By ranking in the General Excellence category and scoring the highest points otherwise, two papers tied for the Russwurm Trophy, the Louisville Defender and the Kansas City Call, with nine points each.

Also eligible for the trophy but scoring lower points were the Ohio Sentinel and the Cleveland Call-Post, with seven points.

Each first place winner will receive a plaque. Oscars will be awarded to second and third place.

Winners in ten categories were as follows:

I GENERAL EXCELLENCE
1. Cleveland Call-Post
2. (Tie) Louisville Defender and Kansas City Call
3. Ohio Sentinel

II BEST EDITORIALS
1. Kansas City Call
2. Pittsburgh Courier
3. Louisville Defender

III BEST ORIGINAL COLUMN
1. Pittsburgh Courier
2. Ohio Sentinel
3. Chicago Defender.

IV PUBLIC SERVICE
1. Philadelphia Tribune
2. Pittsburgh Courier
3. Ohio Sentinel

V BEST NEWS STORY
1. Afro-American
2. Pittsburgh Courier
3. Kansas City Call

VI BEST FEATURE
1. Kansas City Call
2. Cleveland Call-Post
3. Louisville Defender

VII BEST NEWS PHOTO
1. St. Louis Argus
2. Pittsburgh Courier
3. Afro-American

VIII EDITORIAL CARTOON
1. New York Amsterdam News
2. Louisville Defender
3. Chicago Defender

IX BEST TYPOGRAPHY AND MAKE-UP
1. Louisville Defender
2. Cleveland Call-Post
3. Ohio Sentinel

X PROMOTION
1. Ohio Sentinel
2. Pittsburgh Courier
3. Michigan Chronicle

31 1956

COLLIER'S
WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION

MAGAZINES' DEATH COSTS JOBS OF 2,400

Times P. 73

800 Here Affected by Closing of Collier's and Companion —Work Bureau to Open

New York, Dec. 29 12-26-56

A job placement bureau will be opened tomorrow to help find jobs for employes of Collier's and The Woman's Home Companion. The magazines will suspend publication next month.

The bureau will be set up on the seventeenth floor at 640 Fifth Avenue, in the main office of the Crowell-Collier Publishing Company. Its board of directors decided on the suspension Friday night.

Inquiries from prospective employers will be received at the bureau. About 2,400 employes of the two magazines are affected by the closing, including 800 or 900 in the New York offices. The remainder are editorial, advertising, circulation, business and mechanical department employes in regional offices throughout the country and at a printing plant at Springfield, Ohio.

The company's executive committee is considering severance pay and other problems involved in a settlement with employes.

There will be a meeting in the company's board room on Wednesday at 10 A. M. between the executive committee and an informal committee representing employes.

A company spokesman said yesterday that neither J. Patrick Lannan, chairman of the executive committee, nor Paul C. Smith, president and chairman of the board of directors, was available for comment on severance pay.

Expect Severance Pay

Theodore H. White, writer and political correspondent, is spokesman for the employe committee. He said it expected a settlement at least as good as Crowell-Collier made with the employes of The American Magazine. That magazine was closed last summer. Mr. White said its employes had received one week's severance pay for each six months of service, plus accrued vacation pay.

"We are assuming that the company means to meet its obligations to its employes in good faith," Mr. White said.

If it does not, he indicated the employes will seek legal advice.

"This is a horrible situation at best," he went on. "No severance pay, no contractural pension system, no benefits, nothing for anybody. Turned out cold almost on Christmas Eve." He said many of the employes had been working for Crowell-Collier for thirty years or more, including a telephone operator, now in the hospital, with fifty years' service.

Springfield, Ohio, a city of 85,000, reported itself hard hit. About 2,575 employes work at the Crowell-Collier plant there that prints the two magazines. Public officials and business leaders said they hoped ways could be found to provide new jobs for most of those thrown out of work.

Seeks Buyer for List

The company said it was still trying to dispose of its subscription lists for The Woman's Home Companion. Cowles Magazines, Inc., has taken over the Collier's list. It will give Collier's subscribers a choice of Look or several other magazines. Cash will be refunded on request.

Crowell-Collier disclosed yesterday that Edward L. Elliott, New York investment banker, had resigned Oct. 7 as a director and chairman of the finance committee, but that his resignation had not been made public. A company spokesman said the finance committee had been superseded by the executive committee.

It was incorrectly reported in yesterday's New York Times that Mr. Elliott still was a director and finance chairman. He explained he had resigned for reasons of health. He also said it had been incorrectly reported in The Times that his firm, Elliott & Co., had gained a controlling interest in Crowell-Collier by converting debentures into stock and that more than 28 per cent of the stock had been listed in its name as of Nov. 27.

He and E. J. McCaffrey, Crowell-Collier treasurer, said no Crowell-Collier stock had been listed in the name of Elliott & Co. They also said Elliott & Co. had never owned Crowell-Collier debentures or stock and had never had a controlling interest.

Elliott & Co., arranged financing for Crowell-Collier last year in which convertible debentures were privately sold. Major purchasers, it was disclosed at the time, were Patrick Lennan and Edward Elliott.

31 1956

Prize Fund Of $2,000 To Be Paid

Defender Sat. 1-21-56 Chicago, Ill.

By RUSS J. COWANS

The Chicago's Defender's 10th annual Diamond Singles sweepstakes will be staged March 17-18, according to announcement made this week by Mrs. Rachel Ridley, director of the tournament.

The tournament, sanctioned by the WIBC and ABC, will be open to both men and women bowlers.

There will be a prize fund of $2,000, $1,000 for women and the same amount for men. Both funds will be based on 200 entries each.

MUST SUBMIT AVERAGE

As in previous years, there will be actual and handicap divisions for both the men and women. Handicaps will be based on two-thirds up to 200.

P. 18

Each bowler entering must submit the current highest league average, the ABC for men and the WIBC for women. The name of the league should also be on the entry blank.

The winner of the actual pins division will receive $150 and a diamond medal. To second place will go $100 and a diamond medal. Third place winner will get $75 and a diamond medal. There will be five other cash prizes.

WINNER GETS $150

The winner of the handicap division will get $150 and a trophy, while to the second place winner will go $100 and a trophy. The third place winner will get $75 and a trophy.

The same amount will be paid to the winners in both the men and women sections of the tournament.

The entry fee is $7.50, including the cost of bowling. The deadline for entries has been set at midnight, March 2.

William Decker, 40-year-old Chicago postal clerk, captured the actual pin title last year, while Florentine Ravelo, Chicago, won the handicap crown. Decker fired 781 for the four games over eight alleys. His high game was 233.

Mrs. Dorothy Webb of Cincinnati retained her title in a close battle with Carole Collins of Chicago. Sara M. Brown of Chicago won the handicap title.

Last year was the first time the men were eligible to compete in the tourney, and 180 entered. There were 144 women rolling for the prizes.

Chi. Defender Appears Daily

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Chicagoans got their first issue of the Chicago Defender as a daily newspaper Feb. 6 which came in tabloid form and carried the slogan "Chicago's picture newspaper." John H. Sengstacke, publisher of the 50-year-old weekly Defender, is also publisher of the Daily publication.

Wed. 2-8-56

The first issue of the Daily Defender consisted of 28 tabloid pages which are half the size of the standard newspaper size. It contained many pictures, general news, editorials and other features.

The publisher stated that the Defender will appear in tabloid form on Monday thru Thursday and in standard form on Friday, a total of five different issues a week.

P. 1

With the appearance of the Daily Defender, the nation gets its second daily newspaper published and owned by the Negro race. The Atlanta World became daily in March, 1932.

Defender Enters Ill. Archives

Defender P. 3 Chicago, Ill.

The Archives division of the University of Illinois library at Urbana is preserving the Defender for posterity and as an important reference source for students of journalism, history and sociology.

Icko Iben, the director, has announced that the Defender, daily and weekly, will soon be filmed for keeping along with some 70 odd dailies and over 250 weeklies published in Illinois.

Sat. 2-11-56

The service has been in operation for more than 40 years.

CHICAGO DEFENDER

Weekly Review

Defender P. 2 Sat. 4-14-56 Chicago, Ill.

A Summary Of News From Daily Defender

Ike Says War Order Comes From Congress

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Any order that would put the U. S., into war must come from Congress rather than from himself, President Eisenhower declared in his press conference Wednesday.

Obviously angered when asked if he would order the Marines now in the Mediterrnean to war without first asking Congress, Mr. Eisenhower replied that the question was "almost ridiculous."

* * *

Blame Judge's Suicide On Segregation Issue

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — The mysterious suicide of Justice James J. Mayfield of the Alabama Supreme Court Wednesday was blamed on worry over the controversial segregation issue.

The judge's Negro maid, Lorine Lewis, who discovered the body, told authorities the justice had told her Monday he was having "a devil of a time" over segregation and that someone was trying to get his job away from him.

* * *

Ike To Act On Rights If Congress Refuses

WASHINGTON, D. C. — If Congress refuses his request for a study of present day civil rights, President Eisenhower may call a conference of southern governors and attorneys general and review the racial problem.

The President made this clear in a leter to Florida's Governor Leroy Collins. However, he said he is still "hopeful" that Congress will move ahead on his proposal for a bi-partisan commission on race relations.

* * *

Drop Charges Against Figure In Cole Case

Lack of evidence Wednesday resulted in the dropping of three charges against Robert Kelly Rose of 5506 S. University ave., who had been implicated in the alleged extortion plot involving Mrs. Robert A. Cole.

Charges of carrying a concealed weapon, disorderly conduct and larceny against Rose were nolle prossed and a typewriter and a .32 caliber automatic were restored to him. Mrs. Cole will appear in Jury Court Friday on charges of conspiring to extort $21,900 from two officials of her husband's insurance company.

* * *

Miss. Medical Society Takes Negro Member

CLARKSDALE, Miss. — The Clarksdale and Six Counties Medical society broke a racial barrier of long standing this week when they accepted Dr. O. G. Smith of Clarksdale as its first Negro member.

Dr. Smith has practiced in Clarksdale for 10 years. Membership in the local society gives him automatic membership in the state medical association.

* * *

White Mom Retains 2 Mulatto Children

A white mother of mulatto children won her two girls back this week when the Apellate court reversed a Circuit court order that had deprived her of them.

The court ruled that Circuit Judge Charles S. Dougherty had not property exercised his discretion as a judge in denying the custody of her six and seven year old daughters to the former Bette Fountain on the basis of race.

* * *

Race Baiting Vandals Hit Euclid Park Cars

Race inspired vandalism which has plagued Euclid park for three years broke out again this week as teen toughs raced down Normal avenue between 95th and 97th streets smashing auto windows.

An eyewitness reported that the youths drove through the area throwing heavy objects and firing pistol shots. Last week the Curtis Harmon family of 9543 Lowe was forced to flee after a "concrete object" crashed through the front window.

* * *

Reject Boycotters' Plea For Bus Line

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — An idea to settle the Montgomery bus boycott by forming a Negro owned bus line survived only long enough for city commissioners to slap it down this week.

Commissioners rejected the petition of boycot leaders on the grounds that the present Montgomery city likes "provides excellent bus service for the entire city" and the city could not afford to support two bus lines.

* * *

Dope Addict Linked To 40 Stickup Jobs

A dope addict bandit who discarded his eye glasses after a "job," was linked to more than 40 stickups this week.

Robert Ford, 28, of 4917 Wabash, admitted some 40 holdups after he had been picked out of a lineup by several victims. He said he always wore dark horn-rimmed eyeglasses when he staged a stickup and discarded them afterwards as he eluded a police search for three months. He faces a grand jury hearing.

* * *

S.C. Seeks To Ban All Books On Integration

COLUMBIA, S. C. — A form of book burning was proposed here this week when the state legislature passed a resolution asking the state library board to eliminate from its shelves all books "antagonistic and inimical to the traditions and customs of this state."

A member of the Senate was frank in admiting that the aim of the resolution is to keep white children from "reading about mixing and mongrelization of the two races."

* * *

Adlai, Estes Battle It Out In Florida

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. — The State of Florida this week was the batleground for the major Democratic presidential hopefuls and civil rights was the ammunition.

Both Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver invaded the sunshine state in quest of the 8 electoral votes at stake. The resuls of the May 29h primaries are expeced to be considered extremely significant by political dopesters who predict that other Southern states will follow Florida's lead.

Southern Manifesto Answered By Baptists

A Negro Declaraion of Intention was issued Tuesday as an answer to the Southern Manifesto recently signed by 96 Senators and Congressmen.

The 10-point document was framed by Dr. J. H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention, USA, and signed by several Baptist ministers from all over the country. It carried strong overtones of militancy and pledged resistance to tyranny even at the risk of death.

New Contest Runs Apr 28 To Aug. 18

Defender Chicago, Ill Sat. 4-14-56 p. 1

Two thousand dollars in cash will be split among Chicago Defender agents showing the greatest increases in sales during a contest that gets underway April 28 and ends Aug. 18.

If you are not now an agent for the Defender, you can easily become one and share in this gigantic contest. Just fill out the coupon which appears in this paper.

If you are an agent, you are automatically in the contest. This contest will vitally interest agents all over the country.

WHAT'S IN STORE

There will be 90 cash prizes divided into four classes — Class A, B, C and D with a total of 15 or more prizes in each class ranging from $150 to $5.

READERS CAN HELP

Readers can help by encouraging people in the community to support your agent by buying the Defender from his or her agent each and every week for the current news of the nation.

The success of each contestant entered in the contest rests upon the people of his community. Here is the opportunity of a lifetime for your agent who is your friend. Join hands with him and help him be a winner.

Let us not forget the contest starts April 28 and there will be news of value each week in your Chicago Defender to keep you interested in buying the World's Greatest Weekly.

New Defender To Make Bow Soon

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 12-8-56 p. 1

The most revolutionary change in the format and content of the Chicago Defender in its 50-year history is in the making.

Defender specialists in typography, layout, art, photography and journalism have combined their talent and experience to produce a new modern-size, feature packed, picture laden paper that will make its debut with the issue of [illegible], 1957.

First actual drafting of the new paper began six months ago following a survey of the newspaper publishing field to discover the latest trends and most successful practices in modern day journalism.

POOLED FINDINGS

Various editors and craftsmen concerned with producing the Defender pooled their findings during a series of conferences and from these extracted what in their judgment would produce the finest, most readable weekly newspaper in the field.

Most of the features which have proved popular over the years have been retained.

Among these is the home town news which has been one of the most imitated Defender features over the years. It will be expanded and presented in a lively format, amply illustrated with pictures.

Another Defender trademark, the Billiken page, beloved by children for decades, also will be dressed up and expanded with games, puzzles, letters and other contributions by the Defender little readers.

COMICS RETAINED

All the comics and cartoons are being retained and new ones added. In this connection, a contest has been developed with weekly prizes amounting to $100.

The news presentation in all classifications will be presented in the new abbreviated fashion and fully illustrated by pictures.

The overall impression of the new paper, including its size, is not only pleasing, but practical for those wanting a concise wrap-up of the week's news develoments.

31 1956 CHICAGO DEFENDER

Chicago Defender 31

1955 Honor Roll

31 Defender

INDIVIDUALS

1. DR. T. R. M. HOWARD—For arousing the nation to the criminal conspiracy of white supremacists in the state of Mississippi.

Sat. 1-7-56

2. ARCHBISHOP FRANCIS RUMMEL — Catholic Bishop of New Orleans for steadfastly maintaining the authority of a colored Catholic Priest in the face of revolt of white parishioners.

P. 7

3. E. FREDERICK MORROW — For receiving the highest appointment in the executive branch of the government and becoming the first White House Administrative Assistant.

Chicago Ill.

4. ERNIE BANKS—For breaking all records in the position of short stop with the Chicago Cubs and exhibiting excellent sportsmanship.

5. REV. GEORGE W. LEE—For giving his life in the effort to qualify Negro citizens as voters in Mississippi.

6. LAMAR SMITH—For giving his life in the effort to qualify Negro citizens as voters in the state of Mississippi.

7. EMMETT TILL—For having been sacrificed on the altar of racial bigotry by the white supremacists of Mississippi.

8. GUS COURTS—For standing up for the constitutional rights of all citizens in the face of violent threats and intimidation in Mississippi.

9. JOHN H. JOHNSON — For his contribution to journalism in pioneering in the magazine field.

10. GLORIA LOCKERMAN—For exhibiting high intellectual capacity and inspiring the youth of America.

11. CLARENCE MITCHELL—For his effective and statesmanlike representation of the NAACP in the nation's capital.

INSTITUTIONS

12. AMERICAN AIRLINES—For pioneering among the major airlines in the employment of Negroes as ticket clerks in their Chicago central office.

13. FORD FOUNDATION — For making an historic financial contribution to the fields of health and higher education for the benefit of the total citizenry.

14. GEORGIA TECH STUDENT BODY — For their spontaneous revolt against the Governor of Georgia who sought to bar Georiga Tech from playing Pittsburgh in the Sugar Bowl because of the presence of a Negro player.

15. BROOKLYN DODGERS — For their pioneering and successful demonstration of interracial cooperation in the national sport — baseball.

Defender Honor Roll

Defender

We have been asked on occasion why we put so much emphasis on the Defender Honor Roll and such citations as the Robert S. Abbott Memorial Award each year. Since this week we are announcing the 1955 Honor Roll perhaps this is a good time to comment on the question. We have our reasons.

Sat. 1-7-56

In the first place, we believe that we have an obligation to, as the song puts it, "accentuate the positive." We know that inspiration is a vital force in the life of an individual and that an inspired people can overcome all manner of handicaps and obstacles. Nothing is more inspiring than a good example in the area of human behavior. You recall the old truism, what men have done, men can do.

Chicago Ill.

Apart from these considerations, we believe that it is a matter of simple justice to give people credit to whom credit is due. It is a mean and selfish spirit that denies the honors that should come to those who go beyond the call of duty or make some great sacrifice in the cause of humanity. Incidentally, the act of giving praise, so the psychologists tell us, provides both the giver and the receiver an exhilirating, thrilling and ennobling experience.

P. 7

As we enter the New Year perhaps we might consider, among other resolutions, accentuating the positive and becoming a little more generous with our praise of our worthy neighbors. The hell-giving that comes naturally may serve a noble purpose but a little praise here and there can be downright wholesome for the human spirit.

This year the editors in choosing the persons and organizations for the Defender Honor Roll found that hundreds of Americans, of both races, have made significant contributions to our democracy. Choosing the few we honor was most difficult. To those named and those we did not name, we extend our heartfelt gratitude. We are the beneficiaries of their noble deeds and their great sacrifices and we salute and honor them in the hope that others in their time will rise to emulate their greatness.

Charter Boosters Of Daily Defender

Defender Sat. 1-7-56 P. 1 Chicago Ill.

Thirty-one more persons showed their interest in the forthcoming Daily Defender, Feb. 6, by joining the hundreds of citizens who have taken out charter subscriptions. They are:

31

ALD. LEON M. DESPRES
J. A. HAMLETT, JR.
MRS. EVELYN CLAIBORNE
MRS. AMOS HINSON
JOSEPH SHELLEY
JAMES H. ROGERS
A. A. RAYNER AND SONS
WILLIAM MARTIN
MRS. WILLIAM H. HOLLOWAY
JULIAN A. BLACK
NORMAN HOUSTON
DR. WILLIAM H. WETHERS
JAMES C. PRESCOTT
JAMES B. PARSON
ATTY. DON BONAPARTE
THOMAS P. HARRIS
BROCK JORDAN
ROBERT A. COLE
GEORGE HARRIS
LEON COOPER
S. B. FULLER
JAMES W. CLEMENT
BILLY FALLS
HAROLD THOMPSON
EVA MAE WHEATLEY
ROBERT ANDERSON
FRANKLIN KOONCE
M-SGT. JAMES C. WELLS
TAMAARA DANISH
JOHN WESBY
MRS. ROBERT B. FRANCIS

Other Top '55 News Stories

SPORTS

1—Sugar Ray's comeback
2—Sam Jones' no-hitter
3—Bob Grier plays in Sugar Bowl

ENTERTAINMENT

1—Leontyne Price in TV "Tosca"
2—Gloria Lockerman on $64,000 question
3—Marian Anderson makes Metropolitan Opera debut

Further details on these and other top stories appear elsewhere in this issue.

Charter Boosters Of Daily Defender

Defender Chicago Ill Sat. 1-14-56 P. 1 31

Pride in the past and confidence in the future are two of the prime reasons why Capt. Archie L. Weaver, Chicago's perennial good will ambassador, is active and happy at 72 years. He's so happy and proud of the Chicago Defender that he made out a check for $100 and wrote John H. Sengstacke on New

Year's day, setting forth some of his philosophy.

Capt. Weaver

The $100 check, he explained, is to cover an eight and one half year subscription to the Daily Defender and to renew his present five year subscription to the weekly "to an extension of eight years, so that each subscription will expire at the same time — beyond June 30, 1964."

On that date, Captain Weaver will be 80 years old and being the confirmed optimist he is he says: "I pray that God will spare me to see that date when I will have reached my 80th birthday so that I might again renew my subscriptions for an additional 20-year period and observe the results of complete freedom."

As interest in the forthcoming daily newspaper continues to soar, more and more citizens are coming into the office or calling the Chicago Defender office to make inquiries about early subscriptions.

Those making the first applitions become charter subscribers and will receive framed certificates signifying their role in the advent of the new paper.

Among the latest to add their names to the list of those who have already joined the fold are:

H. C. RETT
CHARLES ARMSTRONG
JOSEPH ATTWELL
O. O. MORRIS
WASHINGTON PARK YMCA
MRS. BESSIE JOHNSON
DR. ELMER MCMILLAN
MRS. GEORGIA S. LEWIS
LEWIS A. H. CALDWELL
BISHOP LOUIS H. FORD
ATTY. JEAN WILLIAMS
REV. A. L. THOMPSON
HENRY W. MCGEE
JOSEPH HANDY, SR.
MRS. FRANCES BEASLEY
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
JAMES W. FITZPATRICK
MRS. BESSIE PARTEE IVY

1955 In Headline Review

Defender 2nd Fronts Run Gamut Of News Recording In Picture Spreads

Defender Sat. 1-14-56 P.12 Chicago, Ill.

AS THE NEW year starts its way on the march into time, your "Mostly About Women" scribe turns the clock back, columnwise and nationally. Highlighting the Women's section each week is its 2nd Front, your CHICAGO DEFENDER's popular picture page.

This scribe takes her "round-up" of major happenings from that source. It was interesting to note, that the camera has run the gamut in recording news, not only of social note, but of civic, history making and inspiring to the adult and youth, as well.

JANUARY

ZETA RHOS (teenagers) end '54 in brilliant frolic. Ultra modernistic Kappa Kastle (Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity house in swank Hyde Park residential area) setting for gala and brilliant frolic.

EXCLUSIVE SNAKES of Chicago introduce 9 'buds. Royal Coterie of Snakes 33rd annual Winter Formal presents coeds from socially prominent families.

DEFENDER SPOTLIGHTS ACHIEVEMENTS OF CHICAGO WOMAN LAWYER, ODAS NICHOLSON. "Farmerette" proves sex is no barrier in Big City.

MARIAN ANDERSON records for RCA Victor aria from opera in which she made Met debut.

FEBRUARY

EXOTIC HAITI, tourists' paradise marches ahead under Pres. Paul Eugene Magloire.

SIXTEEN LOVELY coeds bow i New Orleans at 59th annual Original Illinois club "Carnival Dance."

GIRL FRIDAYS on Capitol Hill: Miss Frances, administrative assistant to the dean of nation's solons, Sen. Herbert Lehman (D., N. Y.); Mrs. Maxine Dargans, who runs the office of Cong. A. Clayton Powell, (Dem. N. Y.); Mrs. Marguerite Ingram is staff assistant to Sen. Paul Douglas (Dem., Ill.);

Juanita Terry Barbee's Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn's) "girl Friday; Cong. Charles Diggs (Dem., Mich.) affairs are handled by Dorothy Quaker and Libby Kauffman; Sen. Stuart Symington (D., Mo.) is aided by Christine McClary and Clara Dixon handles the office for Sen. Barry Goldwater (R., Ariz).

MARCH

HUSBAND - WIFE lawyer team prove that two can work as easily as one. Attys, Jewel Stradford Rogers and hubby John Rogers, Chicago attorneys-at-law, are senior partners of loop Rogers, Rogers and Strayhorn firm.

CAMERA ECHOES OF "Cotton Ball" popular Volunteer Service Guild of Provident hospital's mid-Winter "Golden Fantasy" attracts 2,000 who bring sheets for hospital to Trianon ballroom.

APRIL

'FABULOUS' WORD for North Carolina Guardsmen's annual "social weekend in Durham, N. C. Male aggregation is nationally prominent and yearly fetes lure elite from all over.

CHICAGO SOCIALITES, Mesdames Cephronia Holloway and Almeta Spencer highlight two weeks' vacation in Hawaii with pictures for DEFENDER readers.

NEW YORKERS take to air to say vows in Chicago. Miss Nancy McDonald, who is employed research-consultant for Bureau of Community Education in New York City and groom, Dr. Gregory P. Carter, former captain with the Fifth Air Force and veteran of Korean war, fly to Windy City to repeat vows in the home of the James Quisenberrys.

WINDY CITY PAYS tribute to Congressman William L. Dawson at testimonial - birthday surprise observance in Washington Park YMCA Town Hall. Five hundred leaders witness event which is highlighted by a presentation of an oil painting to Congressman Dawson. Painting was executed by internationally renowned artist, W. Edouard Scott.

MAY

URBANAIDES OF Chicago Urban League annual fashion revue presents fashions and guest commentaries of T-Vs Ted Mack, actor William Marshall; guest model, Olga James, song stylist! Hollywood designer L'Tanya and costumes from "The Prodigal."

CARNIVAL TIME in Virgin Islands panorama of fun, pageantry Defender Editor John H. Sengstacke, and his wife, Mrs. Myrtle Sengtacke, guests of Virgin Island Carnival Time sponsors, witness three-day "Roas' A Time" in St. Thomas, B.W.I.

JUNE

DEFENDER SPOTLIGHTS Chicagoan Olive M. Diggs, former assistant director of the Governor's Commission on Human Relations, as Illinois' human relations "conscience."

CHICAGO HOST to 10th Jack and Jill meet; social fetes many, brilliant.

JULY

21 STATES represened as Phi Gamma Delta (business and professional women's sorority) takes over in week-long Chicago sessions.

WINDY CITY, Detroit "Idlewilders" from national organization in week-end get together in Chicago.

AUGUST

DODO'S (Air Corps and Air Force veterans of World War II and Korean War) in Windy City for reunion meeting. Nineteen States represented.

SEPTEMBER

DEFENDER FAMILY picnics with hosts, the John H. Sengstackes at beautiful Yellow Lakes, Defender editor-publisher's country estate near Buchanan, Mich.

MILWAUKEE OPENS heart to record crowd for National Urban League's 45th annual conference. Sixty branches and 30 states represented at week-long session beginning Labor Day.

OCTOBER

DEFENDER CAMERA turns lens on National Bar Association confab in nation's capital.

DORIE Miller Memorial Foundation program in Chicago highlighted by citations and awards in civic, social welfare and world affairs.

Irene McCoy Gaines, national president, accepts 11th Dorie Miller Memorial award for National Association of Colored Women for its "60 years service in welfare, progress and prestige" of Negro Americans. Defender photographer Tony Rhoden receives Dorie Miller trophy for achievement in photography.

NOVEMBER

CHICAGOLAND'S TOP choral director marks another milestone. Prof. J. Wesley Jones, for 35 yars minister of music at Metropolitan Community church, cited for his contributions to music world; as a top government official, civic leader, YMCA worker and teacher.

UNITED NEGRO College Fund Dunham prismer plays to smart 'first night' throng in Chicago. Sixth annual presentation stars Katherine Dunham and her dancers at Great Northern theater in loop.

$500,000 SHRINE honors Lawless, father and son. The half-million dollar Lawless Memorial Chapel at Dillard university in New Orleans, La., honors the late Dr. Alfred Lawless and his son, Dr. T. K. Lawless of Chicago, internationally famed dermatologist, in two-day dedicatory program.

DECEMBER

FASHIONABLE CROWD dances with Kappas at Sheraton - Blackstone hotel. Ultra smart "first" for elite in famed and exclusive Crystal ballroom of world famed loop hotel.

PHI BETA SIGMA's lure throngs to "fantasy land" at colorful formal dance. Mythical tableau "A Fantasy of the Forest" unique and beautiful.

31 1956

DAILY DEFENDER

New Paper Gets Warm Reception

The first issue of the Daily Defender went on sale Monday morning!

A newsboy dressed in a tri-cornered hat, and carrying a town crier's bell delivered the first copy to Mayor Richard J. Daley, opening a new era in journalism in America.

At the same time, other boys delivered copies to other leading citizens and public office holders. More boys offered the Daily Defender for sale on the streets.

The Daily Defender is a tabloid newspaper, filled with interesting pictures from front page to back. It contains top news of the world, the nation and Chicago, plus the worlds of sports and entertainment in easy to read, easy to handle form.

It is on sale at newsstands, by mail subscription, and by newsboys. It costs five cents per copy, Monday through Thursday morning; on Fridays, the big week end Chicago Defender, with many added features, will be on sale for 15 cents.

Publication of the Daily Defender climaxes 50 years of leadership in the weekly field by the Chicago Defender, which now stands at the head of the eight paper family of Defender Publications.

It is the product of many months of planning by John H. Sengstacke, publisher and editor and his staff of editors, type setters, printers and advertising and circulation personnel.

The facilities and staff of the paper have been expanded to publish the Daily Defender, and every person thoroughly rehearsed in his role for two weeks in order to produce the best paper possible.

Complete wire service for news and pictures from International News service, plus the services of the Community News Service, the Associated Negro press, Defender Publications service, and the Defender staff of reporters, photograhers, correspondents and stringers will form the news gathering force of the Daily Defender.

The Daily Defender will offer all the departments and services of a standard newspaper, plus exclusive comics and features. The departments include foreign, national and local news, pictures, amusements, society and women's news, and sports.

The following comics will appear exclusively every day: Roy Rogers, Ozark Ike, Etta Kett, Donald Duck, Henry, and the Flop Family, plus the cartoons, Glamor Girls and Merry Menagerie. A daily crossword puzzle, horoscope, a Cryptoquote, and Bennett Cerf's column, Try and Stop Me, plus new local columns, So They Say, Off the Record, and Day by Day With the Women, will appear in the Daily Defender.

Initial distribution of the Daily Defender was 100,000 copies.

31 1956

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD

WORLD MANAGING EDITOR GORDON GOES TO HARVARD

Daily World

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — William Gordon, managing editor of the Atlanta Daily World, has been invited to participate in Harvard University's International Seminar, currently in session here, it was announced by Henry Kissinger, director.

Sat. 7-21-56

Atlanta, Ga.

The well-known newspaperman, who left Atlanta Friday night, will speak and lead discussion groups on problems of the South as they affect the Negro.

P. 1

The seminar is composed of a group of young leaders from Europe, Asia and Africa who are invited at the expense of the University to discuss problems of this country and their respective countries.

A Nieman fellow in 1952-53, Mr. Gordon has been invited back to Harvard each year to take part in the seminar.

Daily fights $1 million libel suit

Afro-American P. 13 Sat. 5-5-56 Baltimore, Md.

ATLANTA (NNPA) — Attorneys have been authorized to file an answer to $1 million libel suit filed against C. A. Scott as editor and general manager of the Atlanta Daily World.

The suit was filed recently in Fulton County by a white woman who lives in the northwest section — the Hightower-Baker Road area — where several demonstrations and bombings of colored homes have occurred.

She claims she was damaged by an article carried in the World on the bombings last February.

* * *

THE SUIT also claims that the article was published because the plaintiff is "white and outspoken for states rights since the Supreme Court decisions as to public school integration."

It also states that she "has done naught to harm or injure the colored race."

Ray Gary of Atlanta and Herbert Morgan of Decatur are listed as attorneys in the case against the World editor.

* * *

MR. SCOTT said he had talked with all concerned in the case and that the article in question had been written by a reporter and was based on information supplied by police reports.

He added that there was no malice in publishing the article which mentioned only a "Mrs. Holmes" in the story concerning the housing disorders.

"The suit they are attempting to bring against me amounts to a class suit against colored people," he said.

* * *

SEVERAL ATTACKS on colored homes have occurred this year. The first bombing occurred Feb. 25 at 2540 Baker Rd. The house had been purchased by Jewell Stewart Jr.

The second bombing took place Feb. 29 at 2431 Baker Rd., NW. It had been bought by Alfred E. Stephens.

A third explosion came March 25 at 508 Woods Dr., NW. The family of Mrs. Jeanette Howard was in the house at the time.

* * *

THE LAST explosion to date happened early Friday, April 13, at the home of Mrs. Gertrude Anderson at 2576 Old Know Rd., NW.

No arrests have been made in connection with the four attacks. Several white persons, however have been questioned by the Fulton County grand jury in connection with them.

Editor Sees Race Bias In Ga. Suit

Defender P. 4 Sat. 5-5-56 Chicago, Ill.

ATLANTA — (ANP) — Attorney's have been authorized to file an answer to a suit claiming libel against C. A. Scott as editor and general manager of the Atlanta Daily World.

The suit filed several days ago in Fulton county is being brought in the name of a white woman who lives in the northwest section of the city—the Hightower-Baker Road area—where have occurred several demonstrations and bombings of homes bought by Negroes.

It claims she was damaged and asks $1,000,000 because of an article carried in the World on the bombings last February.

SUIT CHARGES

The suit also claims that the article was carried because of the plaintiff "being white and outspoken for states rights since the Supreme Court decisions as to public school integration" and it "avers that she has done naught to harm or injure the Negro race."

Atty. Ray Gary of Atlanta and Atty. Herbert Morgan of Decatur are listed as attorneys against the World editor.

Scott, in commenting on the action, said he had talked with all concerned in the case and stated the article referred to, had been written by a reporter and was based on information supplied by police reports.

He added there was no malice in the printing of the article which only mentioned "a Mrs. Holmes" in a story concerning the housing disorders. "The suit they are attempting to bring against me amounts to a class suit against the Negro race" he said.

SEVERAL BOMBINGS

Several attacks on Negro homes have occurred this year. The first bombing happened Feb. 25 at 2540 Baker Road. The house had been purchased by Jewell Stewart, jr.

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No arrests have been made in connection with any of these attacks. However, several white persons have been questioned in connection with them by the Fulton County Grand Jury.

31 1956

LOUISVILLE DEFENDER

Lincoln University Honors Alpha's General President

World Jan. 3-11-56
B'ham, Ala.

JEFFERSON CITY MO.— Frank L. Stanley, Editor-Publisher of the Louisville Defender and General President of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., was given an award by Lincoln University for outstanding accomplishments in Journalism. The citation of merit for contributions to better human relations was issued at the University's eighth Annual Headliner Week banquet, where Stanley was the principal speaker.

Other citees wer Williams O. Walker, Editor of the Cleveland Call-Post and Irving Williamson, Advertising Manager of the St. Louis Argus. Five publications and a news gathering agency were also honored: The St Louis Post Dispatch, Redbook, Life Magazine, The New York Post, Reader's Digest, and The City News Bureau of Chicago.

The citation presented to Publisher Stanley by Lincoln's acting president, Earl E. Dawson, read:

"In recognition of his achievement as a newspaper writer, editor and publisher of the Louisville Defender, which he made into a formidable voice in behalf of underprivileged minorities in the state of Kentucky. For his enduring interest in the importance of combined newspaper strength in pressing for reform of the seamier side of American life, for a devoted concern with the education of the young and their adjustment to American life and for stable organizational abilities and administrative skill that have led to creditable contributions to his own community to the weekly press association, to the state, and the nation."

In accepting the award Stanley said, 'It is with deep humility and great pride that I accept this coveted honor on behalf of my coworkers and loving family who are mainley responsible for this recognition.

Earlier in addressing an integrated audience of students, teachers, government officials and representatives of press, radio and television Stanley admonished, "Because of other medium is so possessively dear to people and none operates more closely to the fundamentals of life, our great American press must ever be concerned about the freedom and security of every American and most articulate on the problems of our time."

Stanley continued, "American Journalism is replete with famous warriors in the public's interest, who true to their heritage of birth, in passion and protest dedicated themselves to the welfare of all people.

Stanley charged the press with the responsibility of "seeing beyond its own social and economic orientation to the whole public in seeping the issue of social equality clear and refusing to let reactionaries cloud or hog the picture."

31 1956

EBONY MAGAZINE

Ebony Magazine To Give Annual Progress Report On Negro In Its January Issue

Globe Fri. 12-7-56 P.1
Nashville Tenn.

Chicago—The annual Negro progress report published each year by EBONY, is featured in the January issue of the magazine. As in the previous year, school integration was the best yardstick by which to measure Negro progress in 1956. Regretably, figures showed that the classroom desegregation, which moved at a gallop in 1955, had slowed to a trot a year later

In November, 1956, roughly 320,000 Negroes were attending mixed schools in the South. However, a breakdown of the figures show that fewer than 65,000 of these entered mixed schools in 1956. Furthermore, an estimated 2,400,000 Negroes still are attending completely segregated schools and five states (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina) do not admit Negroes to white public schools at all.

Not content to resist the Negro's climb toward full citizenship, hostile whites in the South struck at the very nerve center of the civil rights forces by outlawing the NAACP in Texas, Louisiana and Alabama.

Globe P.2

On the credit side of the civil rights ledger, perhaps the most dramatic incident on Negro progress occurred last March when the San Antonio (Texas) city council, unanimously passed an ordinance forbidding segregation in all public facilities.

Among other advances recorded were: The U. S. Supreme Court wiped out bus segregation in the South; Texas Democrats brought its first Negro delegate (and the first from the South) to the party's National Convention in Chicago; When the CIO and AFL merged, two Negroes were appointed as vice presidents; Assistant Secretary of Labor, J. Ernest Wilkins, was elected president of the Methodist Judicial Council, the highest post a layman can hold; Negro entertainers and athletes were sent overseas by our state department on goodwill tours; and, U. S. Air Force Major Oscar J. Chapman, former president of Delaware State College, was appointed deputy director of the propulsion research unit at the huge Chanute Field in Illinois.

Retired Member Of Supreme Court Is Sure Law Will Stand

Ebony Magazine Reveals What One Of Notable Nine Thinks Of Attempt By Scofflaw Elements To make Mockery of Anti-Segregation Edict Of May 17, 1954; Predicts Mississippi Will Get Violent But Be Forced To Yield

Under the Department of "Education," Ebony Magazine for December has an article titled, "Justice Minton's Biggest Decision," by Allan Morrison."

The article is, of course, about Justice Sherman Minton, A Democrat who very recently retired from the Supreme Court because of ill health and has been succeeded by the Hon. William J. Brennan, Democrat of New Jersey.

Justice Minton, a native of Indiana has made a statement which it is easy to predict will point the way of future decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court will take in future litigation over the segregation issue.

Globe P.1

For instance in answer to the question as to what position he believed the high court will take regarding the silly assertion of "interposition" which some one hundred Southerners took regarding the Court's decision of May 17, 1954, Justice Minton is reported in the Ebony article as follows:

Nashville Tenn.

Interposition Dismissed

"He dismisses contemptously Southern theories of "interposition" the hoary, outmoded idea that a state can 'interpose its authority between the alleged will of the people and the federal government. 'There isn't a damn thing to interposition, Minton said heatedly, pausing to spit into a large spittoon on the floor beside his desk. 'Nullification and interposition are one and the same thing. There's no difference between them. Both are desnned to fail.

Fri 12-28-56

Urges Moderation

The article says Justice Minton contrasts the growing bitterness and violence which have marked the anti-integration activities of pro-segregation whites throughout the South and praises the restraint shown by Negro citizens in Texas, Kentucky and Tenessee communities. He also refers to the new militance rising among the Negro people and says that "In some way this militancy is a healthy thing but it can be overdone too." I think moderation has got to be the keynote. Moderation was the keynote of the 1955 implementation decree. It is all right to go slow, but go. Don't sit there. I say make genuine, concreted, specific effort to do something about implementing the courts ruling."

Globe

Justice Minton indicates a belief that it is going to be a long time before desegregation will be carried out in some sections of the South, including Mississippi and South Carolina but holds out no hope for either of these two historically "backward" states failing to obey the mandate of the Supreme Court.

Fri 12-28-56

What is indicated in Justice Minton's interview on desegregation is a suggestion for Negroes to realize that in some sections there are people who are actually hysterical in their determniation to thwart the ruling of the Supreme Court and that they actually believe they will succeed in doing so. He betlieves these radical elements will employ even more desperate methods in their campaign says he: "In some states like Mississippi, which are deeply steeped in racial prejudice, I expect there will be abolition of public schools if these states are ordered to desegregate.

Nashville Tenn.

As is well known, these are the facts that face Mississippians:

Colored leaders know that the abolition of public schools will more seriously affect them than it will the radical whites. Without public education, the large amount of Federal money going for colored children's education will be cut off and all going to white children, also.

Some wise colored leaders are insisting that it will be wise to ignore the Mississippians and turn them over to the Federal Government for treatment. Colored people it is said would find it more profitable for the immediate future to concentrate upon having the Federal government crack down on the Mississippi politicians and force them to carry out the law that insists that all citizens shall have he right to vote. Afer that is done then very quickly other politicians will come forth advocating the return to public education. They will be supported by a majority of Mississippians who will be glad to get from under the burden of paying higher taxes and assessments required to maintain private schools.

For a short time ONLY, itis believed, Mississippians will be able to get away with murder so to speak, but solely because Uncle Sam will refuse to exert all the power he has to punish those who defy the Government.

As surprising as it might sound, Mississippi has within its confines many white persons of just as high character as can be found in the other states. They have been cowed by the politicians, lacking anything better to use as campaign slogans than "I hate Negroes, how would you like for a nigger to marry your sister or daughter." Such slogans arouse the wool hat boys of the backward states who muster enough power at the ballot box to defeat more reasonable men and women. But they will certainly be defeated when the votes of Negroes are added to those of the fairminded white persons in the state.

With regard to the hysterical attitudes that certain elements have assumed toward Negroes, to the extent of murdering them and getting freed of their crimes by state government, one hase to assume that Uncle Sam ctually has no power to do anything about these crimes. But it must be remembered that the Constitution charges the government with the responsibility of seeing to it that each state maintains a "Republican form of government" A state "respcting" the rights to murded citizens indiscriminately and letting the murderers go free, is not a Republican orm of government, by no stretch of immagination.

Quite an enlightening passage is noted in the historic statement Justice Minton has in Ebony. It is the following paragraph:

"On the touchy question of federal action to deal with violence engendered by white Citizens Councils, pledged to prevent integration, Justice Minton is quite specific. 'You couldn't reject the use of federal force in suppressing violence, he says.

To Justice Minton, it is inevitable that federal authority will have to be used some time, somewhere in enforcing the Supreme Court's ruling on segregation. To clarify his meaning on this point he asks a disarmingly simple question the answer to which is fraught with serious sonsequences for those who have chosen the path of defiance. Suppose a federal court issues an order and somebody disobeys it? That immediately raises the question of the federal court enforcing its own order."

Let it be remembered that those bad fellows up in Clinton, Tenn., went wid with enthusiasm over the way a Cinton jury set free a windy propagandist from Washington who came down to that city and began showing the peaceful citizens of the little town how to prevent the attendance of a few coored children at the public school to which they had been assignued by Federal and state law. Just remember how President Eisenhower's Attoorney General stepped in and stated that the defiance by anybody in the town of the law was defiance o fthe authority of the United States, and now the FBI stepped into the picture. Remember how the "bullies" were rounded up and sent to jail and soon will be on trial in Federal Court. Remember how quiet things got in Clinton when Uncle Sam actually went into action. Remember also that these colored boys and girls have gone right back to the Clinton High School, and now the "bozo" from Washington has gotten as qiet as a mouse, despite his belief that he could do as he pleased

in Clinton because no jury there would convict him for engaging in "free speech."

All said by Jusice Minton merely confirms what all fairminded and literate people of this country have known all along: "You can't defy Uncle Sam and get by."

Of course Senator Clifford Allen isn't defying Uncle Sam with his proposed bill for maintaining compulsory schools. Our senator is a lawyer as well as a politician. Senator Allen's bill is passed by the coming legislature, will later be carried to the Supreme Court and get thrown out the window, and the person in Nashville who will be least surprised by the fate which overtook his masterpiece will be Senator Clifford Allen himself.

"The Negro And The Destiny Of Democracy"

On March 17, 1827, in New York City, John B. Russwurm cranked his old hand press and turned out the first issue of "Freedom's Journal," the first Negro newspaper to be published in the United States.

In it appeared the following editorial comment: "The civil rights of a people being of the greatest value, it shall ever be our duty to vindicate our brethren, when oppressed; and to lay the case before the public. In the spirit of candor and humility we intend by a simple presentation of facts, to lay our case before the public, with a view to arresting the progress of prejudice and to shield ourselves against the consequence of evils. We wish to conciliate all and to irritate none, yet we must be firm and unwavering in our principles and preserving in our efforts."

Like all great statements of truth, these penetrating words of John B. Russwurm are timeless. They are as true today as when they were written 129 years ago.

Atlanta Jr

John B. Russwurm could not foresee that a Civil War would be fought to free men's bodies. He could not predict that ninety years later the struggle would be continuing in an effort to free men's souls.

Jnes. 3-13-56

But he could and did see that prejudice given priority over principle could lead to naught but chaos and evil and that no quarter could be given.

At a time when the forces of prejudice and hate are gathering their forces throughout many states in the South, even greater vigilance and perserverance must be found if the inevitable chaos of such a course is to be averted.

The issues are simple. Are we, or are we not, a nation governed by law? Is that law applicable to some men or all men? Does, or does not, the fact of United States citizenship imply certain inherent dignities, securities and equalities? Does, or does not, democracy as a way of life deserve to survive?

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Call P. 18

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Fri. 3-16-56

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At a time when the forces of prejudice and hate are gathering their forces throughout many states in the South, even greater vigilance and perserverance must be found if the inevitable chaos of such a course is to be averted.

Kansas City, Mo.

The Negro press today, on the anniversary of the founding of "Freedom's Journal," pledges itself anew to continue fighting with vigor and integrity until full democracy becomes a reality for every individual.

31 1956

GENERAL

Our "Free Press"

Journal & Guide

A GROUP of daily newspapers which includes the *Washington Star*, The *Richmond News Leader*, and the Norfolk *Ledger-Dispatch-Star*, has been currently carrying editorials, special articles, and what will appear to many readers to be "ghost-written" letters to the open forums of the papers, obviously designed to smear the Arlington school board and the colored school children of Washington, where partial integration has been in effect in the public schools for a little more than a year.

The *News Leader* series of editorials sparked the interposition movement.

Norfolk, Va.

The articles are identified as a "survey" of the school system, although the sources cited are "a teacher," "a principal," "a board member," "an attorney," "a parent," "a real estate dealer," and finally, in the list of anonymous sources, "a Negro leader."

The only individual quoted who was actually identified is DR. MARGARET JUST BUTCHER, a Negro member of the School Board, who admitted that there were academic problems, but attributed them to the inferior conditions in the Washington segregated Negro schools during the past seventy-five years.

Sat. 2-25-56

DR. HOBART CORNING, Superintendent of Schools for the District of Columbia, has denied in toto the alleged facts set forth in the articles.

A curious aspect of the "crusade," if it may be so dignified, seems to be the stigmatizing of Negro school children, as a class, as being guilty of gross immoral and criminal acts during school hours. This is claimed, but no proof of it is furnished, except hearsay. It is claimed in the letters that the Negro children steal, physically assault teachers and other pupils, and make indecent approaches to white girls. But there are no verifiable witnesses, no arrests, no reports of misconduct to school authorities or to the police. All of the "reports" were made to the reporters who wrote the articles, or, are related in letters to the Open Forums.

One of the most surprising aspects of these newspaper crusades is that studied assaults upon the general character of Negro youths are so concealed as to constitute a clever evasion on the part the newspapers involved of responsibility under the libel laws.

* * *

GENERAL JAN SMUTS, a former Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, said in the course of a speech in New York shortly before his death that "the Negro is the most patient animal known to mankind except the ass." The late DR. ROBERT R. MOTON, who spoke on the same program questioned the Prime Minister at the time and received a public apology. But in a relative sense GENERAL SMUTS was right.

Negroes *are* painfully slow to recognize and properly react to insults and gratuitous disparagement of their race. They are slow to protest. They hesitate to become involved in protests which express their resentment. Probably these are characteristics of their Christian fortitude. Negroes believe that God will punish their oppressors and detractors.

Meanwhile, the press has a moral responsibility in the face of the great freedom it enjoys in America. Some of its members at times grossly abuse their privilege. The least the press could do is to refrain from unnecessarily poisoning public opinion against minority groups. It has a moral responsibility to be exact and truthful in news reporting and editorializing. Also, when a newspaper permits an individual to use its columns under the cloak of anonymity to villify others, it falls into the classification of irresponsible journalism.

In 1906 JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES used his *Evening News* to *create* the terrible Atlanta riot. There was not one scintilla of truth in the editorials and news articles carried for days in Graves' newspaper. The result was one of the most horrible race riots in American history. It can happen in Washington, Richmond or Norfolk. Enough studied arousement of the basest passions of the majority will do it.

179 Negro Papers Function Today L. U. Survey Shows; 15 in Alabama

Bystander P. 6

Jefferson City, Mo. — There are eleven fewer Negro newspapers operating in the United States today than there were a year ago. The annual country-wide poll conducted by the Lincoln university (Mo.) department of journalism arrived at a total of 179 papers by mid-February.

Ohio 3-8-56

Results of the survey have been published in a state-by-state listing arranged by cities. The list may be purchased at nominal cost on order from the department of Journalism. The count includes only commercially-operated newspapers of predominantly weekly frequency.

Fifteen Negro newspapers are published in the state of Alabama, which leads the country. Only three other states number papers in double figures—California and Tennessee with 12 each, and Texas, with 11.

Des Moines, Iowa

Two Dailies

The 179 total includes two dailies, five semi-weeklies, three bi-weeklies and 169 weeklies. They have a combined weekly circulation of slightly less than two million, or 1,939,750 copies.

The last Negro newspaper to be established is a daily—the Daily Defender at Chicago. The Daily World at Atlanta, Ga., has been in existence since March 13, 1932.

During the past year 16 new papers were started or added to the Lincoln University record. Twenty-seven newspapers expired during the year. Alabama and Ohio head the casualty list with four each. Pennsylvania had three and California, two.

Missouri tied Alabama at three in launching additional papers in 1955 and early 1956. The three Missouri papers are confined to St. Louis.

Some States None

Fifteen states have no Negro newspapers: Delaware, Idaho, Maine, New Hampshire, Montana, Vermont, Rhode Island, Wyoming, Connecticut, North Dakota, South Dakota, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, and West Virginia.

Single papers published in the District of Columbia and Alaska are included in the grand total.

179 Negro Newspapers In Existence

Call P. 3
Sat. 3-9-56
Kansas City, Mo.

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo. — There are 11 fewer Negro newspapers operating in the United States today than there were a year ago. The annual country-wide poll conducted by the Lincoln university department of journalism arrived at a total of 179 papers by mid-February.

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The Negro Press, Age 129

Journal & Guide P.10
Sat. 3-17-56
Norfolk, Va.

ON March 17, 1827, in New York City, JOHN B. RUSSWURM cranked his old hand press and turned out the first issue of *"Freedom's Journal,"* the first Negro newspaper to be published in the United States.

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"The civil rights of a people being the greatest value, it shall ever be our duty to vindicate our brethren, when oppressed; and to lay the case before the public. In the spirit of candor and humility we intend by a simple presentation of facts to lay our case before the public, with a view to arresting the progress of prejudice and to shield ourselves against the consequence of evils. We wish to conciliate all and to irritate none, yet we must be firm and unwavering in our principles and persevering in our efforts."

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Magazines and Dixie

Afro-American P.13
Sat. 4-7-56
Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON — A southern writer in Washington said last week that the national magazines are becoming less harsh in their articles dealing with the South.

He theorized that letters from the South criticizing former magazine treatment have borne fruit.

A case in point was the recent cover story Time Magazine did on Sen. James O. Eastland, vocal Mississippi segregationist.

* * *

SAID THE senator's assistant: "We were looking for the worst when the magazine did a cover piece on the senator last week.

"But it was a lot better than we thought it would be. On the whole, they were much more fair than in the past."

He noted that previously, Time Magazine "has made nasty comments about Senator Eastland."

Horace Mann Bond Says Negro Press Only "Free Press"

Globe & Independent
Nashville, Tenn.
Fri. 6-1-56

Dr. Horace Mann Bond, a native of Nashville and for several years past the president of Lincoln (Pa.) University declared in a recent speech in Philadelphia the Negro press is the freest press in the United States. The remark was made while the educator was addressing a banquet given by the Philadelphia Tribune Charities.

Said he:

"While other papers cannot fulfill their pledge to maintain a free press, the Negro press is and has always been a free press." He acclaimed the Tribune the freest press in Philadelphia.

Dr. Bond was a member of the Fisk faculty before being chosen president of Lincoln, the oldest Negro University in the United States. It was established in 1854 and is now 100 years old.

179 Negro Papers Function Today Lincoln Survey Shows

Informer Sat. 3-17-56 P.5
Houston, Tex.

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo — There are eleven fewer Negro newspapers operating in the United States today than there were a year ago. The annual country-wide poll conducted by the Lincoln university (Mo)department of journalism arrived at a total of 179 papers by mid-February.

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Negro Press Did Much For Ike

Journal P.1
Sat. 11-17-56
Wilmington, N.C.

Although 24 million Americans Nov. 6 voted for and wanted Adlai Stevenson, Democrat, for President, 33 million other Americans wanted Dwight Eisenhower, Republican, reelected for another term in the White House—the result was a virtual landslide for "Ike" in his second successful bid for the highest office in the Land.

Another widely noticed result of the election was the noticeable defection of Negro voters in the urban North and South to the Republican party. It reminded observers of the 1932 elections when over 70 per cent of the Negro voters, after 69 years loyalty, left the Republican party for the Democrats.

Indications that the vote was heading back Republican-way, at least on the national level, and in the Presidential races when it was revealed a few days before the election that 22 Negro newspapers which had been supporters of the Democrats since the time of FDR had switched their political allegiance and urged their readers to vote for Eisenhower and Nixon.

The national drift to Eisenhower was cleverly managed and engineered by Val. J. Washington, Republican National Committee director of minorities.

Washington, a former newspaperman and an astute politician has traveled thousands of miles making speeches, cajoling faltering Democrats into switching and masterminding a subtle public relations campaign that had President Eisenhower photographed in more pictures with both foreign and U. S. Negroes than all of the other Presidents preceding Eisenhower put together.

During the campaign he secured the services of P. B. Young, editor of the Norfolk Journal and Guide,, one of the most accomplished journalists of the nation to direct the public relations phases of the campaign.

Washington obtained the cooperation of four Negro papers in printing brochures filled with photos of Negro appointees of the Eisenhower administration from Ernest Wilkins, asistant secretary of Labor on down to Negro-American attaches at foreign legations.

These brochures were inserted in some pro-Ike papers and three other big papers developed their own "I Like Ike" editions.

Papers Which Switched

The papers which switched to Eisenhower in this campaign include: the Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.; the Afro-American, Baltimore, Md.; Amsterdam News, New York City; Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City; Negro Labor News, Houston, Tex.; The Informer, Houston, Texas; Louisiana Weekly, New Orleans; Call and Post, Cleveland, Ohio; Detroit (Mich.) Tribune; Omaha (Neb.) Guide; Tri-State Defender, Memphis, Tenn.; Los Angeles (Calif.) Sentinel.

Also: The Independent, Philadelphia, Pa.; Wilmington (N. C.) Journal; Carolina Times, Durham, N. C.; The Carolinian, Raleigh, N. C.; Savannah (Ga.) Tribune; The Outlook, Greensboro, N. C.; Louisville (Ky.) Defender; Kansas City (Kans.) Plaindealer; and Philadelphia Tribune.

Other Papers Supporting Eisenhower

Other papers supporting the Republican Party candidates in 1956 as in 1952, in addition to those switching from the Democrats, include the following:

Oakland (Calif.) Voice; Atlanta (Ga.) Daily World; Iowa Bystander, Des Moines; Pittsburgh (Pa.) Courier; Chattanooga (Tenn.) Observer; Buffalo (N.Y.) Criterion; Hoosier Herald, Indianapolis, Ind.; Illinois Conservator, Springfield, Ill.; California Voice, Los Angeles, Colorado Statesman, Denver; Oklahoma Independent, Muskogee; Indianapolis (Ind.) Recorder; Los Angeles (Calif.) Record; New Jersey Herald-News, Newark; Columbus (Ga.) World; Birmingham (Ala.) World, and the Memphis (Tenn.) World.

31 1956

GOLDEN TORCH

Ala. Youth To Edit Torch

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
8-18-56

CINCINNATI, Ohio — Arthur Long, 19, of Bessemer, Ala., will be editor of the Gold Torch, student publication of Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio, during the 1956-1957 term.

A student at Central State since the fall of 1954, Mr. Long is a perennial member of the dean's list; majoring in English with plans for specializing in journalism after gaining the Bachelor of Arts degree.

Currently, in company with his mother, Mrs. Sallie M. Long, and his niece, Yvonne Long, he is visiting friends here. The trio will move on to Chicago, Ill., where they will be hosted by his

ARTHUR LONG

sister, Mrs. Sallie M. Thomas. Mr. Long will matriculate at Central State early in September.

31 1956

GRADE TEACHER MAGAZINE

Dr. Chandler Gets Job With Magazine

Advertiser Montgomery West 5-16-56

DARIEN, Conn., May 15—Grade Teacher Magazine appointed Dr. J. King Chandler III as a regional representative for the summer of 1956. Grade Teacher is a professional magazine for teachers designed to assist them in developing improved teaching methods.

Dr. Chandler will visit teacher-training institutions in the states of Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Florida. His responsibilities include demonstrations, exhibits and enlistments of subscribers.

12-B

He was trained at Wilberforce University, Payne Theological seminary, Wilberforce, Ohio, and Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York City. He served as president of Daniel Payne College, Birmingham, Ala., for five years. Currently, he is a regular teacher in the Cincinnati Public Schools, Cincinnati, Ohio He will work with Grade Teacher for the 1956 summer season only. In September he will return to the Cincinnati public Schools.

Dr. Chandler is very well qualified to represent this modern professional magazine, according to a statement released by Irene Duckworth, manager agency department for Grade Teacher.

Del. prof appointed historical abstractor

Afro-American

Baltimore, Md

DOVER, Del. — Roland A. Sorensen, professor of social science at Delaware State College, has been selected as an abstractor for "Historical Abstracts," a quarterly scholastic periodical.

21-56

Mr. Sorensen's special field of interest will deal with the Scandinavian countries of Norway, Sweden and Denmark. He will prepare abstracts from journals in these countries for the American periodical.

31

A3

The Till Case, Desegregation Big News Events Of 1955

The two big stories of the year were the Mississippi lynch-murder of Emmett Louis Till, and the desegregation movement in Southern public schools.

These two news events attracted interest throughout the nation and abroad, and must be placed on the Informer's top ten articles of 1955.

Herewith are the headlines, which the Informer believes created more reader interest in Negro newspapers during the twelve months of 1955:

(1) The Emmett Till Case.

(2) The desegregation movement in public schools.

(3) The Archie Moore, Rocky Marciano championship fight.

(4) The Interstate Commerce Commission's ruling ending segregation on trains, buses, depots, etc.

(5) Mississippi Violence and the Citizens Councils.

(6) Dorothy Dandridge's rise to motion picture stardom.

(7) The Indian ambassador's incident at the Houston Municipal Airport.

(8) The Catholic Church's firm stand against race bias in Louisiana.

(9) Walter White's death.

(10) Peggie King's murder of a prominent and wealth California white woman.

Other stories which made big headlines in the Negro Press this year were Dr R O'Hara Lanier's resignation as president of Texas Southern University; The no-hit, no run pitching effort of the Chicago Cubs' Sad Sam Jones; The Annie Lee Moss - Sen Joseph McCarthy controversy; The NAACP's petitioning of the State Fair of Texas in Dallas; Rep Adam Clayton Powell's attendance to the Asian-African in Indonesia; The Georgia-Tech Sugar Bowl controversy; Veterans land scandal; Sugar Ray Robinson's comeback; and Negroes on White House social list.

THE TILL CASE

Emmett Louis Till, 15, a Chicago boy, was taken from his aged uncle's farm in Money, Mississippi, in August by two white men. One of the men carried a pistol in his hand. Several days later Till's mutilated body was pulled out of the Tallahatchie River, near Money. He had been beaten badly and shot through the head.

Mississippi authorities immediately charged John Milam and his half brother, Roy Bryant, with kidnap and murder. It was Milam and Bryant, who admitted they were the two white men who forced Till from his uncle's home at pistol point.

But both men denied murdering the Chicago boy, who allegedly had wolf whistled at Bryant's wife.

After a sensational murder trial which lasted many weeks, Bryant and Milam were acquitted by an all-white Mississippi jury. Several weeks later a Mississippi Grand Jury no-billed the two men of the kidnap charges.

Newsmen from throughout the nation and the world gathered at Sumner, Mississippi, where the Till trial was held. And when the trial ended most observers believed as did Aux Ecoutes, a Paris, France, newspaper:"

"Never was there a more abominable travesty of the truth. The assassins presented themselves with weapons to the house from which the child was kidnapped. The violent act is recognized, for after being acquitted they will, it seems, be prosecuted for kidnapping."

DESEGREGATION

Desegregation in public schools moved at a quick pace in most Southern states. However, in the die-hard states-Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina-no move to desegregate has been made. Instead, high officials in these states have declared open defiance of the U S Supreme Court's decision, which said desegregation should be enforced with "all deliberate speed."

States taking the lead in the public school movement are West Virginia, Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Oklahoma.

In Texas, Arkansas, Delaware, North Carolina, Tennessee, the sentiments are divided but progress is apparent.

In several Southern states, too, desegregation advanced in parks and recreational facilities and in public transportation, the latter which will be discussed briefly under the Interstate Commerce Commission ruling.

MARCIANO VERSUS MOORE

The big sport story of "55 was the much publicized heavyweight title fight between Champ Rocky Marciano and Challenger Archie Moore in September in New York Yankee Stadium. It was a good fight until the ninth, when the Rock caught up with Arch, and left the ageing fighter on the canvas.

THE ICC RULING

As the last month of 1955 begins the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) ruled that racial segregation of interstate passengers in trains, buses and railroad depots, is illegal and directed that such practices of segregation should be discontinued as of January 10, 1956.

As in other cases involving the mingling of the races, the deep South-Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carlonia, and Mississippi-declares they will oppose and resist the ruling.

MISSISSIPPI VIOLENCE

The most outspoken state against compliance with recent court rulings to give the Negro equal rights before the law is Mississippi. Here is where white Citizens Councils were first organized; here is where the Rev George A. Lee, a militant NAACP leader, was shot and killed by murderers who have not been brought to justice; here is where Gus Courts, who was wounded in his home town Belzoni, because he, too, was an NAACP leader.

In Mississippi, it has been written that the Citizens Councils are putting the economic squeeze on Negroes, and are leading the movement to keep Negroes from voting as well as mingling with whites in any form.

DOROTHY DANDRIDGE STARS

Pretty and charming Dorothy Dandridge was big news in the movie industry this year. The beautiful Dot climbed to such heights in the motion picture field that she was nominated for an Oscar for her performance in Carmen Jones. Miss Dandridge is also going places on television.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH Vs. RACISM

Catholics stand against racism throughout the nation made news, but particularly so in Louisiana. In Jesuits Bend, La, in October, when white parisioners objected to attend Mass officiated by the Rev Gerald Lewis, a Negro priest, the Most Reverend Joseph F Rummel, Archbishop of the New Orleans Diocese, closed down the church of the rebelling whites.

In the Diocese of Lafayette, the Most Reverend Jules B Jeanmard, excommunicated two Catholic white women for beating a teacher who taught a mixed catechism class.

Bishop Rummel's stand and action have been praised by the Vatican.

THE HOUSTON AIRPORT INCIDENT

In Houston, Texas, a news event which attracted world wide attention occurred in August, at the Houston Municipal Airport. The Indian Ambassador to the United States was embarrassed and caused embarrassment when he was mistaken for a Negro and had to sit in a small room at the Airport Restuarant to eat his lunch.

WALTER WHITE'S DEATH

The two outstanding Negroes who died this year were Walter White and Dr Mary McLeod Bethune. Mr White for many years directed the NAACP, thereby devoting most of his life to acquiring equal rights for the American Negro.

Mrs Bethune, the founder of Bethune-Cookman College in Florida, was a greater leader of her race, especially Negro women.

A 1955 BIG MURDER

Another woman made big news in 1955, but in a different. Peggy King, a one time Houston resident, was sent to prison for the rest of life after she killed her wealthy Beverly Hills, California, employer, Mrs Katie Hayden, with an ax.

Informer Group And Publisher Awarded

Informer Sat. 1-21-56 P. 1

Houston, Tex.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Office of the President
"TOP KNOT"
Linville Falls, North Carolina
New Year, 1956

It would be proper, if it were possible, to present a suitable award, a citation of merit, to each of those elect spirits who during the past year have made their voices heard, their influence felt in the cause of respect for law and public morality in the South. We, of the Southern Regional Council number you in that distinguished group. As such, you have placed us, the South, and, indeed, the nation in your debt.

Will you not accept this letter as being in lieu of more formal evidence of our recognition of your services, our appreciation of your worth as a citizen, and our pride in consciousness that you are linked with us in aspiration that the South shall meet with honor the obligations of this hour?

Your sincerely,
(signed) M. A. Wright
M. A. Wright
President

31 1956

Wins $15,000 Suit Against Jet Magazine

Courier P.24

MRS. IKALINA SAVOY

. . . the references pointed to her

LOS ANGELES — Attractive Ikalina Savoy is entitled to the $15,000 damages awarded her in 1954 against Jet magazine, the Appellate Court ruled here on Thursday. Sat. 2-25-56

The original suit and her subsequent court action stemmed from an article appearing in the magazine titled "Are Women Changing Our Sex Morals," dated Aug. 27, 1953.

While Mrs. Savoy was not named in the article, her attorney, Leo Branton Jr., contended that the references pointed to her and caused her distress and injury. Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES reportedly revolved around a separate maintenance suit filed by Mrs. Savoy, April 23, 1953, against Dr. Lincoln Shumate, who was her husband at that time. Dr. Shumate made certain charges against his wife, for which he later apologized.

The District Court of Appeals ruled that the "article was published of and concerning her and that the reader derived a defamatory meaning from the article."

Tribune Fri. 5-4-56 P. Los Angeles, Calif

BIG MOMENT — in the life of attractive Ikalina Savoy, real estate saleswoman, comes when her attorney, Leo Branton, hands over check for whopping $17,356.87 from Johnson Publishing Co., for trouncing handed company's Jet magazine, in 1954 libel suit.

A jury in Superior Court Judge Jesse Frampton's court decided Miss Savoy had been libeled by an overly imaginative Jet writer in connection with her divorce from Dr. Lincoln Shumate, and awarded her $15,000. The check (below) also included $1734 interest gathered while Jet appealed the case, plus court costs.

The judgement was affirmed by the District Court of Appeals last February and Jet given 60 days in which to appeal. Monday it elected to pay. The sum won was the third highest libel judgement affirmed by the appellate court here.

JET MAGAZINE

Jet Publisher Guilty of Violating A B C Rule

Informer P.1

CHICAGO — In Bulletin No. 5168, the Audit Bureau of Circulations of Chicago has found the Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., publishers of JET Magazine, guilty of violating publicity rules in connection with The Informer Group of Newspapers and The Afro-American Newspapers as follows:

September 21, 1956

Houston Texas

VIOLATION OF
PUBLICITY RULES
JET MAGAZINE
PUBLISHED BY JOHNSON
PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

At a meeting of the board of directors of the Audit Bureau of Circulations on September 14, 1956, a hearing was held on charges brought by Afro-American Newspapers, Baltimore, Maryland, and The Informer Group of Newspapers Houston, Texas, against the Johnson Publishing Company, Inc, Chicago, Illinois, publisher of JET Magazine.

Sat. 10-6-56

An answer was filed by Johnson Publishing Company, Inc.

The charges were based on literature issued by the Johnson Publishing Company, Inc. in May, 1956. **The literature implied A.B.C. authority for a comparison of the average paid circulations in the city and retail trading zones of the complainants' newspapers** as **shown in** ABC Publisher's Statements for the 6 months ending Sept 30, 1955, with the defendant's own breakdown of the "local circulation" of the October 13, 1955, issue of JET Magazine. A.B.C. reports for magazines do not show "local circulation" nor a breakdown of circulation by city and retail trading zones.

The ABC board found the Johnson Publishing Company, Inc. guilty of a violation of publicity rules contained in Chapter A of voted that the Johnson Publishing the Bureau's rules. The board Company, Inc, publisher of JET Magazine, be censured and a bulletin, calling attention to the violation, issued to all members of the Audit Bureau of Circulations.

AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

Informer Sat. 10-6-56

31

31 1956

ATLANTA JOURNAL

ATLANTA EDITOR TO RESIGN POST

Childers Plans to Resume Writing Career

P. 52

ATLANTA, Dec. 2 (AP)—James Saxon Childers, editor of the Atlanta Journal, has announced that he is resigning effective Jan. to devote his time to writing.

He interrupted a writing career to join the newspaper in 1951 and is the author of 12 books and many magazine stories and articles. He also edited three books.

Mon. 12-3-56

"My years with the Journal have been enjoyable and, I hope, useful," he said. "I feel, however, that I have certain books which I want to write. For that reason I am resigning from the Journal."

A native of Birmingham, Ala., Childers attended Oberlin college where he won a Danforth scholarship. After graduation from Oberlin, he won a Rhodes scholarship to Oxford and then traveled in Europe for four years. During that time he edited one book for the Oxford university press and another for the Nonesuch press.

Returning to Alabama, he taught at Birmingham Southern college and was on the news and editorial staff of the Birmingham News from 1925 through 1942. He traveled extensively during the period and wrote four books about his journeys.

During World War II he served in Air Force Intelligence. At the end of the war he was a Colonel in charge of the Intelligence division, Command and General Staff school, Fort Leavenworth, Kan. Later he bought a farm near Chapel Hill, N. C., and there wrote two novels before joining the Journal.

Jack Tarver, vice-president and general manager of Atlanta Newspapers Inc., said his successor would be announced soon.

31 1956

NORFOLK JOURNAL AND GUIDE

Publisher quits education group

P. 6 Afro-American Sat. 4-14-56 Baltimore, Md.

NORFOLK, Va.—P. B. Young, publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, resigned recently as a member of the board of the Southern Education Reporting Service.

In handing in his resignation to the headquarters of the service in Nashville, Young observed:

"I believe that the spirit of moderation in the consideration of colored citizens' constitutional guarantees hos departed, and a guarantees has departed, and a majority of the board reflects the mind of nullificationists and discriminationalists."

31 1956

PALMETTO LEADER (SOUTH CAROLINA)

Publisher Ends 36-Year Service

Kansas City, MO.

COLUMBIA, S. C. (ANP) — George Henry Hampton, publisher of the Palmetto Leader newspaper and former head of the Hampton Publishing company here, ended 36 years as one of the nation's most successful publishers last week when he retired amid good wishes and honors from his many friends.

Hampton founded the Palmetto Leader in 1925, five years after he began the Hampton Publishing Company.

He was graduated from Allen university here and went to work in the Southern Sun Shop for the late editors, C. G. Garrett and Green Jackson.

Hampton later taught school but having been bitten by the printing bug, he left his teaching job and accepted a position at Morris Brown University, Atlanta, as an instructor in printing. A year later, he returned to Columbia and opened his own printing business.

31 1956 LIFE MAGAZINE

Daily World

Will Looking Back Help?

Life Magazine has undertaken to publish in its September 3rd issue the first of a six-part series of illustrated essays on segregation. The publishers of the magazine avow that the intention of the series is "to inform, not persuade." That this is a laudable and serviceable undertaking is on the face of it, patent. And that the tremendous intellectual and professional capacities of this great magazine to offer a completely fair and unbiased presentation, is undubitable.

Atlanta, Ga.

However, there is a considerable element of doubt in our minds as to whether a re-hashing of the highly volatile issues of the slavery question, (as Life proposes), or whether a fresh presentation of the horrors and injustices of the slave era can really serve a constructive purpose at this time. The period from 1619 to 1865 and after, represents for Americans, an unfortunate era, when in this country man's inhumanity to man reached a level that most of us would rather forget. There are still a few to be sure, who cling with chauvinistic tenacity to the somewhat jaded memory of leisure and wealth wrung from the bodies of some, at the extraordinary sacrifice of the consciences and the souls of others. These we may write off as moral anachronisms.

For most Americans, the slave-holding past represents a time in our history when the preoccupation with lesser values temporarily inundated the ultimate spiritual and moral values so essential to any vigorous civilization. It is significant that the self-same values that made for the establishment of this free nation, were eventually to reassert themselves with such vigor and conviction that the evils of slavery were eradicated, and the inalienable rights of human beings to be men, equal under God were restored.

Tues. 8-28-56

It seems to us that a good place for the Life series to begin is right here and now. The old story—the story of many wounds that have scarcely healed, we already know. We wish very much that we did NOT know the story, or that with the poet, we could "quite obliterate and otherwise enregister." This we cannot do. But what we can do is to begin at the present point of issue. It is not our purpose to deny history, but men being what they are, it is sometimes better to forget, at least some parts of history.

what they are, it is sometimes better to forget, at least some parts of history.

Who Enslaved Whom

Afro-American

Life Magazine began last week a series of stories on segregation. It proposes to trace the life of colored people under slavery; their emancipation; their progress under jim crow and the new status under law.

p. 4

The first installment dealt with the African who was traded for rum, sold for molasses in the West Indies, auctioned on the block in Baltimore and Charleston.

Baltimore, Md.

But the main thing for AFRO readers to remember is that historic sequence has been common to all people.

Slavery is as old as war itself. A nation conquered was either put to the sword or enslaved.

Sat. 9-15-56

Ethiopia enslaved the Persians.

Egyptians enslaved the Ethiopians and the Jews.

Alexander from Greece conquered the whole world.

The Romans enslaved the Greeks.

The Africans of Carthage conquered Rome before it fell a victim to it and was wiped from the face of the earth.

Riome found the early Britons drinking blood out of skulls. They were reported worthless as slaves.

After centuries of effort to civilize them, Rome withdrew from Britain leaving them in cold and dirt for 600 years.

Barbarians enslaved Romans.

Mohammedans made slaves of Christian Europeans.

Western Europe's Enslavement of Africans ended in the last century, but slavery still exists in the Arabian peninsulas and may be a subject of debate in the United Nations.

The point to recognize is that slavery has nothing to do with color.

The slave of today was the master of yesterday or will be the master of tomorrow.

Gov. Griffin threatens suit against Time

B'ham News
Thurs. 8-23-56

ATLANTA, Aug. 23 (AP)—A disputed quotation in the current issue of Time Magazine has resulted in threat of a lawsuit by Georgia's Gov. Marvin Griffin.

Griffin fired a telegram to the magazine's editor last night denying the reported remark during the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. P. 20

Griffin said the magazine related on Page 18 that he asked John McCormack, chairman of the platform and resolutions committee, for time to speak on the minority report on the civil rights plank.

The governor said McCormack reportedly replied he was having a hard enough time staving off a tougher plank. Griffin said the magazine reported his reply: "I'll just tell the boys that Yankee S.O.B. wouldn't give me any time."

The governor telegraphed Time to "either retract this statement or you can expect a suit for damages."

Griffin said he stated Georgia's position in a gentlemanly manner.

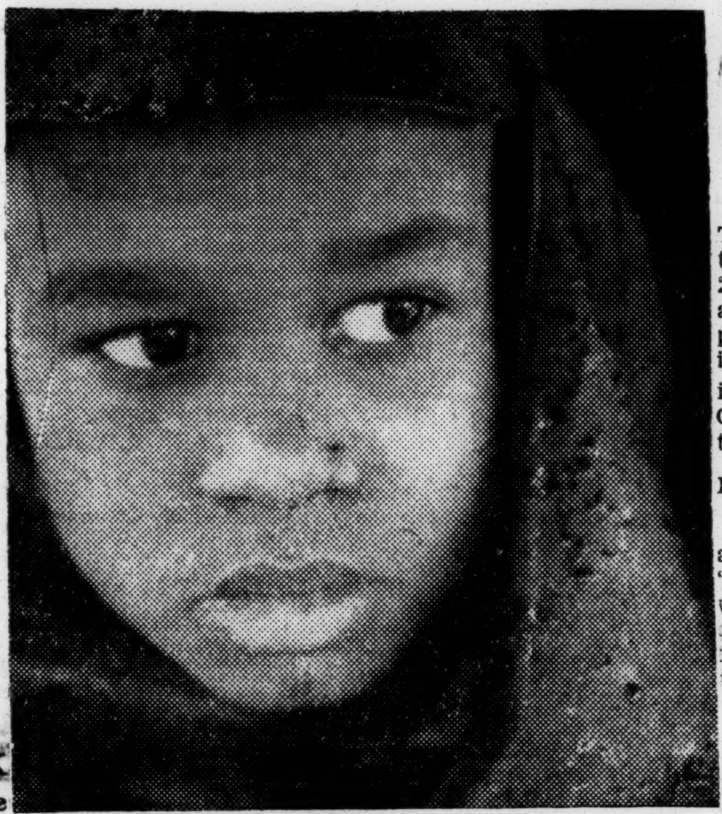
THE SOUTH VS. THE SUPREME COURT

Constitution P.12
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 3-21-56

In this crucial hour of American history . . LOOK Magazine gives you a sane and impartial 18-page report on the de-segregation fight. Does the Supreme Court's decision destroy the constitution? What do Negroes really want? *What is it like to be a Negro soldier in Albany, Georgia?* Who will have to give in? LOOK Magazine cuts through hysteria and confusion to give you a clear understanding of both sides of the conflict. Don't miss the new issue of LOOK.

TODAY—GET

LOOK



SEGREGATED IN THE NORTH

Evening Star
Washington, D.C.

You've read about segregation in the South. Now LOOK Magazine brings you the full story of segregation in the NORTH. See, through LOOK's brilliant photographs, how a typical Negro family in the North faces racial prejudice in every day living.

Today—get

LOOK

Says Magazine Article Unfair To Philadelphia

World
B'ham, Ala.
6-30-56 P.5

PHILADELPHIA — (ANP) — The feature article, "Segregation in the North," appearing in the June 26 issue of Look Magazine, deals an unfair blow to human relations progress in Philadelphia by ignoring the gains that have been made in interracial relations in the City, George Schermer, executive director of the Commission on Human Relations, said last week.

Schermer, who is quoted in the article, said that while the material "carries a strong and vital message which should cause a great many people in the North to re-examine their complacency," in regard to human relations, it nevertheless distorts the picture "so as to produce cynicism and doubt."

"It is not enough just to demonstrate how bad things are," Schermer stated. "We can not build faith in democratic principles by merely discrediting the American pattern Those who criticize also have an obligation to be constructive."

The Commission director said, "By quoting me only partially and incorrectly, the magazine has put into my mouth words which do not reflect the true picture and which seem to discredit the whole concept of fair employment legislation.

"In discussing segregation patterns in Philadelphia," he continued, "I pointed out that most employers had cooperated with our agency in promoting equal opportunity and that it was getting to be a rare thing for an employer to turn down a clearly qualified Negro applicant."

Concerning the fair employment practice law, the Commission director admitted commenting on its limitations and the fact that some employers use various dodges which are hard to document.

He said he also stated that almost any employer, if he were completely honest, would recognize that discrimination continues in its more subtle forms.

"Philadelphia citizens," Schermer said, "are probably as aware as any community group anywhere of their failings. There is probably no other community in the country that is making a more valiant effort to remedy what is wrong. By failing to point up the positive efforts along with the negative side the article may be doing as much harm as good."

Look magazine article deals primarily with segregation in housing and recounts the experiences of a particular Negro family living in a ghetto area.

31 1956 MID-WINTER WORKSHOP

Over 30 Publishers And Newsmen Already Registered For Meeting

Daily World P. 1
Wed. 1-18-56

Over 30 publishers and members of their respective staffs are scheduled to arrive in Atlanta, beginning today for their annual Mid-Winter workshop. Over 20 have already registered.

With the Atlanta Daily World serving as official host to top newsmen from all sections of the country, the sessions will be held at Atlanta University.

Atlanta, Ga.

Among the official delegates representing America's top newsmen will be C. C. DeJoie, Jr., publisher of the Louisiana Weekly, and president of the National Newspapers Publishers Association; W. O. Walker, secretary, publisher of the Cleveland Call Post; and Mrs. N. M. Turner, treasurer and representative of the St. Louis Argus.

Last year, the workshop was held at Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia. It was held in Atlanta, almost to the date, five years ago.

Purpose of the workshop, said C. A. Scott, editor and general manager of the Atlanta Daily World "is to discuss internal problems, production cost, and overall publishing operations."

Other hosts to the publishers will include Atlanta University, with Dr. Rufus E. Clement, speaker; Radio Station WERD; Citizens Trust Company, L. D. Milton, speaker; Prince Hall Masons of Georgia, John Wesley Dobbs, speaker.

More specific elements of the program during the three-day session, will include panel discussions evolving around newspaper problems generally, defining ways and means of meeting problems during times of social change.

The sessions will be opened to the public with all activities being held on the Atlanta University campus

The program will open with a luncheon at Atlanta University, 12:30 with President Rufus E. Clement as the guest speaker The program will end Saturday at noon with a luncheon at which time John Wesley Dobbs will be the principal speaker.

Negro Market Newsletter To Be Published

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Nov. 12-9-56

NEW YORK — The Negro Market Newsletter, a weekly publication of facts, statistics and information, will begin publication Nov. 17 The business letter, geared to provide manufactures of consumer goods, and advertising, public relations and marketing agencies with information of the huge, 16 billion dollar market, is issued by the J. Williams Agency of New York.

Regular issues of the new publication, believed to be the first of its kind, will feature material on the buying habits of the Negro consumer, motivation clues, population trends and evaluations of consumer activities in the large popula tion centers where the buying power is greatest. Articles by outstanding persons in public relations, advertising, marketing and consumer manufacturing will be featured regularly.

Sources from which information on the market can be obtained will be included. In addition books pertinent to the market will be listed. Another service will be the analysis of the activities of companies now operating in the market.

Once a month, the newsletter will provide a supplement for its nation- wide exclusive readership on the Negro media throughout the country including newspaper, magazine and group publications, and radio and television.

Anniversary Of Negro Press To Be Observed

Daily World Fri. 11-9-56 Atlanta Ga.

BOOKER WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE, Va. — March of 1957 marks the 130th anniversary of the founding of the first Negro newspaper in America. Because the Negro Press has made such large contributions to our national well-being in service rendered to America's largest minority group and the general help given in building, sustaining, and exemplifying the nation's Democratic ideals — Sidney J. Phillips, president of the Booker T. Washington Centennial Commission, has requested Postmaster General Arthur J. Summerfield, to issue a commemorative stamp paying tribute to the Negro Press on its 130th anniversary.

Mr. Phillips states that he has recently been informed by the Assistant Postmaster General that this request will be given consideration along with other subjects on file. Consideration of subjects for the 1957 Commemorative Stamp issue will be taken up in November.

The issuance of such a stamp would not only be a worthy tribute to a great American organization — the Negro Press — but would be of great educational value to Americans of all races.

Asks Special Stamp For Negro Press

Call Kansas City, Mo. Fri. 11-16-56

BOOKER WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE, Va. — March of 1957 marks the 130th anniversary of the founding of the first Negro newspaper in America. Because the Negro press has made such large contributions to the national well-being both in service rendered to America's largest minority group and the general help given in building, sustaining, and exemplifying the nation's Democratic ideals, Sidney J. Phillips, president of the Booker T. Washington Centennial Commission, has requested Postmaster General Arthur J. Summerfield, to issue a commemorative stamp paying tribute to the Negro Press on its 130th anniversary.

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Postage Stamp Honoring Negro Press Sought

Journal & Guide Sat. 11-10-56 Norfolk, Va.

BOOKER WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE, Va.—March of 1957 marks the 130th anniversary of the founding of the first Negro newspaper in America.

Because the Negro press has made such large contributions to our national well-being both in service rendered to America's largest minority group and the general help given in building, sustaining, and exemplifying the nation's democratic ideals, Sidney J. Phillips, president of the Booker T. Washington Centennial Commission, has requested Postmaster General Arthur J. Summerfield to issue a commemorative stamp paying tribute to the Negro Press on its 130th anniversary.

* * *

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"The issuance of such a stamp would not only be a worthy tribute to a great American organization — the Negro Press," said Mr. Phillips, "but would be of great educational value to Americans of all races."

Negro Press Lauded By Luncheon Speakers

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Two local business men and a university president yesterday lauded the Negro newspaper press for its work "in this whole fight for freedom."

L. D. Milton, president of the Citizens Trust Company; C. R. Yates, manager of a chain of local drug stores and Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University voiced their praise of the work of the Negro-directed press during a luncheon session of the Mid-Winter Workshop of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, held in the Birch Room of the McLendon Clinic.

WORKSHOP ENDS TODAY

The workshop which opened Thursday at Atlanta University is scheduled to end today with a closed meeting and a session of the NNPA executive committee.

C. C. DeJoie, Jr., of New Orleans, La., NNPA president and publisher of the Louisiana Weekly, said that John J. Johnson, magazine publisher, of Chicago, Ill. was slated to meet with the workshop group at the 9:30 session this morning.

Dr. Clement who was just back from New York City greeted the NNPA workshop luncheon meeting at which he asserted that the Negro newspaper is "one of the bulwarks in this whole fight for freedom in America."

He added that "You can do a job no other group can do" as he asserted that the "university was happy to have these important people" as guests of the campus and the city. He described the whole publishers and newsmen as "one of the most important groups in America."

Devoting part of his message to the work of the Negro-produced newspaper, Mr. Milton said that "nobody needs tell you you are important people." He viewed the publishers group as "absolutely necessary people."

Whether desegregation, segregation, or individual rights, "we are still going to need a Negro press.

The Atlanta banker rejected the idea of describing business owned, managed and operated by Negro persons as "Negro business." Rather, he insisted, it is either good business, successful business or poorly run business.

ATLANTA STORY

He then launched into the Atlanta story and the spirit behind it. He said that in this city there were independent operations and tremendous institutions and that they were well run.

Among such operations he mentioned the Atlanta Life Insurance, the Citizens Trust Company, the Butler Street YMCA, the Atlanta University System and the Atlanta Daily World. He cited with fervent pride the work the Atlanta leadership does in the Community Chest and the YMCA fund-raising drives. He said this resulted from the feeling that "We are mature citizens in a mature city and not moochers."

He counseled the group that "You cannot set up sub-standard operations, sub-standard thinking and get standard response." He was stressing his idea that successful business stems from sound business operations.

Mr. Milton, to back up his success-by-standards concept, said that Negro business leaders in Atlanta control over $60 million. "No business succeeds unless it serves well."

COOPERATION SOLVES PROBLEMS

At the bottom of the Atlanta economic story, Mr. Milton said was that "we have learned to solve some simple problems by cooperation and not by loving each other to death."

He said that the economic power amassed by Negro leadership here serves as "wedges and pressures that bring things into being." He cited examples of credit, loans, courtesy and home building to back up his point of view.

"This passive cooperation," he said, has "built some economic force" which could be used to help the city and the Negro group.

For a cue to his personal philosophy of business Mr. Milton recalled some advise given to him by a friend who said: "You build the bank and let the community build the town." He pointed that Atlanta had leadership for special areas of life instead of over-all leadership.

In much of the same vein but with different emphasis, Mr. Yates spoke. He took special pride in relating the Atlanta story of Negro-owned homes that were built from the ground.

YOUNG GIVES RESPONSE

Response came from Thomas W. Young, of Norfolk, Va., publisher of the Norfolk Journal Guide. C. A. Scott, editor and general manager of the Atlanta Daily World, host speaker, served as toastmaster. The Citizens Trust Company was the luncheon host.

In a morning panel session in Dean Sage Hall, Atlanta University, Longworth Quinn of the Michigan (Detroit) Chronicle, Mr. Young, Dowdal H. Davis of the Kansas City Call and Harry Alexander of the Cleveland Call and Post discussed the panel subject, "Seeking causes of circulation losses and what to do about them."

Both Mr. Quinn and Mr. Alexander said that their particular newspapers had suffered no circulation losses. "The Chronicle," Mr. Guinn pointed out, "has experienced a steady increase in circulation each year." He added that he believed the formula for circulation building is "producing a well-edited paper with wide coverage and promoting it constantly and zealously." Mr. Alexander mentioned an analysis of story pull, a new idea for selecting news boys, the home delivery system and an increase in centers of sales as among ideas used by the Call and Post to hold its circulation and make slight increases.

Mr. Young said an analysis of a circulation drop by his newspaper revealed no circulation has been lost in the local area but that the decreases had been noted in the far places. "Circulation begins and ends with the product," Mr. Young said.

"The day is long gone when Negroes will buy your paper to help the cause" or out of gratitude or loyalty," he observed. He said that readers buy the Negro-produced paper "because you have something they want to read." He also pointed out that there was competition for one's time and that this factor had to be recognized and met.

NEW APPROACHES NEEDED

Mr. Davis in his remarks mentioned slight drop-offs in circulation but continued that this did not reflect a "losing of influence" by Negro newspaper. He said that the papers would have to find new approaches and new markets for circulation building. He pointed out that the spotty circulation drop-off by a few of the papers was possibly off-set by circulation gains made in the newspaper's immediate community. "Negro newspapers, he suggested, had registered no losses, but gains in hometown circulation.

A Re-examination of the Advertising Picture of the Negro Press" was the subject of a panel discussion yesterday afternoon presided over by D. Arnett Murphy of the Afro-American, Baltimore, Maryland. Panel speakers included Mr. Davis and Felix L. Walker of the Cleveland Call and Post.

NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS being feted by the Citizens Trust Co. in the Birch Room at McLendon's Clinic here yesterday. Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University standing left is shown addressing the group. Seated directly in front of Dr. Clement is Thomas Young, Norfolk Journal and Guide; left of Dr. Clement, sitting are C. R. Yates, and C. C. DeJoie, Jr., NNPA president. — (Photo by Alexander Adams)

Afro-American, Baltimore, Md. Sat. 2-4-57 P.15

PUBLISHERS IN ATLANTA—Delegates at the Mid-Winter Workshop of the National Newspaper Publishers Association held in Atlanta, Ga., last week, left to right, included: FIRST ROW: C. A. Scott, Atlanta; D. Arnett Murphy, Baltimore; Mrs. Emmiline Scott, Atlanta; John W. Dobbs, Atlanta; Mrs. Nannie Turner Mitchell, St. Louis; C. C. DeJoie Jr., NNPA president, New Orleans; Mrs. Sadie Murphy, Baltimore; Tom Jervay, Wilmington, N. C.; Beverly Carter, Pittsburgh; SECOND ROW: Russell Simmons, Atlanta; L. M. Qlinn, Detroit; Fred A. Jones, St. Louis; William Gordon, Atlanta; Howard B. Woods, St. Louis; John H. Sengstacke, Chicago; Emory Jackson, Birmingham, Ala.; Louis Martin, Chicago; Thomas Young, Norfolk; Dowdal H. Davis, Kansas City; John M. Kirkpatrick, St. Louis; Frank Stanley, Louisville; THIRD ROW: Carter Wesley, Houston; Harry Alexander, Cleveland; Emel Scott, Atlanta; John Johnson, Chicago; Wilton Scott, Savannah, Ga.; Raymond Tisby, Memphis; Claude H. Hall, New York City; Charles Wartman, Detroit; House A. Miller, Chicago; Irving A. Williamson, St. Louis, and Felix Walker, Cleveland.

E. Frederic Morrow, Adm. Assistant To Pres. Eisenhower Among Honorees Of NNPA

Globe Fri. 4-6-56 P.14

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.—Winners of the 1956 Russwurm Awards were announced Tuesday by the National Newspaper Publishers Association on a radio broadcast observing the 129th anniversary of the founding of the Negro Press in America.

Nashville, Tenn.

The ten citations, given annually by the NNPA, recognize persons and organizations which have, "made possible a richer conception of democratic principles and for upholding the highest traditions of the American Way of Life."

Recognized this year are: Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Mound Bayou, who has led the "fight for Negro rights" in Mississippi; Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel of the Catholic diocese of New Orleans parochial schools; The Ford Foundation, for its grants aiding schools and hospitals; The Negro citizens of Montgomery, Ala., for their non-violent protest against segregation.

Steve Allen and his NBC telecast, "Tonight", for his unbiased and forthright use of talent regardless of race or religion; The Southern School News published in Nashville, Tenn., for its factual reporting of the facts in the progress of school integration; Authurine Lucy, Selma, Ala., who became the first Negro student at the University of Alabama despite threats against her life; Moses Wright, Money, Miss., who courageously testified in the Till murder case at the risk of his life and loss of his home.

The Interstate Commerce Commission for its decision prohibiting segregation of interstate passengers; Clarence Mitchell, head of the Washington, D. C. Bureau of the NAACP, for his consistent work in fighting for civil rights of minority groups.

Special citations were also given to Rev. George W. Lee, Belzoni, Miss., and Lamar Smith, Brookhaven, Miss., who lost their lives defending the right of Negroes to vote in Mississippi.

Others appearing on the broadcast, "The Negro and the Destiny of Democracy", included E. Frederic Morrow, administrative assistant to President Eisenhower in charge of Special Affairs; Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel for the NAACP, Cong. Charles C. Diggs Jr., of Michigan; C. C. Dejoie, Jr., president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association.

Dowdal H. Davis, general manager of the Kansas City Call, presented the Russwurm Award winners.

Award winners of previous years include such persons as President Eisenhower, former President Harry S. Truman, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary and Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel, of the NAACP; Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, Jackie Robinson, Branch Rickey, The National Conference of Christians and Jews; The Metropolitan Opera Company; Archbishop Joseph H. Ritter of St. Louis; Archbishop Vincent S. Waters of North Carolina; Mary Church Terrell; Dr. Ralph C. Bunche; Plaintiffs in the Supreme Court cases which resulted in the decision outlawing public school segregation, and others.

The Russwurm Awards are named for John B. Russwurm, publisher of the first Negro newspaper, "Freedom's Journal", which started in New York City in 1827.

--Detroit Tribune

Broadcast To Feature Negro Press Anniversary

NEW YORK— (ANP) —National Negro Newspaper Week, annually observed by the Natl Newspaper Publishers Assn. will be recognized by a special half-hour radio broadcast on the National Broadcasting Company and affiliated stations at 10:30 E. S. T. Tuesday, March 13.

Featured on the broadcast will be nationally-known public figures and representatives of the publishers association discussing the theme of the 1956 Newspaper Observance, "The Negro And The Destiny Of Democracy."

Included will be Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel of the NAACP who will be interviewed by members of the Negro Press; E. Frederick Morrow, administrative assistant to President Eisenhower in charge of Special Affairs; Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Congressman from Michigan; C. C. Dejoie, president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association and Dowdal H. Davis general manager of the Kansas City Call.

Also on the program will be the announcement of the winners of the 1956 Russwurm Awards given each year by the NNPA to ten persons or organizations who have made outstanding contributions to a better democraatic way of life. One of the Award winners will also be heard on the broadcast.

The observance of National Negro Newspaper Week commemorates the 129th anniversary of the founding of the Negro Press. The first newspaper, "Freedom's Journal," was published in New York City in 1827, by John B. Russwurm, America's first Negro college graduate and one of the most forceful of the abolitionists of his day. It is his name that has been given to the annual awards.

Attending were Dr. Ralph Bunche Dr. Ruus Clement, Lester B. Granger, Judge William H. Hastie, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Charles H. Mahoney, John H. Lewis, Dr. Benjamin Mays, Carl Murphy, and Dr. F. D. Patterson.

Also Bishop Frank M. Reid, Dr. Charles H. Thompson, Willard S. Townsend, William J. Trent. Dr. J. E. Walker, Dr. Robert C. Weaver Rep. William L. Dawson, Roy Wilkins and John H. Wheeler.

FLORIDA CANDIDATE BACKS HIGH COURT

Special to The New York Times.

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., April 5 —Peaslee Streets, one of six candidates for Florida's Democratic nomination for Governor, said today that he "endorses the view that the Supreme Court decision against public school racial segregation should be supported as the law of the land."

Mr. Streets, a constable from the Lake Park area near West Palm Beach, also said:

"I agree with Senator Estes Kefauver on the need to approach the problem of public school integration without harsh emotion and with sanity and reason and persuasion."

Mr. Streets added that he had endorsed continued school segregation when he filed his candidacy. He explained that he had spoken then from "a background of segregated customs in Florida." Lately, he said, "I have studied the matter, recalled the moral teachings of my parents and decided to change my position."

The candidate said he expected to vote for the Tennessee Senator in Florida's Presidential preference primary on May 29. The primary for the Governorship nomination will be held on May 8, with a run-off primary, if necessary, on May 29.

IN OBSERVANCE of Newspaper Week (March 12-18), left to right, Thurgood Marshall, NAACP chief counsel; Rep. Charles C. Diggs (Dem., Mich.); E. Frederic Morrow, administrative assistant to President Eisenhower, and Dowdal H. Davis, editor, Kansas City Call and chairman Newspaper Week committee, take part in nationwide NBC radio program, "The Negro and the Destiny of Democracy."

Tuesday March 13th

Radio Program Highlights Negro Press Anniversary

New York City.—National Negro Newspaper Week, annually observed by the National Newspaper Publishers Association, will be recognized by a special half-hour radio broadcast on the National Broadcasting Company and affiliated stations at 10:30, E.S.T. Tuesday, March 13. (WDSU, the local NBC outlet, because of previous commitments, will not carry the broadcast or a rebroadcast of the program.)

Featured on the broadcast will be nationally-known public figures and representatives of the publishers association discussing the theme of the 1956 Newspaper Observance, "The Negro and the Destiny of Democracy."

Included will be Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel of the NAACP, who will be interviewed by members of the Negro press; E. Frederick Morrow, administrative assistant to President Eisenhower in charge of the Special Affairs; Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Congressman from Michigan; C. C. Dejoie, Jr., president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, and Dowdal H. Davis, general manager of the Kansas City Call.

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Courier Host

Publishers Meeting in Pittsburgh

PITTSBURGH — Pittsburghers will have their first opportunity to meet publishers of Negro newspapers from all sections of the country at the 18th annual convention of the National Newspaper Publishers Association at the Sherwyn Hotel, June 21-22-23.

"This is the first chance we have had to come to the steel capital of the world," asserted C. C. DeJoie, president of NNPA, in making the announcement.

■

The three-day convention will bring together leaders in merchandising, advertising and management from many sections of the country for shakedown discussions of the problems and future of the newspapers represented.

In addition to The Courier which is the host newspaper, other companies which will entertain the delegates are the Moss Kendrix Organization, United States Steel Corporation, the H. J. Heinz Company and Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation.

■

Leland Hazard, vice president and general counsel of Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, will be the principal speaker at the annual banquet Friday night, June 22.

Frank Stanley, chairman of the NNPA Awards Committee, will make awards to newspapers at this dinner for distinguished achievements in journalism.

Eleven Newspapers Win NNPA Prizes

Informer Houston, Tex.
Sat. 6-23-56

The 1956 Newspaper Merit Award winners were announced this week by the Judging Committee. Winners in ten categories were as follows:

I GENERAL EXCELLENCE
1st Cleveland Call-Post
2nd (Tie between) Louisville Defender and Kansas City Call
3rd Ohio Sentinel

II BEST EDITORIALS
1st Kansas City Call 2nd Pittsburgh Courier 3rd Louisville Defender

III BEST ORIGINAL COLUMN
1st Pittsburg Courier; 2nd Ohio Sentinel; 3rd Pittsburg Courier.

IV PUBLIC SERVCE
1st Philadelphis Tribune; 2nd Pittsburg Courier; 3rd Ohio Sentinel.

V BEST NEWS STORY
1st Afro - American; 2nd Pittsburg Courier; 3rd Kansas City Call.

VI BEST FEATURE
1st Kansas City Call; 2nd Cleveland Call Post; 3rd Louisville Defender.

VII BEST NEWS PHOTO
1st St Louis Argus; 2nd Pittsburg Courier; 3rd Afro-American.

VIII EDITORIAL CARTOON
1st New York Amsterdam News 2nd Louisville Defender; 3rd Chicago Defender.

X BEST TYPOGRAPHY AND MAKE-UP
1st Louisville Defender; 2nd Cleveland Call Post; 3ld Ohio Sentinel.

I PROMOTION
1st Ohio Sentinel; 2nd Pittsburg Courier; 3rd Michigan Chronicle.

By ranking in the General Excellence category, and scoring the highest points outherwise, two papers tied for the Russwurm Trophy —the Louisville Defender and Kansas City Call — nine points each. Two other papers eligible for the trophy, but scoring lower points were the Ohio Sentinel 8, and the Cleveland Call-Post, 7.

Each 1st place newspaper in the respective categories will receive plaques. Oscars will be awarded second and third place newspapers or individuals.

All awards will be made at the Newspaper Publishers Association in Pittsburg, Pa, June 22.

Merit Awards Contests were:

Chairman, Armistead S. Pride, Department of Journalism, Lincoln University (Missouri); Emil L. Telfel and Maurice L. Lungren, University of Kansas School of Journalism; I. W. Cole, School of Journalism, University of Illinois; and Lee S. Cole, also of Lincoln University (Mo.)

Lincoln Staff Judges NNPA Awards Contest

Daily World
Sat. 6-16-56
Atlanta, Ga.

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo. — For the fourth consecutive year members of the Lincoln University (Mo.) department of journalism staff have judged the entries in the Merit Awards Newspaper Contest of the National Newspaper Publishers Association.

Heading a group of five judges was Dr. Armistead S. Pride, department chairman and professor of journalism at Lincoln. Serving with him for the 1956 contest were Lee S. Cole, associate professor of journalism at Lincoln; Emil L. Telfel, associate professor in the William Allen White School of Journalism and Public Information, University of Kansas; Maurice C. Lundgren, assistant to the director of the William Allen White Foundation at the University of Kansas, and I. W. Cole, assistant to the director of the University of Illinois School of Journalism.

The five judges weighed newspaper entries in each of ten categories and picked three winners for each class. The categories are: news story, feature, editorial, editorial cartoon, typograhy and make up, news photo, promotion, public service, column, and general excellence.

Daily World

Results of the contests are to be announced at the onnual NNPA convention banquet, Friday, June 22, in Pittsburgh by the NNPA Merit Awards Contest committee of which Frank L. Stanley, Louisville Defender editor-publisher, is chairman.

31 1956

H. U. drama instructor wins 'Paris Review' award

Afro-American P. 13
Sat. 4-7-56
Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON — The editors "The Paris Review," a literary magaine publzished quarterly in New York City and Paris, announced last week that the magazine's $200 second prize for original stories will go to Owen Dodson, associate professor of drama at Howard University.

The prize-winning story is titled "The Summer Fire." It will be published in the spring edition of the magazine which is scheduled for distribution in May.

* * *

PROFESSOR DODSON, a native of Brooklyn, has been a member of the College of Liberal Arts faculty at Howard since 1947. He holds the bachelor of arts degree from Bates College, where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, and the master of fine arts degree from Yale University.

In 1953 he was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship for study in Italy.

Professor Dodson is the author of Powerful Long Ladder, a book of poems published in 1946; and Boy at the Window, a novel published in 1951.

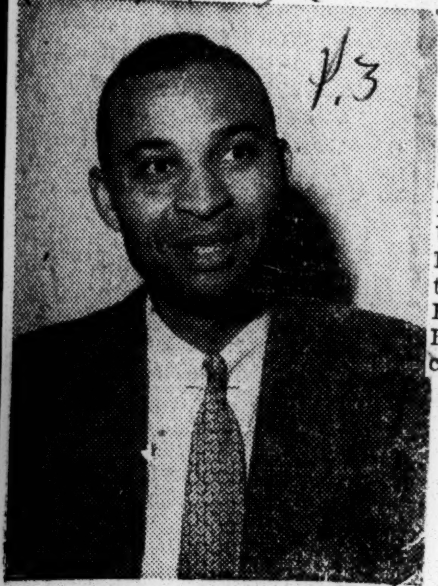
31 1956

PHYLON

Dr. Morrow Pens Piece For Phylon

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Fri. 9-10-56

p.3



DR. JOHN H. MORROW

"Unrest in North Africa" is the title of an article by Dr. John H. Morrow, Chairman of the Department of Modern Foreign Languages at Clark College, Appearing in the current PHYLON.

31

A penetrating anaylsis of the turbulent situation which has thrown North Africa in a state of turmoil, the article reveals the serious discontent and the critical atmosphere of tension which prevails in Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria. It supports the thesis that the yearnings for freedom among the inhabitants of the French empire have been held in check not only by the doctrine of assimilation, but also by the instability of French Governments.

The purported goal of the doctrine of assimilation is that of transforming native inhabitants into fellow Frenchmen. However, this doctrine has been challenged by the upsurge of native nationalism which has brought in its wake, violence, destruction murder, assissination armed conflict.

The ease with which a French Premier and his Cabinet may be deposed and the ensuing interval during which there may be no visible form of government have made negotiations betwen the French Goverment and the overseas territories virtually impossible.

The French inhabitants of North Africa want stern measures applied to protect their personal interests. The Native Nationalists want the French to withdraw from North Africa. Hence the impasse.

The aritcle draws the conclusion that the recent granting of internal self-government in Tunisia, of partial self-government in Morocco, of modifications in Algeria will force France, in the none too distant future to grant uncondiitional independence to its North African holdings.

Dr. Morrow is a regular contributor to many scholarly journals. He is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Rutgers University, received the M. A. and Ph. D. degrees from the University of Pennsylvania and holds a Certificate advance from the Sorbonne, University of Paris, France. He has also travelled in France, Belgium, Canada and Mexico.

31 1956

POETRY (MAGAZINE)

Woman Named Assistant Editor Of Verse Magazine

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Tues. 2-7-56

CHICAGO, Ill—Margaret Danner, a Chicago poet, recently was named assistant editor of POETRY, the nation's foremost magazine of verse, it was announced by the magazine's editor, Henry Rago.

The first Negro on the staff of the 44-year-old publication, Miss Danner first was appointed editorial assistant in 1951 while a student at Roosevelt University. A series of Miss Danner's poems, "Far From Africa," appeared in POETRY before she joined the staff and her poems have appeared in later issues of the magazine as well as in other literary publications.

Miss Danner, who in private life is Mrs. Otto Cunningham is a life member of the South Side Community Art Center and founder of Art Associates, an organization devoted to the development and promotion of art on Chicagos South Side. Lng affiliated with similar movements, Miss Danner frequently is hostess to literary groups in her home amid her collection of books, Louis Quinze furniture, African sculpture and paintings.

Miss Danner in 1946 received a Midwestern Writers award. She won

MISS MARGARET DANNER

a Harriet Tubman Club scholarship in 1949 and in 1955 was named a "Poet Of The Year" by Quicksilver magazine.

VOICE STILLED IN GEORGIA

Self-Styled 'Voice Of New South' Rolls Off Presses At Southern Farmer Printing Plant

Advertiser Fri. 3-30-56 P1
Montgomery, Ala.

EXTRA THE DALTON NEWS

Devoted to the Interests of Industrial Whitfield County

WEST IS OUSTED; LEAVES CITY

Pratt Orders West to Answer Questions of Jury or Leave

HEADLINE WHEN WEST LEFT DALTON 10 WEEKS AGE

THE NEW SOUTHERNER

A Voice of the New South

Truth, Hope, Love, Brotherhood, Non-violence, Simplicity

Vol. 1, No. 1 April, 1956 $2.00 per Year

MASTHEAD, VOL. NO. 1, WEST'S NEW NEWSPAPER HERE

THE NEW SOUTHERNER

A Voice of the New South

Advocating Truth Hope Unity Love Mercy Brotherhood Non-Violence, Simplicity

Contributing Editors: Perry Cartwright, Walter E. Dillard, Morris Lemmons, Buford Posey, Bryon Herbert Reece, Alva W. Taylor, Aubrey Williams

P. O. Box 6043
Carolyn Station
Montgomery, Alabama

Editor and Publisher
Donald L. West

LETTERHEAD, SALVAGED FROM TRASH CAN, OF WEST

By JOE AZBELL
Advertiser City Editor

A new Montgomery newspaper, "The New Southerner," which has a self-styled role as the "voice of the new south," came off the presses yesterday at the Southern Farmer printing plant here.

The newspaper which advocates "truth, hope, love, brotherhood, non-violence, and simplicity" is edited and published by Donald L. West, formerly of Dalton, Ga. West's departure from the city of Dalton warranted an eight-column headline in Dalton News—and one of the few extras ever printed by that newspaper.

Efforts to locate West yesterday failed. He had been in Montgomery during the week supervising the publication of his newspaper at the Southern Farmer but a Southern Farmer employe said he left yesterday for Blairsville, Ga. He probably will return here Monday.

West has set up permanent headquarters in Montgomery for his publishing venture which is a new brand of the old publication, "The Southerner." A tip to an Advertiser reporter ended up in a visit to a local printing office where the reporter, without the knowledge of the shop's owner, salvaged one of West's letterheads from a trash can. The letterhead lists the address of the New Southerner as P.O. Box 6043, Carolyn Station, Montgomery, Ala.

Advertiser

In Dalton, Ga., Mark Pace, editor of the Dalton News, said West was the "most controversial figure" ever to live in that city.

The Dalton newspapers leveled a series of attacks on West and his activities over a six-month period culminating in an unprecedented six page supplement which listed West's activities and his background. P. 6-A

The Atlanta Constitution on Sept. 1, 1955, in discussing West said: "Don West, who in the 30's was listed by the Communist Daily Worker as an organizer for the party and who was, by his own admission, a Communist in that he published a poem in the Daily Worker titled, 'I Am A Communist.' has associated himself with a publication in Dalton.

"West's record of Communist association is a long one and is a matter of congressional investigation files.

"Two things concern us.

"West must know that since he has not come clean about his past, and so far as we can learn, has never admitted or recanted his close association with the Communist Party and its activities when it was most aggressive in this country, that he inevitably will hurt some of those innocently associated with him. He has hurt a number of Georgians in the past who sought to defend him being unaware of his then undisclosed record."

The newspaper then states: "Until he has cleared his record he does not in our opinion merit the confidence of the community or those associated with him."

Listed as contributing editors on the masthead of the "New Southerner" were: Perry Cartwright, Walter E. Dillard, Morris Lemmons, Buford Posey, Bryon Herbert Reece, Aubrey Williams and Alva Taylor. Williams is owner of the Southern Farmer plant. Taylor has been under attack by the Dalton newspapers and the papers fill two double columns of type in reprinting information from the Un-American Activities Committee. Williams was called for comment on the new printing job but was not available.

The use of the slogan, "truth, hope, love, brotherhood, non violence and simplicity" is similar to the theme being used by the Montgomery Negro boycotters. The boycotters have developed a theme of "love your enemies," "non-violence" and "passive resistance."

When West left Dalton, Ga. 10 weeks ago, the Dalton News wrote: "Don West was expelled Friday night as an ordained minister of the Church of God of the Union Assembly.

"The Rev. C. T. Pratt said the church membership and its 100 attending ministers voted 100 per cent to dismiss West."

The report states: "The meeting that night followed a meeting Friday morning at which time the Rev. Mr. Pratt (head of the church) made it clear to West that if he had nothing to hide relative to his alleged Communist activities he would have to appear before the grand jury which goes into session Monday morning and answer the questions he refused to answer in October when he invoked the Fifth Amendment."

". . . . Pratt said his actions were motivated . . . . to show to the people that he, his church nor any of its members have anything to do with communism."

The newspaper says: "On Friday shortly before noon at the request of Pratt, Whitfield County Solicitor Erwin Mitchell appeared on the platform of the church and administered a special oath on communism to all of Pratt's ministers and his supreme council. Don West was the only minister on the platform who did not take the oath."

West also was discussed in a speech by Mitchell, who said: "Until about six months ago, most of us thought of communism as something thousands of miles away . . . . Then Don West arrived on the scene and began publishing the newspaper, the Southerner. Since that time we have had strained labor-management relations, violence, charges of religious persecutions and charges of prejudice and unfairness against governmental officers and agencies."

The grand jury of Dalton and Whitfield Counties reported on Jan. 4, 1956 that: "The grand jury found that Don West is reported to be a minister of the Church of God of the Union Assembly and is editor of a local newspaper called the Southerner. Don West appeared before this grand jury but refused to answer various questions concerning his past and present activities, taking protection under the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution."

The report stated: "The questions which he refused to answer referred not only to his past conduct but also with his present activity in our community . . . . we did not receive this cooperation from Don West, editor of The Southerner."

The Dalton News also printed a cut on the front page of the Southerner on sale with two admitted Communist publications at the Communist Book Store in Chicago.

A poem which is entitled "Listen, I'm A Communist" which appeared in The Communist Worker, carried the byline of a Don West. The Don West of Dalton, Ga., denied writing the poem in a statement to the Dalton News. The Dalton newspaper stated:

"Three years ago, Don West told an Atlanta Constitution reporter he did write the poem and had been a Communist. His admission three years ago and his denial today do not coincide. One of the statements is incorrect."

Quoting from an article by Celestine Sibley in the Atlanta Constitution, the Dalton newspaper states: "They won't let me alone," he (West) said, "Twenty years ago, I wrote a poem which appeared in the Daily Worker. I was a Communist then. Any young person who is not a rebel is not worth his salt. I'm not a Communist now. I'm a Georgia farmer."

West offered a $100 reward for anyone who could prove he had written the poem, "Listen, I'm a Communist." He said he had written a poem entitled, "Listen, I'm An Agitator" in his book.

Later West joined the Rev. C. T. Pratt and Union Assembly of the Church of God in Dalton in publishing "The Southerner."

The March 26, 1956 (on the streets yesterday) of the Militant, which is the forum of the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyite splinter off the old Third International Communist movement, says in an article on "Lesson of Dalton, Ga." by George Lavan: ". . . . In two previous installments we have described the founding of the newspaper, the Southerner, and the Church of God of the Union Assembly of Dalton, Ga. . . . It achieved a considerable circulation not only in the local, low pay open shop textile area but throughout the South . . . . Naturally the spearhead of the attack was the local textile mills owners who had a large material stake in defeating the union drive which was inspired by the Southerner. They used the local newspaper, radio, veterans organizations, and out-of-state McCarthyites such as

DAILY WORKER, NEW YORK, TUESDAY, MARCH 13, 1934

...ilov and Other Leaders ...Proletarian Red Army

...ter begins today the publications of a biographical ... of the Soviet Red Army. Today we publish high... of Clementi Voroshilov, the popular Soviet Com... ...y and Navy. On succeeding days we will pub... ...lives of Gen. Budenny, Gen. Vassily Bluecher. ...'S NOTE.

...LOV was ... railway ... was a ... miner ... school ... In ...ry

Listen, I Am A Communist

By DON WEST

I am a Communist
A Red
A Bolshevik!
Do you, toilers of the South,
Know me.
Do you understand?
Do you believe the lies
Capitalists say
And print about me?
You farmers,
Share croppers,
Renters,
Factory Workers,
Negroes, poor whites,
Do you understand me,
Do you see
That I am you,
That I, the Communist,
Am you—?

I am Don West, too,
The poet.

POEM APPEARING IN COMMUNIST NEWSPAPER

Edgar C. Bundy, American Legion witch hunter, in a red baiting campaign against West and his newspaper. But this did not turn the trick."

The Militant states further: "The attack on West was really aimed at the union drive. Ruthless anti-labor tactics of the local bosses, intervention of Gov. Marvin Griffin's (Talmadge machine) special squad of scab-herding state troopers in a small strike which had broken out, and screaming red baiting of the CIO union itself—all this showed the CIO union leaders that they were in the same battle as West and

WEST'S EDITORIAL STAFF

that it would be foolish to let the enemy split them up."

The Committee on Un-American Activities lists dozens of references about Don West. The Daily Worker of March 13, 1934, named Don West as a member of the Communist Party. Another issue stated he was the "Communist Party organizer for Kentucky." The report on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare prepared by the Committee on Un-American Activities and dated June 16, 1947, states: "Two known Communist Party members who have supported the conference in recent years are Don West, poet and professor . . ."

There follows reference after reference to West comprising hundreds of words and showing excerpts from references to him in the Communist press. On July 1, 1947, the Communist publication, New Masses, offered as a premium to subscribers a copy of West's book, "Clods of Southern Earth."

Mark Pace, editor of the Dalton News, said West was the most "controversial figure" ever to live in that city.

West yesterday was unavailable for comment but was expected to be in Montgomery Monday.

ATTACK SERIES

The Dalton newspapers leveled a series of attacks against West over a period of six months culminating in a six-page supplement which gave an alleged listing of West's activities and his background.

The 65-year-old Williams, long a controversial figure in Montgomery, said he has known West for some 10 years and that West has consistently denied being a Communist.

"He has told me repeatedly that he was not a Communist," Williams said during an interview yesterday. "However, Don has been a fighter for the poor and the underdog . . . To belong to the Communist party, you have to be sub-servient. This boy doesn't take dictation from anyone. Don was just a born

'CONTROVERSIAL'

Printer Brands Article In Advertiser As 'False'

By BUNNY HONICKER

Aubrey W. Williams, a Montgomery printer whose firm prints a new monthly newspaper called "The New Southerner," yesterday branded an Advertiser article about Don West, the editor-publisher of the newspaper, as a "clear injustice and filled with inaccurate statements."

The editor and publisher of "The New Southerner" is Donald L. West whose recent departure from Dalton, Ga., warranted an eight-column headline in the Dalton News and one of the few extras ever printed by that newspaper.

The New Southerner, in its masthead, advocates "Truth, Hope, Love, Brotherhood, Non-violence, Simplicity." With a circulation of "under 1,000," Williams said the subscribers generally are in the organized labor class. The paper rolled off the presses Thursday at Williams' Southern Farmer, Inc., plant on Reuben and Summit streets.

The paper is a new version of the old publication, "The Southerner," which was begun in Dalton.

crusader."

Williams said that being accused of Communist associations by "faceless witnesses" who appear before congressional committees nowadays does not always mean that the person accused is guilty.

"People have called everybody from the Supreme Court members on down Communists," Williams said. "If you don't agree with a man, you call him Communist."

Listed as "contributing editors" of The New Southerner are Perry Cartwright, Walter E. Dillard, Morris Lemmons, Buford Posey, Byron Herbert Reece, Aubrey Williams and Alva W. Taylor.

The Daily Worker of March 13, 1934, named a "Don West" as a member of the Communist Party.

ADDED COMMENT

Asked to comment on this, Williams said: "I wouldn't trust the Daily Worker any more than Martin Dies of the Un - American Activities Committee."

When West left Dalton 10 weeks ago, the Dalton News wrote: "Don West was expelled Friday night as an ordained minister of the Church of God of the Union Assembly.

"The Rev. C. T. Pratt said the church membership and its 100 attending ministers voted 100 per cent to dismiss West."

The newspaper article stated: "On Friday shortly before noon, at the request of Pratt, Whitfield County Solicitor Erwin Mitchell appeared on the platform of the church and administered a special oath on communism to all of Pratt's ministers and his supreme council. Don West was the only minister on the platform who did not take the oath."

Whilliams, who said he talked to West about this incident, gave a different version than that reported by The News.

"West was there," Williams said, "and agreed to take the non-communist oath. But the solicitor announced that everyone could take the oath but Don West. 'If he wants to take it,' the solicitor said, 'he'll have to come before the grand jury.'

"According to West, he had the understanding with Pratt that all of them would take the oath at the same time. Don said if they wanted him to appear before the grand jury he would leave. So he took up his hat and walked out."

Williams said West did appear before the grand jury "several times" and that the panel tried to connect him with the chenille strike in Dalton. The Montgomery publisher said Pratt apparently changed sides in the issue because "the banks closed in on him."

Williams said both the paper, which was a church organ, and the church as a whole supported the strike and he quoted Pratt as once saying: "Any scabs will be read out of this church."

The grand jury of Dalton and Whitfield counties reported on Jan. 4, 1956, that: "The grand jury found that Don West is reported to be a minister of the Church of God of the Union Assembly and is editor of a local newspaper called The Southerner. Don West appeared before this grand jury but refused to answer various questions concerning his past and present activities, taking protection under the Fifth Amendment . . . The questions which he refused to answer referred not only to his past conduct but also with his present activity in our community.

Williams called the attack on The New Southerner as an "attack on me and the Southern Farmer, using West as a club to beat me on the head."

"Now days," he added, "any man who fights for social justice has got to be nailed to telephone poles."

DONALD WEST
Local Puplisher

The NEW SOUTHERNER

Truth, Hope, Love Brotherhood, Non-violence, simplicity.

April, 1956

P. O. Box 6043
Carolyn Station
Montgomery, Ala.

Editor and Publisher:
DONALD L. WEST

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS:
Perry Cartwright
Walter E. Dillard
Morris Lemmons
Buford Posey
Byron Herbert Reece
Aubrey Williams
Alva W. Taylor

Published monthly, printed at Summit and Reubin Streets, Montgomery, Ala. Application for second class mail privilege is pending at Montgomery, Ala.

31 1956

P. B. Young Sr. Cites Unfair Editorials

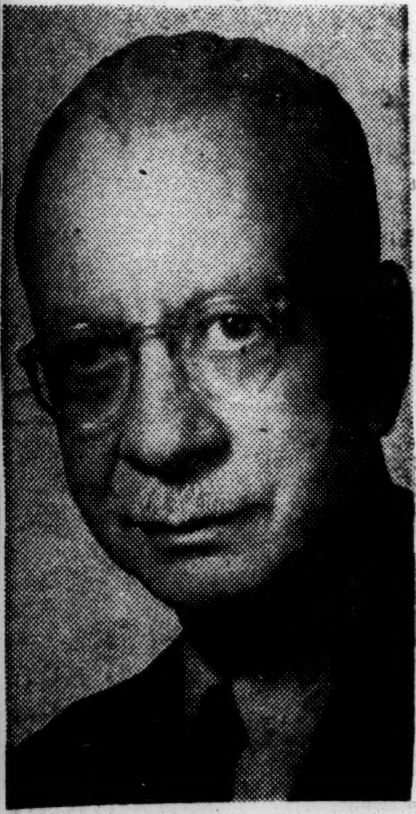
Publisher Quits Dixie Editorial Board!

Courier P.5

Publisher P. B. Young Sr. of the Journal and Guide resigned March 17, as a member of the board of the Southern Education Reporting Service, with headquarters at Nashville, Tenn.

Sat. 4-7-56

In tendering his resignation



P. B. YOUNG SR.

in a telegram to Virginius Dabney, chairman of the board, Mr. Young said in part:

Pittsburgh, Pa.

After reading the hysterical and grossly unfair editorial in the March 13 issue of the Nashville Banner, and similar editorials in other papers whose editors are on the board, I believe that the spirit of moderation in the consideration of Negroes' constitutional guarantees has departed, and a majority of the board reflects the minds of the nullificationists and discriminationists.

"The reference in these editorials to the NAACP are false and vicious; devoid of truth, understanding or fairness. The objectivity which characterizes the Southern School News has been maintained to a surprising degree by the present director, Mr. Don Shoemaker, as the source of policy under which the Service operates is polluted with some racists with ante-bellum ideas who would thrust the nation into another civil war."

The Southern Education Service is financed by the Ford Fund for the Advancement of Education.

The chairman of the board is Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch; the vice chairman is Thomas R. Waring, editor of the Charleston News and Courier, and Don Shoemaker, former editor of the Asheville Citizen, is the executive director. There were two colored members of the board, Mr. Young and President Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University.

Fisk University Dean Elected To Reporting Service

Call P.3

Fri. 12-21-56

Kansas City, Mo.

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — Dr. George N. Redd, dean of Fisk university and chief educational administrator of the institution since

DR. GEORGE N. REDD

the death of the late President Charles S. Johnson, has been elected to the board of directors of the Southern Educational Reporting service, it was announced by SERS.

The Southern Educational Reporting service, publishers of Southern School News, was organized two years ago by southern newspaper editors and educators for the purpose of compiling information on developments in education arising from the U. S. Supreme court's decision of May 17, 1954 striking down the "separate but equal" doctrine in the field of public education.

Dean Redd, who worked closely with Dr. Johnson on a number of projects, succeeds the late Fisk president on the SERS board.

31 1956

SPECIAL PUBLICITY CONSULTANT FOR UNITED ARTISTS

PUBLICIST FOR FILM FIRM.—May Kinckle Dammond has been appointed as a special publicity consultant for United Artists, it was announced recently by Roger H. Lewis, national director of advertising, publicity and exploitation. Mrs. Dammond began her assignment with two new UA releases, "Alexander The Great," and "Trapeze." Mrs. Dammond also will serve as a liaison contact with the Negro press. Before joining United Artists, Mrs. Dammond was director of publicity and promotion for the YWCA and television and radio editor of Junior Scholastic Magazine. She also has been associated in various writing capacities with the Pfaff Sewing Machine Company, the Conde Nast Company and Burlington Mills Corp. She is a graduate of Talladega College and the New York School of Social Work. In private life she is the wife of Howard Dammond, a research physicist and project director in the School of Engineering, New York University. The Dammonds live in Great Neck, L. I., and have a 14-year-old son Howard Kinckle Dammond.

31 1956

DALLAS STAR POST

TSU Honors Vivian Brooks, Dallas Editor

Daily World
Tues. 3-6-56
Atlanta Ga.

HOUSTON, Texas—There is no time for Americans to talk big and live small," said Miss Vivian Brooks, editor The Dallas Star Post, in a Founders Day address at Texas Southern University March 1, 1956. The youngest of a Metropolitan Newspaper (The Dallas Star Post) was well received at her Alma Mater. She briefly reviewed the history of TSU and paid tribute to all who had to do with the development of the young state institution. She raised a question as to whether we are advancing in the practice of human relations as we are in technology. "When I listen to the news about the indicting of Negro leaders in the bus boycott in Alabama I can safey say that far too many Americans are behind in education of their souls, and are traveling down a dark path to hate," she said. Miss Brooks congratulated the TSU Board on its vote to desegre- in order to go out into a highly gate the institution in September, 1956.

The young editor urged the undergraduates to prepare themselves in order to go out into a highly competitive society and take their places. She closed by stating that "the world may not come looking for you, but it will certainly receive you if you carry to it the best there is to offer." Mr. Earl Harper presented the "Outstanding Alumnus Award to Miss Brooks for the Year 1955.

Mr. Elva K. Steward, executive secretary of the TSU Alumni Association presided at the Founders Day Assembly program. Others on the program were Mrs. Rottie Wilson, Mrs. Dorothy J. Lang, Dr. S. M. Nabrit. The University band under J. H. Lark furnished the music. Joyce Davis, music major, rendered a piano selection.

31 1956

10 BEST NEWSPAPERS

29 newsmen select 10 best papers

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Twenty-nine newspaper men, asked to select the 10 best daily papers in the United States, placed only one newspaper in the deep south among their top 10 selections.

1-21-56

First place went to the New York Times and the Louisville Courier-Journal; second, the Christian Science Monitor and Milwaukee Journal; fourth, Washington-Post Times Herald, fifth, New York Post.

P. 13

And then Des Moines Register and Tribune, Baltimore Sun, and New York Herald Tribune were named, with the Wall Street Journal and the Madison Capital Times finishing the list.

The Chicago Tribune, which calls itself the "world's greatest newspaper," was picked by none of the journalists.

31 1956

NEW YORK TIMES

Highlights of Last Year

Times Tues. 1-3-56

New York, N.Y.

P. 97-C

JANUARY

On Jan. 3 stock averages reached the highest levels since the start of 1929. The next day the Federal Reserve Board raised margin requirements on stock purchases from 50 to 60 per cent.

On Jan. 6 trading on the Big Board soared to 5,300,000 shares, the largest volume since September, 1939. A week later, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee voted to make a "friendly" study of the stock market.

General Motors reported 1954 sales and earnings were the second highest in its history. The company also filed plans with the Securities and Exchange Commission to issue 4,385,000 additional shares of stock. United States Steel increased the quarterly dividend by 25 cnts to $1 a share and proposed a two-for-one stock split. Bethlehem Steel announced a $100,000,000 expansion program. A merger producing the second largest bank in the nation was approved by directors of Chase National Bank and Bank of Manhattan Company.

President Eisenhower proposed a budget of $62,408,000,000 in expenditures and anticipated revenues of $60,000,000,000. The Administration unveiled a ten-year $101,000,000,000 highway improvement program. Government-owned synthetic rubber factories were sold to private buyers for upwards of $300,000,000.

FEBRUARY

General Motors fixed the price on its huge stock offering at $75 a share, to yield $325,000,000. E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. announced it would exercise its right to subscribe to 1,000,000 of the 4,385,000 new G. M. shares. American Telephone & Telegraph Company disclosed its intention of selling $650,000,000 in convertible debentures, the largest borrowing ever undertaken by an American corporation.

Stockholders of American Woolen Company approved a merger with Textron, Inc., and Robbins Mills, producing an organization with assets of $161,000,000. Bankers Trust Company, ninth largest United States bank, decided to absorb the Public National Bank and Company, forty-third in size.

Pierre Mendès-France was ousted as French Premier. Georgi M. Malenkov resigned as Soviet Premier. He was succeeded by Nikolai A. Bulganin.

MARCH

The Senate study of the stock market got under way. Senator William Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, presided.

William McChesney Martin, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, told the committee his agency had been concerned about stock market prices when it acted to raise margins from 50 to 60 per cent in January. The same day stocks suffered their severest drop since the outbreak of the Korean war; the New York Times combined average fell 7.03 points. The next day, Treasury Secretary George Humphrey declared before the committee: "There is no impending crash. I don't believe that anyone believes we are headed for another 1929."

The market reacted to that statement by scoring its biggest gains since Nov. 3, 1954, wiping out more than 75 per cent of the ground lost the previous day. The Times combined average rose 5.30 points.

Times

Some trouble spots in the economy began to appear. Members of the savings and mortgage division of the American Bankers Association expressed a fear that the home building boom was too rapid. They urged caution on mortgages. An Agriculture Department survey showed farmers planned to continue planting large crop acreage despite Government efforts to curtail output.

P. 18

More mergers: Sinclair Oil and Gas Company acquired America Republics Corporation for $108,000,000. First National City Bank of New York was sold to National City Bank for $165,000,000. Result: New York's second largest bank.

APRIL

The full extent of the business boom began to emerge. Automobile sales and production set new monthly records. Building activity in the first quarter was reported at an annual rate of $41,000,000,000, a new high. Steel output in the first quarter was the greatest since the third quarter of 1953.

General Motors reported record sales of $3,101,000,000 in the first quarter; Standard Oil (New Jersey) had earnings of $177,000,000 in the period; United States Steel chalked up a profit of $72,652,402. The Ford Motor Company announced a three-year $625,000,000 expansion program.

On April 13 The New York Times industrial average pierced the 1929 high, reaching 470,62, against a top of 469.49 in '29.

But concern over borrowing increased. The Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City raised the discount rate to 1¾ per cent from 1½; eight other Reserve banks quickly followed suit.

General Motors opened contract discussions with the United Auto Workers on a guaranteed annual wage. Stockholders of Montgomery Ward held their annual meeting. Louis E. Wolfson conceded he had lost his battle to unseat Chairman Sewell Avery and the incumbent management.

MAY

The industrial use of atomic energy moved several giant steps nearer. The Atomic Energy Forum, an association of 250 companies and research institutions, predicted American industry would spend $300,000,000 in the next four years on atomic energy research. Seven companies disclosed plans for the first full-scale nuclear power plant to be financed entirely by private funds.

There were a series of top-level management changes. Roger M. Blough, former school teacher, succeeded Benjamin F. Fairless as chairman and chief executive officer of United States Steel Corporation. Sewell Avery, 81 years old, chairman of Montgomery Ward, resigned; John A. Barr, vice president and secretary, took over the position. Charles E. Wilson, former head of General Electric, became chairman of W. R. Grace & Co. The new chairman of Anaconda Copper Company was Roy H. Glover, succeeding Cornelius F. Kelly.

JUNE

On June 6 the Ford Motor Company and the United Auto Workers reached a three-year agreement providing, in effect, a partial guaranteed annual wage. General Motors followed suit a week later. At the end of the month steel contract talks were deadlocked, and 600,000 workers walked off the job.

Douglas Aircraft announced it would build the nation's first jet passenger plane, capable of carrying 125 passengers non-stop from Los Angeles to Paris in six hours. American Airlines placed an order for thirty-five turbo-jets with Lockheed Aircraft. General Motors said it would spend an additional $500,000,000 on expansion, bringing the company's post-war outlays for that purpose to $4,000,000,000.

Congress gave final approval to a three-year extension of the reciprocal trade program. The Senate passed the $1 minimum wage bill.

JULY

A one-day steel strike, the shortest in history, ended with a 15-cent pay increase. A general rise in prices, stable for almost three years, loomed. Steel went up by $7.50 a ton on the average.

Civilian employment in June was reported to have reached a record 64,000,000. Personal income in May was said to have topped $301,000,000,000, on an annual basis. Disturbing note: the Agriculture Department reported farm income down 4 per cent in the first six months.

General Motors voted a three-for-one stock split, tripling the 91,360,366 common shares outstanding. The next day G. M. stock rose 14⅛ points, for a net value gain of $1,330,000,000. Howard Hughes sold R. K. O. Pictures, Inc., to General Tire and Rubber Company for $25,000,000.

Britain tightened consumer credit terms in an effort to halt inflation and increase exports. The United States Government required higher down payments on home mortgages.

AUGUST

Hot weather throughout a large part of the nation put a damper on retail sales. The Government reported that employment set another record in July, rising to 64,995,000. Corporate earnings in the second quarter were at a new high. The gross national product hit a new peak of $385,000,000,000 on an annual basis.

Speakers at the first international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, held in Geneva, predicted that the hydrogen bomb would become a source of fuel within twenty years.

The first labor contract granting a full year of supplementary unemployment benefits was signed by the United Steelworkers with the American and Continental Can companies.

Floods caused billions of dollars in damage to property and industry in the northeastern states.

The Federal Reserve banks' discount rate was raised from 1¾ per cent to 2 per cent. Toward the end of the month, three banks—those at St. Louis, Atlanta and Cleveland—increased it again, to 2¼ per cent, the highest level in twenty years.

SEPTEMBER

On Sept. 23 The New York Times combined average of stocks climbed to 335.17, the highest point ever. Then came President Eisenhower's heart attack. The next trading day the market collapsed. Values on the New York Stock Exchange dropped $14,000,000,000, wiping out about half of the entire 1955 gain. The volume of 7,720,000 shares traded was the largest since 1933. However, the market bounced back in two days, regaining about 45 per cent of the loss.

The farm problem intensified. The Department of Agriculture predicted the world wheat crop might well reach a record level, adding to surpluses. It was disclosed that the Federal Government had lost $799,061,464 on price support operations in the year ended June 30, a record figure.

The Ford Motor Company announced a $500,000,000 expansion program for 1956. The Radio Corporation of America said it planned to raise $100,000,000 in the public market to keep the company's capital position on a level with its expanded operations.

OCTOBER

The Bell Telephone Company used solar power for the first time to activate a telephone system. The Glenn L. Martin Company received the first contract to build a space satellite device, which the United States expects to launch in 1957 or 1958. Pan American World Airways became the first United States airline to place an order for jet passenger planes. United Airlines followed suit.

A United Nations survey found production around the world reached a new high during the first half of the year, running 9 per cent above the 1954 level. Steel output in the United States set a new record of 85,782,793 tons in the first nine months of 1955. General Motors announced that its earnings for the year would probably pass the billion-dollar mark. Net income of United States Steel in the first nine months was $267,506,943, exceeding that in all of 1954.

New York commercial banks raised the prime on loans to business from 3¼ to 3½ per cent, the highest level in more than twenty-five years. Floods again invaded the northeastern states, causing heavy damage.

NOVEMBER

The Ford Motor Company disclosed that its stock would be sold to the public for the first time in the fifty-two year history of the company. Actually, the Ford Foundation, holding bulk of the auto maker's stock, intended to sell 10,200,000 shares estimated to be worth $600,000,000, the largest offering ever made. The move meant that, also for the first time, Ford would have to make public its full financial picture-assets, sales and earnings.

Chase Manhattan Bank announced plans for a building project covering a two-block area in Manhattan's financial district. Federal Reserve banks increase their discount rate from 2¼ to 2½ per cent. Rates on consumer loans began to rise.

After prolonged protests from United States producers, Japan suspended exports of cotton products to the United States.

DECEMBER

American Radiator and Standard Sanitary Corporation revealed merger plans with Mullins Manufacturing Corporation. The Port of New York Authority disclosed plans to build an artificial "Port Elizabeth" on a 400-acre tract between Newark and Elizabeth, N. J.

The C. I. O. and A. F. L. officially merged, creating one giant labor organization of more than 15,000,000 members. Earnings of 490 large companies in the first nine months of 1955 showed 33 per cent gain over 1954. Ford Motor Company filed a registration statement for its stock issue in January and revealed full financial data for the first time.

Crops in 1955 were reported to be the highest in history despite Government attempts to reduce acreage. Steel production in the first eleven months totaled 106,534,168 tons, topping all previous full years except 1953, when mills poured 111,609,719 tons. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States forecast slightly higher production and national income in 1956.

Christmas buying smashed all records, bringing retail sales in 1955 to a new high of some $185,000,000,000. The biggest business year in United States history came to an end.

Integration certain, Time survey opines

Afro-American P. 13

Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK — The New York Times said last week that its survey of compliance with the Supreme Court's desegregation decision shows that school integration "seems inevitable in most Southern states — perhaps in all."

Sat. 3-24-56

The newspaper said that is the "over-all impression" gained by 10 of its reporters who spent five weeks investigating the progress of colored-white school integration in 17 states and the District of Columbia.

Results of the Times survey were published in a special eight-page section last Tuesday under the heading "Report on the South: The Integration Issue."

* * *

IN GENERAL, the survey revealed that most white southerners want to deal with the problem of integration by legal means.

"They usually disavow violence and are afraid of it, although there still may be sporadic outbreaks," the Times said.

Generally white Southerners seem more troubled, confused and resentful than rebellious. They are troubled by the demand that they make a radical change in their settled and preferred social patterns.

* * *

THE CONFUSION has led the southerners to resist the change by various devices to nullify, delay or moderate the impact of segregation, the newspaper said.

Time reporters found that where the ratio of colored population to white is low integration is proceeding; where it is high there is resistance.

Southern colored people likewise were found to be troubled and sometimes resentful.

"In the main," Times said, "they want the rights vouchsafed to them by the highest court in the land. In some cases hesitantly, in others resolutely, they are demanding the admission of their children to mixed schools."

* * *

THE SURVEY catalogued the southern areas as follows:

INTEGRATING — District of Columbia, Kentucky, Marlyand, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

DIVIDED OR DELAYING — Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas.

RESISTING — Alabama Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia.

TIMES REPRINTING REPORT ON SOUTH

Times P. 17-C

Office Deluged by Requests —20,000 Copies Planned, More Than 700,000 Sold

Thurs 3-15-56

The New York Times was deluged with requests yesterday for copies of its "Report on the South: The Integration Issue."

Ivan Veit, Director of Promotion and Research of The Times, said that the demand for the report had exceeded that for any other document published by The Times in recent years, including the Yalta papers.

The net paid circulation of Tuesday's edition, which carried the report, was placed by Nathan Goldstein, Circulation Director, at more than 700,000, nearly 100,000 above the usual daily sale. Mr. Goldstein said that with the possible exception of sales of the issue reporting the 1952 election results, it was the highest single week-day circulation recorded by The Times in recent years.

New York

20,000 Reprints Planned

Arrangements were made to reprint 20,000 copies of the special eight-page section containing the report to meet the demand. Many bulk orders were being received from schools, colleges and various organizations. The reprints will be supplied at 5 cents each. Additional reprints will be made later if the demand continues.

Most newsstands in New York and the suburbs completely sold out Tuesday's Times. The same was true in other cities, notably Washington where twice the normal number of papers had been provided.

The articles were distributed by The Times to thirty-five to forty United States newspapers that are members of The Times Syndicate. Many of these newspapers gave the material extraordinary display. The Philadelphia Bulletin devoted nearly two pages to The Times' material. The Toronto Globe and Mail published almost three pages and The Boston Herald and The Dayton Daily News a page each.

Sections Used in South

The Atlanta Constitution published the full texts of The Times' articles on conditions in Georgia, Alabama and North Carolina and announced that additional articles would be published during the week.

Many Southern newspapers asked—and—received—special permission from The New York Times to republish articles dealing with their particular areas.

Among the Southern newspapers that republished portions of The Times survey were The Greensboro (N. C.) Daily News, The Nashville Tennessean, The Columbus (Ga.) Ledger and The St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times.

The Catholic Weekly of Saginaw, Mich., asked and obtained permission to republish the survey in its entirety.

The Times survey also was distributed to a number of foreign newspapers, among them The Times of India, published in Bombay, and the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon. It was understood that at least a part of the survey was being published by the Ceylonese papers.

Painful Progress

World (From The New York Times) Sat. 9-22-56

The distressing events of the last several days in a handful of Southern communities, where mobs have tried to interfere with the enforcement of court orders for integrated schooling, have naturally received nation-wide attention. They are news, but it seems to us that an important thing to remember is that they are not the whole news. B'ham, Ala.

While troops were upholding the law in the streets of Clinton, the first town in Tennessee to be required to open its state-supported high school to Negroes (as the result of a suit instituted several years ago), and while violence or threats of violence were reported from a few small and widely scattered settlements elsewhere, integration of school systems and school districts was going quietly ahead without fanfare and without difficulty in many states below the Mason-Dixon Line. In Kentucky, for example, where an otherwise fine record has been marred by ugly incidents reported from one small town this week, almost 90 per cent of the counties of the state are now operating under integrated school systems. Louisville has joined other great Southern or border cities — including Baltimore, Washington and St. Louis — in ordering integration of schools. P. 6

The Southern Education Reporting Service, a focal point for such information, says that several score school districts are being newly integrated this year in the South, especially in Oklahoma and Texas as well as Kentucky and other border states. A plan of the city of Little Rock to begin desegregation next year has just been approved by the Federal court. Over a hundred institutions of higher learning in the South, formerly all-white, are now enrolling some 2,000 Negro students; and a few weeks ago it was reported in this newspaper that some 540 school districts had been desegregated during the past academic year. This is solid progress.

It does not mean, of course, that the road ahead will not be long and difficult. There has been no desegregation in eight states of the Deep South (except at the college level in three of them); and several of these states have been adopting legislation specifically designed to defeat the aims and purposes of the Supreme Court's decision of May, 1954. It would be whistling in the dark to pretend that resistance to this decision is on the wane, much less broken, in large areas of the South, just as it is not yet completely broken in many parts of the North. Furthermore, the activities of such agitators as those who incited the trouble in Clinton, Tenn., constitute an additional menace to law and order. But the fact remains that, with all the difficulties, progress is being made. It is gradual, as it must be. Ultimately its victory over unreason and prejudice will be complete.

Rowan, Top Newsman Speaks At AU Today

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.
Sun. 11-11-56 P. 1 31

Carl T. Rowan, correspondent for the Minneapolis TRIBUNE, will speak at Dean Sage Auditorium, Atlanta University, at 4:00 P. M. today, Sunday, November 11. His talk on "World Crisis and the American Dilemma" will mark the opening of a Campus-Community Book Fair sponsored jointly by the Trevor Arnett Library and the Atlanta University School of Library Service.

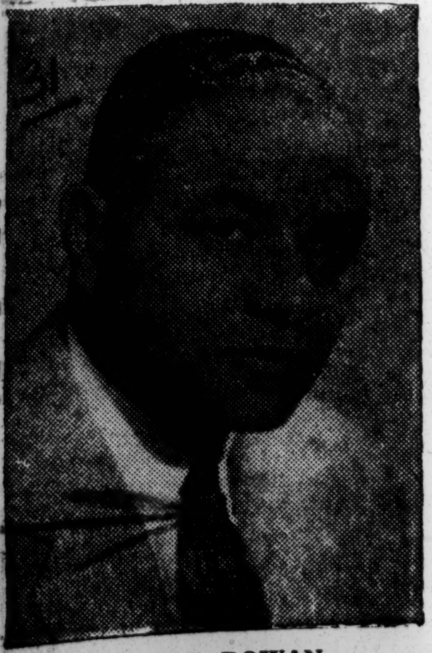
Following the address will be the opening of the Book Fair Exhibits in the Exhibition Room of the Trevor Arnett Library. The exhibits will be open daily from 9:00 A. M. to 12:30 P. M. and from 2:00 to 9:00 P. M. through November 16.

Mr. Rowan is the author of South of Freedom, based on a 6,000 mile tour of the South, which was selected by the American Library Association as one of the fifty-three best books of 1952 and recently named as the best Negro literature of 1953 by the India Journalists Association. His most recent book, The Pitiful and the Proud, deals with India, Pakistan, and the Far East. In 1954 he lectured throughout India under the United State Department's International Education Exchange program and then traveled in eight other Asian countries.

His most recent foreign assignment has been in Africa.

Mr. Rowan has been honored as a newspaper correspondent, having been cited by Sigma Delta Chi for a series of articles giving the background on the school segregation cases before the Supreme Court and again for his articles on India. He was selected as one of America's Ten outstanding young men by the Junior Chamber of Commerce in 1953.

Dr. Virginia L. Jones, Dean of the Atlanta University School of Library Service, will preside and C. A. Scott will introduce the speaker. The public is invited.



CARL T. ROWAN

31 1956

ROANOKE TRIBUNE

Ministers censure Va. editor for JC views

Afro-American P. 5
Baltimore, Md.
Aug 8-1-56

ROANOKE, Va. — The Baptist ministers of this city were urged this week to censure and to "take what other actions you deem necessary to discourage" a colored editor's "unfortunate battle against the march for human rights."

Target of the blast by a 15-man citizens group was the Rev. F. E. Alexander, a Baptist minister who is also the editor of the Roanoke Tribune.

The citizens told the Baptist Ministers Conference of the city that Mr. Alexander was publishing editorials that do not reflect the opinion of the colored race.

* * *

THE CENSURE said articles by Alexander are reprinted in white papers "to be read throughout the country on the belief that colored citizens in Roanoke favored second-class citizenship.

"These articles are propaganda to give to the forces of reaction ammunition to use against the aspirations of our people to climb out of the rut of second-class citizenship," the resolution charged.

* * *

THE REV. MR. ALEXANDER, who attended the meeting at the Hill Street Baptist Church where the resolution was passed, said last Wednesday that he had not prepared a statement in reply, but that he felt this way:

"The whole story is they (the citizens) want me to come out for immediate integration. I am for moderate, gradual integration. I do not want any force."

31 1956

(WHITE)

ON THE RECORD

The Writer's Free Opinion

News Life B'ham, Ala.

Delegates—Only 250—To Newsmen's Guild Meeting Commit 28,000 To Single Policy

Wed 7-18-56

BY DOROTHY THOMPSON

TWO HUNDRED and fifty delegates to the American Newspaper Guild convention held last week in Toronto unanimously supported the report of a subcommittee on political action, urging upon members accelerated political activity in the national election.

Resolutions were adopted offering support to the striking steelworkers, calling on America, Britain and France to provide arms for Israel, upholding antidiscrimination laws, and urging an increase of Negro editorial employes on non-Negro newspapers.

The American Newspaper Guild is a union representing some 28,000 employes of North American publications. Journalists—reporters, critics, photographers, and editorial writers—are not its only members. Anyone employed by a newspaper or other publication and not under jurisdiction of another union is eligible.

Few editorial writers have joined the guild. Though they are salaried employes, the guild tends to regard them as representing the publishers.

Independent columnists are not "employed," but work through syndicates who, for a commission, contract with newspapers to publish their work. Not being employes they are not, reasonably, eligible for guild membership, although I know of no columnist-applicant who has been refused.

Nevertheless, a great many working journalists are members of the guild, and the question arises to what extent the guild can commit its writing members to supporting any political action without infringing their freedom of thought and speech.

Guild Pro-Communist Led During World War

I WAS, FOR SOME years, a member of the New York local of the guild, and remember attending in the early days of the war a meeting, in which a resolution was introduced calling for "the immediate opening of a second front in Europe." The New York Guild was then led by a pro-Communist faction and the "immediate second front" was the Communist Party line.

The resolution was not debated. Although the New York press has a number of expert military reporters and analysts, none was present to debate either the pros or cons of such an action. It found opposition from only two members present, myself and Lewis Gannett, the distinguished critic. Neither of us argued that the resolution was "Communist," but each argued the incompetence of the members present to make a valid judgment on a matter involving enormous hazards, and the impropriety of committing any writer to propagandizing for any national policy. We were interrupted by hisses and catcalls, the resolution passed with only two nays, and was duly forwarded to the President and Congress as the "opinion" of New York newspapermen.

An "opinion" is a personal matter, involving personal responsibility. It is worthless unless arrived at through factual knowledge and the application of reason. An opinion is not a "prejudice," unless it is a prejudgment—made without knowledge and the reasoning process.

Opinion is influenced by general world-outlook. But a world-outlook is also not "prejudice" unless thoughtlessly composed to conform to prevailing winds. And anyone who cherishes free thought as essential to truth will refuse to be bound by any majority. Truth is not arrived at by counting heterogeneous heads.

I have, for instance, no opinion to offer on the steel strike, because I do not have adequate knowledge of the issues. I have an opinion on arms to Israel (which is not that of the guild delegates) based on a considerable knowledge of the Middle East situation, acquired by great effort. I doubt whether racial discrimination can be overcome by legal and police methods. And I do not think anyone should hold an editorial position because he is, or is not, a Negro.

Whether these opinions are right or wrong, they are responsible; other thoughtful people have other opinions. The development and outcome of events and policies are the last judgment.

Organization Should Protect Writers' Opinions

IF A GOVERNMENT, trade union, organized propaganda machine, or publisher, directs or attempts to control the gathering of factual knowledge and the mental processes by which it is evaluated, it is interfering with free speech, which, if it is meaningful speech, is the product of an independent, inquiring, critical, and knowledgable mind.

And an organization that represents writers should especially realize this and protect writers against interference, even by itself.

FTC Can't Do Much About Magazine Merger

Post & Times Herald Washington, D.C.

Wed 7-25-56

By Karl R. Bauman
Associated Press

The Federal Trade Commission ruled yesterday that acquisition by Farm Journal Inc. of its principal rival, Country Gentleman-Better Farming, violated the anti-merger law.

But the Commission said there is little it can do about the matter now. It quoted the hearing examiner whose report it adopted as saying that "from a practical standpoint" the only action it could take "will accomplish nothing."

The Farm Journal acquired Country Gentleman-Better Farming, a Curtis publication, in June 1955. The combined Farm Journal-Country Gentleman is published in Philadelphia. The two magazines led all in their field in circulation.

The FTC ordered the Farm Journal to divest itself of the names "Better Farming" and "Country Gentleman," of the domestic subscription list of the acquired magazine, and the list of Country Gentleman advertisers.

The Commision gave the Farm Journal until next Jan. 1 to file a report of compliance with the order.

Those were the recommendations of Examiner Frank Hier. He complained that what he "ineffectiveness" of the anti-merger law, a section of the Clyton Anti-trust Act, prevented more effective action. Hier said the order he proposed "at most may only disturb, but will not diffuse the coalescence which has taken place."

By the Jan. 1 date, Farm Journal Inc. will have had the advertising and subscription lists of the magazine it bought for a year and a half. By that time it presumably will have obtained all the subscribers and advertisers it can effectively hope to gain from them.

The order did not specify how the magazine shall dispose of the names and the lists. It made no mention of any removal from Farm Journal lists of subscribers or advertisers obtained from using the other lists.

31a 1956

AROUND THE TOWN (BIRMINGHAM WORLD)

AROUND THE TOWN

World 3-1a
Tues. 1-17-56
P. 1

SIDEWALK

Lawyers for the University of Alabama filed a motion to hold up the application of the court's decision opening the state's university to members of the Negro group. The motion was expected to be heard by a member of the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit Thursday, Jan. 5. Whether the court accepted, rejected or refused the motion has not bee announced. Motions of that nature are usually ruled on the day they are presented for hearing. It is reasonable to conclude from the circumstances that the court refused to disturb the ruling that the University of Alabama cannot deny admission to its student body because of race and color. Unless the right-to-learn leaders get busy and alert the members of the group that the university is now open to all on the basis of merit the opportunity might be muffed. Registration for the second semester must be completed February 1 and 2. It will be interesting to see how many members of the group seek admission and to learn what the group's leadership does to encourage, aid and assist those members of the group who desire to attend the state's only university. Some schools are holding mid-term graduating exercises and there are others who have been waiting to get into the professional schools. Keep this before the leaders: Unless heretofore banned students apply for admission at the second semester registration of the University of Alabama, they will let those down who worked so hard and so determinedly to win a new break for them. Parents can play a vital role in seeing the flow of new talent through the opening doors of opportunity.

— Register to Vote —

Birmingham, Ala.

INKY ARROW

"A registration card is your passport to the realm of citizenship ... Registration is as essential to voting as a bat and glove are to baseball . . . A resident of the free world who does not register and vote has betrayed those who laid down their lives for liberty, whether in some barbaric prison camp or on a bloody field of battle." — Senator Richard L. Neuberger (D-Oregon), The Butcher Workman, Jan., 1956.

— Register to Vote —

IN THE WIND

Dr. Leroy Mitcham, specialist in baby care, has been elected to the board of directors of the Enon Ridge Civic Day Nursery . . . A report meeting of Community Chest agencies is scheduled for 11 o'clock Thursday morning, Jan. 19, at the Central YWCA . . . Seventh District of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity is holding its 19th annual meeting March 29-31 in Augusta, Ga. . . . Negro History Week will be observed Feb. 12-19 . . . A meeting of The (white) Citizens Council of the Eastern Section of Birmingham was scheduled to meet last night at Cascade Plunge. The WCC is an organization seeking to restrict and suppress human rights . . . State Senator Lawrence K. (Snag) Andrews, of Union Springs (Bullock County), Ala., was scheduled to be feature speaker at The (white) Citizens Council of Marengo County in Linden, Ala., Jan. 9 . . . The Hungry Club has resumed its 12 o'clock Monday meetings at the 18th Street Branch YMCA. There is talk that a columnist on the local A. M. daily is to be one of the Hungry Club guest speakers in the near f... Sfc. Solomon A. Mitchell of Fairfield has been transferred from headquarters and Service Company of the 127th Airborne Engineer Battalion to "C" Company of the same battalion at Fort Campbell, Ky.

— Register to Vote —

BALLOT

When Mrs. Venice Tifton Spraggs is honored at a $2-a-plate banquet at the 18th Street Branch YMCA at 7:30 Monday night, January 23, this will be a good time to check the "Who Did What" list in voter-registration. It has been the argument Around the Town that a "Who Who List" has no place in the build-the-ballot movement. Big names do not add names to the poll books. No one knows that any better than Mrs. Spraggs who is an expert in building voters' lists. The "Venice Spraggs Night Banquet" is sponsored by the South Elyton Civic League and the Titusville Unit of the Jefferson County Progressive Democratic Council . . . Would-be-voters who owe the poll tax have six more days before the February 1 deadline to register. One can get helpful information on the do-how and voter-registration from the Jefferson County Coordinating Non-Partisan Voters League, 1615 4th Ave., No. Telephone 7-5342.

— Register to Vote —

ODDS AND ENDS

Atty. Demetrius C. Newton, newly-elected president of the Fairfield Voters League, plans to outline the program for his administration at an "Installation Tea" scheduled for Monday night, February 6 in the Christian Hall, Fairfield . . . E. B. Colvin, 1956 president of the Birmingham Branch NAACP, will try to build the local association around vitalized leadership of the branch's standing committees . . . On January 12 Birmingham police allegedly ordered two interstate traveling passengers from the General to the "Negro" waiting room.

Matter of fact—

Harlem Negro tenements belie North's smugness

BY STEWART ALSOP

HARLEM, New York City, Sept. 18—The big, asthmatic Negro woman leaned heavily against the door of her cell-like room on the second floor of a rickety 19th century slum building. Through thin walls came the sound of furious argument, followed by the thud of something thrown, and silence.

A 40 watt bulb glowed eerily down the long hall illuminating the scratched and scabrous walls.

A black cat arched against the woman's leg, looking up with blank, suspicious eyes at the unfamiliar white faces.

STEWART ALSOP

"We live in these rat traps," the woman said dispassionately without rancor gasping a little for breath, "and nobody cares, and there's no hope for us, at least as far as I can see."

THE BIG WOMAN with the cat represents one aspect of Harlem—and no doubt of the Negro sections of other big cities—to which sufferers from excessive complacency ought to be exposed.

The Harlem slums make you wonder whether the North's smug assumption that only the Southern area has failed to solve the problem of the Negro minority is soundly based. They even make you wonder if all our boasts about the American standard of living are entirely justified.

THE BIG WOMAN'S cat was not a pet. It was a necessity. In the slum apartments in Harlem, you always find a cat or two, for protection against the swarming rats and mice, and usually a dog, for protection against two-legged enemies.

This is one of the small discoveries made by this reporter and Louis Harris, the public opinion expert, in an expedition of political inquiry in Harlem.

There are other discoveries to be made. Most Americans go through life without ever meeting an adult fellow American who cannot read or write.

But in the Harlem slums illiteracy is not uncommon.

One grizzled old man, a recent arrival from the South, said earnestly that he wanted to vote before he died, because "Voting makes a man a real citizen." He had tried, but had been turned down because he couldn't write his name but now, he said, "I've learned to print my name pretty good, and do you think they'd take just printing?"

AS YOU TALK to people in the old buildings, in the dark and littered hallways, you sometimes hear a chance remark which sheds a grim light on Harlem slum life. There was the high-strung, well-dressed man on the fourth floor of a condemned house.

He said he had to get out of there—he just couldn't stand it any more. He paid $50 a month for his miserable rooms, but that wasn't the main reason. "All night long they're running up and down the stairs and fighting and jumping from one roof to another."

Occasionally you come upon grotesque, Hogarthian scenes. There was the young girl lying on a couch, her face to the wall, her body oddly crumpled, whose only response when we tried to question her was to curse and throw a pillow at a whimpering child.

More often, we were asked hospitably to come in and have a seat, and we saw around us a pathetic attempt to live decently under impossible conditions, to rise above the grimness of the surrounding poverty.

FORTUNATELY, the Harlem slums are only part of the Harlem story. It is an extraordinary experience to cross a street from a slum area, and go into one of the low income housing projects — precisely like moving out of the dark into the light.

IN THE PROJECTS you find hard-working and often intelligent people living decently, in a kind of colorful and noisy austerity, in small, clean apartments. The difference is not in incomes—the project apartments are often cheaper than the slum rooms.

A sailor in a project explained: "Housing changes people. In a good place, everybody tries to do a little better, like I tell my son, even if you are a Negro, if you want to do something, like say you want to be a doctor, you can do it."

Or go to a good private apartment house, like the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.'s Riverton Apartments, and you find people living in considerable elegance. You also find that they are often far better informed politically than their economic equivalents in a white community, and remarkably articulate.

There are political similarities between the three categories of Harlemites, the slum livers, the project livers, and the small upper class of Negro intellectuals and opinion formers.

Above all, in all three categories there is an amazingly large and solid bloc of convinced Democratic voters. But there are marked political differences too, which will be described in a second report on Harlem, and which could have real political meaning for the future.—©

The one-edged sword—

It's issue—not mentioned: Integration—in Kentucky

BY STEWART ALSOP

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Oct. 11—There is one issue here, and one only, which really makes the pulse of the voters beat faster. It is the one issue which is never mentioned at all by any of Kentucky's four senatorial candidates. The issue is, of course, the racial integration of the schools.

This reporter spent many hours interviewing voters in four districts of this city, carefully chosen by a professional public opinion expert to represent an economic and political cross-section. The purpose was to test, not only voting intentions, but the voters' reactions to three subjects—the president's health, Adlai Stevenson's divorce, and school integration.

ALSOP

The reactions to questions about the president's health and Stevenson's divorce were curiously similar.

"Why, that never entered my head," people would say, often in a tone of protest tinged with indignation, or: "Why, I don't think that has any bearing at all."

ONCE IN A LONG WHILE—perhaps once in 15 interviews—someone would say that the president's health was "something you had to think about."

But in every case the voter who expressed such doubts had already made up his mind to vote Democratic on other grounds.

In short, Democratic strategists who are counting on "the health issue" as a central Stevenson asset would appear to be fooling themselves—an observation born out of other pulse-feeling expeditions in other parts of the country.

By the same token, we found not a single voter—no one—who admitted that he was influenced in any way by Stevenson's divorce. This was as true of Catholic voters as of others.

One man said, "I'm a Catholic and I suppose I ought to think about it, but I don't."

Some people, no doubt, are not wholly candid when they talk about such subjects with a stranger.

But again and again, one sensed a feeling of indignation that such personal matters should be discussed at all.

Both the president's health and Stevenson's divorce are clearly political two-edged swords.

THE INTEGRATION ISSUE is, on the other hand, a one-edged sword, in the sense that it cuts in only one direction among the whites in this border state city.

For, especially in the poorer white sections of this city, the resistance to integration is absolutely monolithic.

Occasionally it is blind and bitter and filled with unreasoning hate. More often it takes the form expressed by an elderly one-legged man in a low-income housing project in the Shelby area: "I don't think the Negroes should be tromped on. I think they should have as good a chance as anyone else. But I sure don't see why we should be all mixed up together."

The resistance is especially strong in the heavily unionized workers' districts—the idea that racial liberalism goes hand in hand with unionization is simply not true, at least in these parts.

In this respect, in fact, the Catholic church has done a far more effective job of persuasion than the unions—"We've had colored children in parochial schools for some time now," one Catholic worker said, "and it's worked out all right." He was typical of others.

AS ONE MOVES away from the crowded low income areas into the middle class districts like Highlands or Crescent Hills, one finds a milder reaction. Once in a while, a person will even express approval of the integration program—"color's only skin deep," one man said, and a woman remarked that "it's all according to the Good Book."

But even in such areas, the white people oppose integration by an overwhelming majority. The political implications of this almost universal feeling are suggested by the hostility to Kentucky's Gov. "Happy" Chandler which is found everywhere in Louisville. Chandler is heartily disliked for many excellent reasons.

But the unpalatable truth is that he is disliked most for one of the few really responsible acts of his career—calling out the National Guard to prevent rioting over integration in Sturgis, Ky.

Disregarding the issues which really hit home to the voters is not usually a laudable practice in a democracy. But in these special circumstances, it is to the credit of all four major candidates in Kentucky that not one of them has seized the one-edged sword of integration to slash his opponent's jugular with it. For the Negro vote is a surprisingly small minority of the total in this border state.

And there is much political hay to be made from the integration issue by any politician who wished to do so at the risk of sparking a general racial conflagration.—(c)

31a 1956 WHITE (JOE AZBELL)

It's Not A Regional Plague

Advertiser P.4-A
Fri. 7-13-56
Montgomery Ala.

Editor Miles H. Wolff In The Greensboro (N.C.) Daily News

"TELL it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon" is the sprightly caption of a series of editorials, running on an installment basis in Editor Grover C. Hall's *Montgomery Advertiser*.

Editor Hall is nobody's race baiter, but his Southern blood was overheated some months back by a holier-than-thou, sanctimonious air of the non-Southern press about race problems. His ire reached a peak when a swarm of Northern reporters surged into Alabama on the Autherine Lucy case, and made the Lucy name a household word from Maine to California.

Is the South harsher and more discriminatory than the North in handling racial matters? Editor Hall, while recognizing the South's own shortcomings, set about proving that the race problem is a national issue and that discrimination in the North, while more subtle, is still as widespread as in the South. In matters of violence, he found more real bloodshed and hatred in the North—although curiously enough the Northern press, by a sort of unwritten agreement, de-emphasizes news of racial violence in its own backyard, while pointing a prim finger at the South.

But Editor Hall went further than generalized protest. He got on the telephone and his AP wire service whenever he heard of an outbreak of racial violence in the North, and assembled facts.

His initiative is illustrated by an editorial carried on June 3 about Northern coverage of the Buffalo race riot, in which teen-agers fought wildly on a Lake Erie excursion boat. *The New York Times* published the story on its last page—page 50. In Detroit one newspaper played it as far back as page 60 in three paragraphs. *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, a tireless critic of Southern race habits, put it in Section 2C under a one col. 30-pt. head. Hearst's *Daily Mirror* in New York put it on page five and eliminated all references to Negroes and race rioting. Some Northern papers, among them the Buffalo papers and those in Philadelphia and Kansas City, played it properly, but Hall concluded that coverage and play were far from adequate:

"Not a constable can withhold a reckless driving incident or a probate judge a marriage license without invoking austere chastisement . . . But Northern papers mask race news and refuse to use the word Negro to explain what happened."

Editor Hall's campaign, backed by other Southern editors, has done much in recent months to wipe out a Northern "iron curtain" around news of racial violence. Some Northern editors explain it as a well-meaning attempt to avoid agitating and inflaming violence by curtailing emphasis on race; occasionally such censorship serves good purpose, both North and South, but it should never be used sanctimoniously to smother evidence of racial discord in the North and heap coals and ashes on the South.

Still other observers explain that news of Southern race violence gets larger play in the Northern press because presumably Southern law is on the side of the white supremacists, and their activities ought to be publicized. But that is not always true.

The South will not purge its own soul of the sins of race discrimination by pointing to a plethora of the same in other regions, but through Grover Hall and others it may be able to convince the nation that racial problems are not exclusively confined to Southern regions, and the people of the South are not plagued by a distinctive disease.

Publish It Not In The Streets Of Askelon—XXVII.

Advertiser
Thurs. 7-12-56
Montgomery Ala.

ALL that we have said and documented about the Northern press and about the grievous, devious rejection of the Negro in mass applies as well to Europe and England. P.4-A

We illustrate—

Marion A. Boyette, chairman of the Governor's Committee for the Refugee Relief Program in Alabama, finds himself handicapped in his work by incompetent reporting in European newspapers on Southern race relations.

By act of Congress, this country is taking quotas of European refugees. But they are not allowed entry into the United States until jobs have been nailed down for them. Boyette is the Alabama middleman for employers and refugees.

Willie C. Duncan, Montgomery County poultry farmer, had agreed to provide employment for a Dutch family, Eb, Clara and Robert-Dam, Mariannestraat 36 A te Dordrecht, The Netherlands. Whereupon, the Dutchman got cold feet because, as he wrote Duncan:

A few days after we got your letter we received a letter from my wife's uncle, who lives in California. He wrote me not to emigrate to Alabama as we should not get accustomed there, because Alabama is a Negro state. Then he wrote that houses in Alabama are generaly bad, the wages are very low and that the *Negro children walk nakedly in the streets* . . . The last months we read something in our papers about Negro questions . . .

★

BOYETTE, who has had other such experiences, wrote the U.S. consul general at Rotterdam, Paul Reveley, of the matter. Reveley candidly answered:

It is difficult for us to ascertain whether the rejection of assurances from Alabama by prospective immigrants may be attributed to the rather unfavorable publicity which Alabama is, frankly, receiving in the foreign press.

★

IN THE course of the bus boycott, we had a number of European reporters here. One of them was unable to hide his fear of physical danger. It was laughable, except that his fear proclaimed the failure of the world's' press to explain the little matter that, despite all, Montgomery was as safe a place to be as in one's bed.

★

EVEN so incessant an expert on the South as the editor of the *New York Post* instructed Ted Poston, a Negro reporter he was sending to do a Montgomery story, to report to the office daily that he had not come to bodily harm.

With *The Advertiser* as Poston's headquarters and the Negro community to lionize him just short of seated teas, Reporter Poston enjoyed himself so much he stayed here two weeks longer than scheduled. Yet a New York editor who has printed a billion authoritative reports on Montgomery conditions had not understood that violence was not one of the attributes of the Montgomery situation. Some newspapers would consider that a substantial fact of the situation, perhaps worth getting over to Northern readers.

★

THERE were a number of visiting British journalists, including distinguished representatives of *The London Economist* and *The Manchester Guardian*. As Englishmen will, they made a quite ceremonious approach to collecting the Montgomery story.

One of them thought it a rather outlandish thing (as was recorded earlier in *The Advertiser*) when we tried to explain Montgomery race disharmony in terms of London race disharmony. Like the Northern conquistadore, he thought that different. Laws against it and all that sort of thing in England, old boy, now back to the great Gandhian movement of the Rev. Martin Luth . . .

★

LIKE the Northern writing gentleman again, these Englishmen could have remained at home to write of the sorrowful spectacle of the Negro's rejection—instead of leaving it to *U.S. News & World Report*.

The May 4 *U.S. News* reported from Birmingham, England:

A public official remarked to a visitor the other day:

"When colored people move into a new neighborhood here, there is hysteria. People think the area will deteriorate. Actually, it has already deteriorated. Otherwise, the colored people would never be allowed to move in."

The British, long critical of American attitudes toward Negroes, are finding all of a sudden that they have a "race problem" of their own. The Negro population is growing rapidly, bringing with it incidents of prejudice and discrimination.

The article tells that 2,000 Negroes from Jamaica are arriving in England every month. What follows is just what happens every month when 2,500 Negroes arrive in Chicago. It is the same in all respects. A similar dispatch to *The Pittsburgh Courier*, a Negro paper, confirms this with respect to the refusal of London hotels to register colored people.

★

OUR point is this: the American press had just as well cease ding-donging the Southern race story and poking nostrums at it until it competently brings home the fact to the American people that the race problem exists throughout this country, and everywhere else the Negro migrates in significant numbers. This problem *can't be thought about until the problem is first described. It has not been described, even geographically, let alone explained.*

Toledo Scales Conk Out

(Askelon XXVI.-B)

BEHOLD now George A. Benson, editor of *The Toledo Times.*

The song tells that Ohio is where "the shy little violets grow," but not so in the case of Editor Benson when he assumes the aping stance of Old Testament prophet, bangs his rod and his staff against the rock of his craggy perch, parts his beard, and warns Alabama of its ungodly way with the colored brother.

Consider his recent editorial entitled, "Harm Falls On Alabama." He is indignant that the attorney general of Alabama has moved against the NAACP. This was not the smartest thing ever done in Alabama, because it accomplishes but one thing—the strengthening and aggrandizement of the NAACP (for some time we have been wondering if the NAACP may not become an unwitting Dixie asset by repelling Northern citizens with its loud, showy, extreme, cry-baby siren wail).

★

BUT THAT'S apart from the subject of Prophet Benson, who is typical of the eyeless Northern editor—a veritable Fearless Fosdick when the race disharmony occurs under the Dixie magnolia, but a Weak Eyes Yokum merely when race disharmony occurs outside his office window.

Rasps Benson: "We'd like to know what the Attorney General of Alabama and his tag-tail Circuit Judge Walter B. Jones in Montgomery actually think of themselves now that they have taken the first crude action to shut down the NAACP. The information wouldn't mean much, of course, since it is quite clear that men who fight tolerance, justice, individual rights, the courts, the law and the Constitution, think nothing of their standing as men of good will, character, wisdom and justice so long as their work and position are measured by their devotion to the black and retrograde forces of resistance to law, justice and racially ecumenical [universal] rights. . . . Their taboos and touch-us-not conception of life. . ."

★

"TABOOS and touch-us-not," eh?

By now, *Advertiser* readers may be thinking they remember something about this Editor Benson, preceptor to Alabama. He was, in fact, the star of *Askelon VIII.*, April 5.

This article disclosed the "taboo" of *The Toledo Times* about printing news of a cross burned in a Toledo suburb because of a Negro and the Toledo "touch-us-not" as expressed in the fact that Toledo's large Negro population is tidily compressed into a ghetto.

Editor Benson is so busy with the race news of the day in Alabama that you had to learn about the Negro cross burning by reading in a New York newspaper. And the New York account was so sketchy that a Montgomery newspaper had to put a reporter on the long distance phone to Toledo to get details.

★

IN THE *New York Post* there appeared a little special dispatch from Toledo relating that a Negro maid, Inez Glenn, employe of Citizen John Fisher, had quit her job in fear. She slept in Mondays through Friday, but when her colored uncle came to pick her up for a week-end trip to visit relatives in downtown Toledo, the neighbors thought a Negro family was moving in, there was "loose talk" and two crosses were burned. Wise in the ways of Ohio brotherly love, Maid Glenn prudently quit her job.

You could learn about that incident in a New York paper, but not a line did *The Toledo Times* print.

★

THAT, we learned when we phoned Editor Benson, for he said: "We haven't had anything like that. . . I'm sure nothing like that has happened here."

But later, after checking with his news desk, Benson phoned *The Advertiser* back, confirmed the news from the outside about the inside, and said that *The Times* had not carried the story because the sheriff's office was "unable to pin it on anyone." Might have been just a prank.

★

HAD THE CROSS been burned in Montgomery, *The Times*, of course, would have printed it. The Toledo scales would not have failed to work in the case of Montgomery.

However, this specific *Times* dereliction of repertorial duty is not the substantial thing. What is significant is the newspaper attitude that begot the omission.

Nor can anything that happens in Toledo justify anything that happens in Montgomery. *The Advertiser* has repeatedly made that point. But how can the American people *get a realistic view of America's race problem when the newspapers in three quarters of America maintain a double-standard of race news reporting?* Until recently, how many Americans had ever read anything about a phenomenon like Dearborn, Mich.?

★

WITH OHIO'S emancipation tradition, why does not Editor Benson gird himself and lead the citizens of Fairborn, Ohio out of the darkness (which see in the adjoining column)? Having lighted the way in places like Hillsboro, Canton, Pekin and Fairborn, not to mention Medway, he could then resume his missionary exertions cloaked in the authority of consistency and previous success.

The Toledo Times

Fiat Lux

(Askelon—XXVIII.-B)

THE ACCOMPANYING inquiry on this into the society page discrimination against Negroes in the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain is gentle; in it, Grandma was constrained to tip her foil with a rose. This is because Scripps-Howard has created a newspaper tradition in this country that is fine, brave and brilliant.

Relatively speaking, the American press is easily the most independent in the world, and again relatively, the Scripps-Howard chain (chains prefer to be called "groups") are among the most independent of the American press.

There are no absolutes in the behavior of people or newspapers, but Scripps-Howard is as nearly beyond the reach of intimidation as newspapers get to be. Eloquent of this tradition of newsroom fortification against pressures is the exceptional arrangement through which the editor-in-chief of a Scripps paper negotiates the contracts with the printers' union, an intended shield for editorial integrity. On other papers such labor negotiation is the province of a business office agent.

★

BUT IT IS just this character and excellence of Scripps papers throughout the nation that made it an inviting target. What we have adduced about the "second class citizenship" among an element of Scripps subscribers is much more significant in the case of an idealistic, brave newspaper organization than it would have been in the case of a lesser paper or a known editorial sissy.

We might as well have chosen the papers of Publisher John Knight or James M. Cox since, like Scripps, they publish papers both in the South and the North. But Scripps was more inviting since it publishes so many more papers both in the North and the South.

★

THE QUESTION to Scripps executives was simple: do you, would you, publish a picture of a Negro bride in your society columns? It was not anticipated that the Scripps editor in Texas would give the same answer as the Scripps editor in Cleveland, and as you see in Mr. McConagha's interview, they didn't.

To sum up, a Negro bride in Knoxville could not get her picture in the Scripps paper. To get in a Scripps society section, she would have to move to Cleveland and take it up with somebody like the handsome bachelor editor of the *Press*, Richard Peters.

Yet the editorial page policies of Scripps papers are uniform on national issues. Scripps editorials are written by a Washington stable of sages and teletyped to the chain. One in 1954 applauded the Supreme Court decision against segregation in schools. But Scripps South continues to practice segregation in its society columns.

★

WHAT ELSE can Scripps do? What do you suppose the reaction would be if Scripps' *Birmingham Post-Herald* desegregated its society pages? That first-rate newspaper would disappear like a goat in a Bikini explosion.

Publishing, like politics, is "the art of the possible." Scripps recognizes this by maintaining a double-standard. In short, it partakes of local custom, for custom is powerful to behold and dangerous to defy.

★

THE *Advertiser* projects no censure of Scripps for thus cutting its cloth to the existing local patterns—for maintaining separate-but-equal facilities for its white and Negro subscribers in the South.

But we do venture to suggest that at the next Washington editorial writers' conference over an editorial urging the South to desegregate, Scripps editors might tenderize the Hammus Alabammus with a simultaneous discussion of Jim Crow society pages.

31a 1956 WHITE (JOE AZBELL)

CITY LIMITS

BY JOE AZBELL

THE REPORTS OF THE Howard Butt revival campaign have been wonderful. Butt young Texas grocery store chain executive, has been preaching each night at the Alabama Coliseum to some of the largest crowds the city has ever seen at revivals. It is expected that if he continues to attract the huge crowds of the next few days he will set an all-time record in Montgomery, having spoken to more than 100,000 people in the two weeks. The marvelous thing about the Butt revival is that here is a young man with a strong message. Seeing young Butt today as a young revivalist may herald a more famous religious figure of the next five years. There is no doubt that he will be remembered as one of the great religious laymen of this generation—and probably one of the outstanding religious laymen of all time if he continues to grow in stature in the future as he has done in the past few years.

PRISON BOARD CHAIRMAN and Oilman John Britton has been on vacation for the last few weeks . . . The new Montgomery ball team isn't a charity affair as some of our ball teams have been in the past It's a smackeroo of a team that can stand its own with Atlanta, Birmingham, Nashville, and other metropolitan centers of the South . . . The Rev. M. L. King's life story is featured in a current issue of a national magazine which is on the stands . . . The funny thing about this boycott of buses is that the leaders keep talking about the Negroes walking. Since the boycott began, Negroes have been riding more than ever before in their lives . . . A number of Montgomerians commute each day between Lake Martin and Montgomery. They stay at the lake with their families in the summer and enjoy before 7 a.m. and after 5 p.m. fishing. Among these lake commuters is Clyde Sellers who hasn't missed a day at his office. The shrine jamboree was a walloping success with the money going to the shrine charity fund . . . Bill Fields at Penny's has been doing an outstanding job in promoting downtown Montgomery and civic enterprises . . . C. T. Fitzpatrick was talking about the big improvement campaign being planned on the exterior of the Empire Rouse operation on Adams . . . Fitzpatrick recently was elected president of the laundry following the death of L D. Rouse . . . Neal Posey has returned to Montgomery as manager of the local office of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. He formerly was head of the Roanoke, Va., office for the foundation . . . The annual Chisholm Civitan Club barbecue will be held Aug. 1 from 11:30 a.m. to 8 p.m. at the Hattie Goree Park in Chisholm . . . Sam Till is club president . . . Joe Seaman who was for many years connected with the Montgomery Police Department, was telling friends that he will reach his 75th birthday Sunday. Seaman doesn't think he will be celebrating since he will be in the hospital for an operation . . . It's rumored incidentally that Recorder Court Judge John Scott will retire in the fall. Candidates for his post would be Eugene Loe and Luther Waller . . . Tom Carlisle, chief of the criminal investigation unit of the Alabama Highway Patrol, hails from Dadeville and was among the few motorcycle policemen appointed by late Gov. Bibb Graves when he was serving his second administration . . . Hartley Norman, popular clerk at the Jefferson Davis Hotel, back on the job after illness. . .Miss Laura Howard, popular Algernon Blair Inc., employe, back on job after annual vacation . . . J. H. Smith who served two terms as warden at Draper Prison, was telling friends he will reach his 95th birthday in November . . . Alton Long back from visit with his family. He's in Macon, Ga., for L and N now.

THINGS TO COME: Look for early development on the Houston Hill project.

Interesting sights: The way certain oldtimers follow the day to day operations on the new courthouse . . . The fact that no new two-story homes are being built here . . . Everybody cutting grass which has grown giant-like during recent rains.

An Interview With NAACP Brass—II

Advertiser Wed. 6-27-56

Despite Setbacks And Resistance, NAACP Leaders Look For 'Complete Integration' By Jan. 1, 1963, Centennial Of Lincoln's Proclamation

P.A-A

Montgomery, Ala.

By Joe Azbell

City Editor, The Advertiser

NEW YORK, N. Y.

TALL, easy mannered Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has a way of making himself seem to be a spokesman for all Negroes.

AZBELL

But unlike many lobbyists and association big shots, Wilkins reels off the names of other Negro leaders who are participating in the civil rights cause and heaps credit on them lavishly.

He doesn't talk of what he has done—but what others have done — NAACP Attorney Thurgood Marshall, Senator Herbert Lehman, Senator Wayne Morse, the Rev. M. L. King, Autherine Lucy, and many others.

It is obvious that the NACCP welcomes competitive forces as long as they dovetail into the program of integration. Maybe it is an illusion, but the NAACP seems to be attempting to parcel out to unattached Negroes part of the integration campaign.

The nation might tire of the shout and tumult of integration. That is, unless there is a dramatic action among the Negroes that could keep the integration campaign colorful.

The Subversive Charge

BOTH Wilkins and NAACP Public Relations Director Henry Lee Moon perspiring in the hot national office of NAACP in New York's Freedom House, which has wall fans but no air conditioning, spoke of the charges of "subversive" against the NAACP with compassion. "Henry (Moon) wants to sue those who make these charges but I don't go along. It is so silly up here that the NAACP is communist dominated. It is incredible to the Northerner. But to the Southern politican, it is another tool in his waging of war to maintain the status quo."

Of all the Southern white men, it now emerged that the most feared is not Senator James Eastland or Herman Talmadge or Asa Carter or Sam Engelhardt although all of these are on a NAACP watching list. The eloquent speaker on segregation, Eugene Cook, attorney general of Georgia, has thrown a monkey wrench into the NAACP order of things in the South especially. Last year, Cook charged the NAACP was infiltrated with reds and pinks. He was followed with other charges by Lt. Gov. Ernest Hodges of South Carolina, Senator Eastland and North Carolina Asst. Atty. Gen. Beverly Lake. The Negro integrationists at first ignored their charges as "gnat flutterings"

Cook's Canard

BUT slowly the members of the NAACP felt the impact of the charges and began to ask national headquarters how to answer them. Then was printed Roy Wilkin's three-page "NAACP Reply To The Cook Canard." He charged: "Mr. Cook's speech is full of distortions, word juggling, free translations and untruths." He further attacked Cook as dreaming up the entire speech: "This string of inaccuracies suggests the whole speech is concoction."

Wilkins' reply did not down the outbursts of "subversive." This month the NAACP printed a red, white and blue pamphlet showing its Americanism, its origin, and its connections with J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI and Presidents of the United States. (The frontispiece contains the pledge of allegiance to the flag.)

While in the office, letters were opened from members who wanted to know how to reply to the "subversive" charge. It is a prime requisite of the NAACP today to throw off this brand lest it spread and affect adversely its integration program.

Battle Of Untruths

THE Cook charge was made on Oct. 19, 1955—and now in June, 1956, the NAACP has had published the pamphlet to answer the mail and questions on it. Of course, the charges of subversive against the NAACP is as untrue as the charge of fascist against the White Citizens Council. The untruth of the fascist charge against the WCC in the North apparently is offset by the untruth of the charge of "subversive" against the NAACP in the South. Both are political action groups, one for the white, the other for the Negro.

The Negro has, of course, been a major target of the Communist Party (this factor has been outlined in at least three books on the subject) and the Reds have taken over a few Negro organizations, including the Garvey Back To Africa Movement, International Labor Defense and the National Negro Congress.

"There have been instances—most of them occuring on the West Coast — where locals of the NAACP have been infiltrated by communists. Some persons prominent in NAACP affairs have been identified with one or another of the various communist front organizations. But on the whole, the leadership of the association and the great majority of the NAACP branches have followed a vigorous anti-communist policy," *The Winston-Salem Journal Sentinel* observed recently.

Hoover's Testimonial

BUT factually, J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI has frequently praised the NAACP. The Attorney General of the U. S. has named 12 Negro organizations as being communist fronts. The House Un-American Activities Committee has listed seven such organizations. The NAACP has never been named on either list.

Getting down to the Alabama level, Wilkins couldn't recall, and made no effort to get his membership director to look up the figures of NAACP membership in Alabama. He bypassed with "no comment" statement the outlawing of the NAACP in Alabama. But he did let drop the fact that the closing of the Birmingham office of the NAACP would disrupt all Southern NAACP activities as it is the Southeastern branch headquarters — not merely the headquarters of Alabama. The kayo of the NAACP in Alabama thus would force a removal of that office to some other regional spot. He said that NAACP activities had been suspended temporarily in Alabama

Migration Is No Answer

THE migration of the Negro to the North, in the opinion of Wilkins, would not prove a racial panacea but certainly would ease the attitude of the white psychologically in the South. He did not visualize an intensification of the problem of discrimination in the North as a result of this migration except in the field of housing where already exists a problem. "It is wishful thinking on the part of the South to think the Negro problem is going to flutter away on the wings of the census. It may relieve the problem and make it easier to work with from an integration standpoint but the problem will stay in the South." Another of the NAACP officials noted the continuance of the Southern problem despite the vast migration of the last 10 years.

Amid this conversation, Wilkins was asked about the integration status of the NAACP staff as I had seen no white person, up to that point, roaming the corridors of this integration center of the nation. Within minutes, a young white girl, not more than 20, appeared in Moon's office. She was not the bouncy, chic secretary of the skyscrapers but appeared a reticent studious girl who would be efficient at her job. She was introduced as Moon's assistant in his public relations role. This white girl was the symbol of integration, so it seemed, in this Negro organization.

Although there were those Negro-blooded staff members who were as white as the late Walter White, (whose huge framed portrait and a second large photograph, were in the lobby) race-mixing appeared to be of little concern here. I discovered in the talk with Wilkins that of the 75 employes only every fifteenth person was white. The labor secretary, Herbert Hill, the only white among the 21 top executives, occupies an office on another floor. Of the 48 directors, only 12 (including Eleanor Roosevelt, Senator Herbert Lehman and the CIO's Walter Reuther are Caucasian. In fairness to Wilkins, he almost apologetically explained: "We have had more whites on the staff in the past."

"Mississippi-ism"

THE NAACP, which Moon admitted had inaugurated (and has been partially successful in developing) a campaign to prohibit the use of "nigger" and "darkie" and other derisive appellations, has coined derisive terms to describe Southern segregation. "Mississippi-ism," intended to label the "lynch law" of the South, apparently is a hang-over from the Emmett Till trial. A huge poster, "Stamp Out Mississippi-ism" with a tombstone listing the names of George W. Lee, Lamar Smith, Emmett Till and Clinton Melton, hangs in the outer office with the campaign cry, "Join NAACP" beneath it.

Mississippi again is used as the goat of NAACP literature in a poster, entitled "Mississippi Commandment" showing a Negro bo yof about eight with a thuggish cigar smoking white mobster holding a pistol. Above this tombstone background are the words, "Thou Shalt Not Whistle." (The thought runs through the mind: the Rev. King handles Alabama, the NAACP has Mississippi.)

The literature of NAACP, carefully designed much in the style of national brand advertising, preaches the doctrine of integration. Says one pamphlet: " . . . Economic pressure, the denial of jobs and the withholding of credit from Negro homeowners, farmers and the business and professional men has been used increasingly to replace the cruder and bloodier forms of intimidation and terror."

Integration Membership Records

ONE pamphlet by Wilkins takes up the Southern states which practice segregation. Its title: "The War Against the United States."

The NAACP has 310,000 members — only the Lord knows how many are white and how many Negroes for the records are integrated. If all these were Negroes, it would be two per cent of the 16,000,000 U. S. Negroes. There are 1,300 branches—at least one in every state but New Hampshire, Vermont, North Dakota, Wyoming and Maine. How these states escaped the NAACP's drive isn't known.

Publicity and education are the main tools of the NAACP. Besides a monthly magazine, *The Crisis* (50,000 circulation) and *The NAACP Bulletin*, its office got out 124 pamphlets and brochures last eyar—altogether 1,500,000 pieces of literature Last year's educational budget came to over $600,000. The total income, including branches and other activities, reached $1,200,000. Included was $311,-000 for NAACP's Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc., a separate unit which is tax exempt. (Headed by Thurgood Marshall, the fund has a staff of six full-time paid attorneys and a reservoir of at least 40 volunteer lawyers around the country. About 500 requests for legal support passed through the fund's office for screening in 1955.)

Mississippi Again

AGAIN hitting at Mississippi, the NAACP's legal arm claims, "Segregation in public places and recreation has been banned largely. Negroes are voting freely in most states except Mississippi."

The NAACP, more than any other group, claims the victor's laurels in education integration and points out that more than 2,000 Negro students are now attending white Southern colleges. A quarter of a million Negro boys and girls now attend public schools with white boys and girls in states that separated them less than two years ago. Marshall, now 47, joined the NAACP in 1938 at $2,400 a year; he now draws $14,000 a year.

The "holdout" states as listed by Wilkes are those Southeast provinces of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia, who, he says, are attempting to circumvent the Supreme Court decision.

"Even some of our best friends and well wishers," the NAACP concedes, "are charging us with immoderate and unreasonable haste, with intransigence and extremism . . . of going too, too fast and pushing too hard to bring together white and Negro children in the same schools." As a New York reporter put it, "It's this reaction that makes the NAACP's leaders suspicious, to put it mildly, of gradualists."

In its integration planning, the NAACP has set Jan. 1, 1963, the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation as target date for the "complete integration of all vestiges of second class citizenship under which Negro Americans still suffer."

CITY LIMITS

• • • By JOE AZBELL • • •

Advertiser P.3-F

The Grand Jury—Cornerstone Of Justice

CROWDED in the courtroom on the second floor of the Montgomery County Courthouse last week were scores of people, Negro and white, waiting to tell 18 local men about crimes. The 18 are merchants, salesmen, telephone workers, laborers, waiters and retired people. They will listen to the people and ask questions. When all of the information has been heard they will decide which cases are to be tried in Circuit Court this year.

AZBELL

The power of a grand jury—such as the Montgomery County panel now in session—compares with the force of lightning. It has almost unlimited striking range as long as it can make a connection between a person and a crime. To make certain that it can make the connection, witnesses to crimes and criminal investigative experts are called before the jury to explain every detail of the crimes.

Jan. 2-19-56

Montgomery's current jury, investigating the Negro boycott of Montgomery City Lines buses along with other violations of the law, was described yesterday by Judge Eugene Carter as the "grand inquisitorial body."

Montgomery, Ala.

It may inquire into anything in Montgomery County. It may report on anything. Although it is not generally known, a grand jury can not criticize unless it also indicts. If it does criticize without indicting, the criticism may be struck from the record on motion.

Ancient System

NO OTHER BODY in the government of the nation, state or city has the unique distinction of the grand jury. It is governmental, investigative, judicial and yet completely independent. It is composed of 18 men. If 12 agree, an indictment may be returned.

The origins of the grand jury are lost in antiquity. But as a writer expressed it: "Shakespeare remarked in Twelfth Night that there were jurymen before Noah was a sailor. This may or may not be so but we do know that the system became fully established in England after the Norman conquest and that ever since it has been the bulwark of human liberty.

"Lord Coke even went so far as to explain the number 12 usually chosen. So sacred was such duty considered that the same number was picked as the Lord chose for His Apostles.

"In a 'Guide to English Juries,' printed in 1682, the following passages occurs: In analogy of late the jury is reduced to the number 12, like were the prophets were 12 to foretell the truth; the Apostles were 12 to preach the truth; the discoverers 12, sent to Canaan to seek and report the truth and the stones 12 that the heavenly Jerusalem is built on. So the grand jury carries through the idea of 12 — who must agree before the 18-man body can indict.

The grand jury is the cornerstone of criminal procedure in the courts. A person chosen for grand jury service must be above reproach. The juries may investigate three types of cases: those mentioned by the court, those brought to the jury's notice by the solicitor, or violations known by members of the grand jury. No hearsay evidence may be admitted and if a case comes before the panel that concerns one of the member, he must withdraw.

Code Of Secrecy

THE PROCEEDINGS are as secret as a fraternal gathering.

Stiff fines are imposed for violation of the secrecy code. The jurors have certain goals that require this secrecy.

The local jury investigates at each session the condition of the county jail, the status of the county treasury, the sheriff's accounts, the books of the superintendent of education and the books of the probate office.

The judge is required by law to instruct the jury to check violations of the pharmacy laws, sales of dope and the like, violations of insurance laws, in instances where agents act without a license, misrepresent policies or give rebates.

Among other criminal offense which the law requires the judge to warn the jury to probe is the carrying of concealed weapons (which locally has always been a strong investigative point), use of automobiles, election law violations, gaming, prohibition law violations, contributions of corporations to campaign funds, election bets, adulterating and selling of candies, forming pools to regulate prices, failure of tax assessor to administer oath to taxpayer, laws relating to prisoners and any important crimes of direct bearing on the happiness of the community.

The Solicitor's Role

WITNESSES WHO FAIL to appear before the grand jury after they are called may be punished for contempt. The witnesses may be called by the solicitor, foreman or clerk.

In all of the proceedings of the grand jury, the circuit solicitor plays an important role. He may aid in the investigation, call certain witnesses and generally assist the jury. But once the jurors begin to express opinions or votes, he must leave the room.

The actions of the grand jury must remain secret until the indicted person is arrested. Any judge, solicitor, clerk or other officer of the court or grand juror who discloses the fact that an indictment has been found before the defendant has been arrested, may be fined $200 or more and sentenced to six months in jail.

The grand jury has certain rules to abide by. In murder prosecution against a Negro, there must be a Negro on the jury or a higher court could throw out the indictment on grounds Negroes were systematically excluded from jury servce.

Reporting Ritual

WHEN THE GRAND JURY reports, there is a procedure as ancient as the jury system that is ceremoniously staged. The court asks the foreman of the jury: "Is the grand jury ready to report?" The foreman replies. The court states: "Let the indictments be received and filed by the clerk of the court as of this date."

Judge Carter also tells the jury in its adjournment:

"No more patriotic duty can be performed than that of a fearless, conscientious and honest juror. There is no satisfaction that will exceed the knowledge of a duty well performed."

The jury — when it returns its report — always is certain that none of the indictments cover any witness which appear before it.

If a witness is indicted, the courts must throw out the indictment. The only exception would be that a witness discussed the crime of his own volition and without questioning from the panel or solicitor, and the crime didn't relate to the matter the witness was called to testify about.

"The jury is a strong force in our government," Judge Carter says. "It is strong because it is the voice of the people speaking out. There can be no stronger voice in our land."

CITY LIMITS

• • • By JOE AZBELL • • •

Advertiser

Juvenile Racial Unrest

A WHITE GIRL was knocked down, her dress torn and her books scattered by a group of Negro children recently. A group of white youths was bombed with bricks tossed by Negroes as their car stopped at a light signal. One of the rocks cut a gash in the head of one youth. A group of white youths tossed rotten potatoes at a car filled with Negroes. A hot rod, loaded to the bumper with teenagers zoomed through downtown Montgomery one night last week as a chorus boomed from the car: "We're looking for a big fat nigger."

Jan. 2-12-56

AZBELL

These occurrences are vivid illustrations of the current juvenile problem in Montgomery. As yet the racial pranks and vandalism acts have been much like Halloween assaults on a Chic Sale. But they are serious enough to cause Police Commissioner Clyde C. Sellers, Juvenile Court Judge Wiley Hill Jr. and local youth and social workers to ruffle their brows with justified concern.

The AF Wars Of 1954-55

P. 3-B

THESE OFFICIALS recall vividly clashes of Montgomery teenagers with Gunter and Maxwell airmen in 1954 and 1955. They have file histories that tell of carloads of airmen fighting with carloads of teen-agers. The clashes resulted from resentment of the invasion of the community's life by airmen. Gradually the conflicts intensified and became a major community problem.

How many of these pranks has occurred? Many more than the public knows of. The incidents normally are so minor — in many cases they involve only the tossing of a pebble — that police officials do not always receive reports. But Commissioner Sellers has received enough reports to consider the juvenile situation as a very delicate problem.

The commissioner — as did the court officials and social workers — emphasized there is no juvenile delinquency problem of alarming consequence in the community — at this moment. The repeated incidents however, could create a problem that would affect the lives of every man, woman and child in the community.

Montgomery, Ala.

Parental Control Needed

AS A VETERAN youth official here said: "We have before us a situation involving youngsters who do not normally believe their acts of playing pranks are any more than an expression of a deep emotion. An adult normally and sensibly could see the stupidity and the danger of his actions in festering the community's racial situation. But a youngster might fester it with the complete belief he was only demonstrating his manhood and the beliefs of his region. It is imperative that parents take a hand in the matter of guiding and directing their children especially now."

Juvenile Court Judge Wiley Hill Jr., who is recognized as one of the veteran juvenile court officials in the South, said the problem in juvenile actions (not delinquency) is with "first timers."

"For the most part, the youngsters are expressing inner emotions with pranks. They feel that they must assert themselves in some manner in all of the conflict about us. It is a dangerous thing and a type of actions that could have untold affect on the life of the community."

He said there definitely does not exist a "really tough element" in the juvenile ranks as "existed 10 or 15 years ago." The new prolem lies "with the first timers."

The officials fear the "herd psychology" could lead to problems that would affect the overall pattern of racial relationships here in an adverse manner that "would not be easily detected." As a matter of record, the acts of careless youths could be imprinted as the acts of adults.

Water Balloons And Dirt Bombs

ALREADY IN the current situation arising from the boycott of the Montgomery City Lines by Negroes, both white and Negro youths have been guilty of repeated acts of petty vandalism that have drawn more taut the line of racial conflict. Explosion of water balloons and tossing of dirt bombs are major incidents of the past week.

How can these juveniles be controlled in their actions?

Judge Hill gives this formula:

1. Parents should be aware where their children are going. They should check on their activities and make certain that they are not part of any "prank gangs."

2. Parents should counsel their children about the dangerous facets of the present situation and tell them of the tremendous dangers that lie in agitating an already explosive situation.

3. Parents should warn their children of association with other youngsters who are known to be over-enthusiastic in their thinking and actions.

4. Parents should be certain their children are receiving a proper diet of church guidance and home training that would act as a balance in their actions away from home.

"If there is a belief these acts of vandalism of juvenile actions are contained to the poorer families, it is certainly a misconception. The children of wealthy families in our best residential areas are equally in the problem. It is not contained in any basic economic class or any basic social class but the problem is in the general juvenile community," he said.

Small Incidents Are Dangerous

JUDGE HILL warned of contributing factors in the "prankism movement." He said most of the incidents involving wrong juvenile actions occur after 8 at night and there generally is an automobile involved. He said that the automobile doesn't necessarily always belong to the youths involved but it might be a car of a completely innocent youngster.

Commissioner Sellers appealed to the youngsters and their parents in this way:

"We are faced in our city with a tremendous problem involving a racial difficulty that may be with us for a long time. It is a time for cool actions and it is important that we do not have violence of any sort—even the smallest type.

"I believe that adults understand this and recognize the problem. We certainly have in our city the most wonderful group of youngsters of any city in the south. We are proud of them but there have been some incidents which have occurred that show there are some youths who are not using their best judgment in this current situation.

"I believe beyond any doubt that these youngsters, if told of the importance of maintaining even tempers and of abstaining from even the smallest act of playing pranks or even using abusive language toward the Negro race, would certainly cooperate. I have that much faith in our youngsters. I know they will understand the problem we are faced with if it is told to them in the right way by their parents."

Judge Hill expressed the same view: "It is important that parents educate their children — talk with them. We have a fine youth group here — it is only when they do not understand all of the problem that they allow themselves to become involved in wrong situations."

Actually Negroes outrank whites by large numbers in juvenile delinquency but Judge Hill said that so far more acts of whites in playing pranks than by Negroes have been reported.

CITY LIMITS

• • • By JOE AZBELL • • •

Advertiser P.3-p

Money Talks

THE OTHER day a Montgomerian was arguing the issue of states' rights. He advocated the point that the states have the right of self-determination. He blasted the Supreme Court decision on integration of the schools. His listener explained the Supreme Court was the highest court and was the final ruling on laws.

Jan. 5-20-56

AZBELL

"Well," said the segregation advocate, "if the Supreme Court is right then our money isn't any good because there's a lie printed on it. Our money says we are entitled to states' rights."

With that, he whipped out his wallet and planked down a crisp dollar bill. "Look at that greenback and tell me we don't have states' rights. It's printed right on there that we do."

In essence the segregation advocate was correct. The dollar bill does signify states' rights. The states' rights feature is shown in the shield on the Great Seal printed on the dollar bill. This shield is across the eagle's breast and signifies self reliance. It contains 13 stripes as a reminder that each individual state had its own governing process, its basic rights and responsibilities and was united with the other states in the protection of the national government and freedom. But this idea of states' rights is as old as the Great Seal of the United States.

Montgomery, Ala.

Lucre Symbols

TAKE OUT a dollar bill and look at the green back. There's a powerful lesson on every dollar bill. The two circles on the green back represent both sides of the Great Seal of the United States. Few people understand anything about these seals. They know only that they make money official legal tender.

For example, only a handful of people understand the significance of the pyramid and the eye above it. In a series of tests made nationally, an educational group discovered only one person in 100 had the faintest notion of the meaning and yet these symbols are printed on every one of the 1.5 billion dollar bills now in circulation.

The founding fathers thought it was so important to express the basic truths of the nation in the Great Seal and that the matter was brought before Congress on the very afternoon of the signing of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776.

Three men — Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams — were appointed as a committee to prepare the seal. The seal required much more study than the Declaration of Independence. It was to be a small seal but it had to embody all of the things that the new nation stood for.

Six years later, largely through the efforts of William Barton and Charles Thomson, Congress passed a resolution approving the final design of the Great Seal.

Creed Of A New Nation

CONGRESS approved the seal because it represented American thinking.

Here is what the various parts of the seal mean:

Pyramid: First of all, note the pyramid in the left hand circle. it represents the material strength of the country. In the words of William Barton, who played the big part in designing it, it stands for strength and duration.

Eye: Directly above the pyramid is the "Eye of God," which, though separate, completes the pyramid. It emphasizes the importance of putting the spiritual welfare of the country above the material prosperity. The founding fathers firmly believed that strength was rooted in God and that progress must always be under the watchful eye of Providence.

Under God: The words, "Annuit Coeptis," circling the top of the seal are once again a significant proof of the faith of the founding fathers and this nation's dependence on God. These words mean: "He (God) has favored our undertakings."

New Order: Now look at the three Latin words directly under the pyramid — "Novus Ordo Seclorum" — which mean "A new order of ages." They signify that this new republic, which had just been founded, introduced a new age in the life and freedom of the people of the world. That it ushered in a new era in which the people themselves would be able to exercise their God-given rights to self-government.

Started in 1776: "The Roman numerals — MDCCLXXVI — at the base of the pyramid add up to 1776 — the beginning of the United States as an independent nation.

And States' Rights

THE RIGHT hand circle on the back of the dollar bill also has significance.

Here are the meanings:

Eagle: It first became our national emblem in 1782 when it was chosen for the Great Seal as a symbol of strength and victory.

States Rights: This is shown on the shield that each state is individual but united for strength.

The Role of Congress: The bar across the top of the shield stands for Congress as the unifying and binding force of the states. The color of the bar and stripes are red, white and blue in the Seal itself. Red signifies hardiness and valor; white, purity and innocence; and blue, vigilance, perseverance and justice.

Peace Comes First: In the right talon or claw of the eagle, you will note an olive branch and, looking closely, you will see it has 13 olive leaves. In the Eagle's left talon is a bundle of 13 arrows. Symbolizing the power of peace and war, the olive branch and arrows are a reminder to the 13 states of their obligation first to work for peace and against war.

Ring of Light: Finally above the eagle's head is a ring of light in gold, surrounding 13 stars of silver on a blue field. The stars denote a "new state taking its place and rank among other soveign powers."

All of these facts recently were brought out in a national program that pointed up the meaning of the dollar bill. To the South, it has particular meaning in its present problems but in itself the dollar bill contains a history all its own.

Probably the reason more people don't know the meaning of the dollar bill symbols is that in these days of inflation people don't keep their dollars long enough to get a good look at them.

31a 1956 WHITE (JOE AZBELL)

'Tell It Not In Gath, Publish It Not In The Streets Of Askelon'-XI.

Advertiser P.1

By JOE AZBELL
Advertiser City Editor

Early Saturday morning, a Dothan woman who is the mother of a University of Wisconsin student, called to make an appointment for 14 U of W students who wanted to take sharp issue with two fellow students who had advocated mixed dating in an Advertiser story early this week. Jan. 4-8-56

The students had been vacationing in Florida. The Dothan student, Phil Forrester, discovered the publication of the U of W interview article on visits in Auburn and Dothan where he became the victim of kidding about mixed dates. Montgomery

Forrester read the article and showed it to his vacationing classmates. They declared in mass: "Foul." Ala.

The students thereupon descended on The Advertiser, driving many miles out of their way, to say primarily these things:

1. There is discrimination against Negroes on the campus of the University of Wisconsin.

2. Mixed dates are not approved—they are merely tolerated.

3. The majority of students oppose mixed dating.

4. None of them knows any students who dates Negroes.

5. Fraternities and sororities discriminate against Negroes.

6. The two U of W students who were interviewed didn't speak for them—period.

The students emphasized again and again that they were speaking as individuals—not for the university, not for fraternities or sororities (they are members) and not for any clique or group.

"But we want to set the facts right about this thing," one of the students declared, "Negroes are discriminated against at the University of Wisconsin. There is a program being advocated toward integration but there is still discrimination."

The original interview article quoted Herbert Lawson, a journalism school student down South to do articles on race disorders, as saying the school was integrated and "no discrimination existed" among the student body. He and a classmate also considered the idea of dating Negro girls while in Montgomery and said they were not opposed to mixed dating.

The 14 students interviewed yesterday included Charlotte Pagel, Milwaukee, Wis.; Jan Heald, Sheboygan, Wis.; Jane Hartig Greenbush; Mary Heerman, Sheboygan; Betty Leone, Milwaukee; Gil Homstad, Black River Falls; Bill Anderson, Wausau; Forrester, Dothan, Ala.; Mac Miller, Madison; Wilson Greaton, Stevens Point; Bob Holmberg, Skokie, Ill.: Phil McGuire, Chicago, Ill.; Paul Wrobleski, Rocky River, Ohio; and Bill Scharringhausen, Park Ridge, Ill.

QUESTION SESSION

Here are the questions and answers of the students:

Q. What do you think about mixed dating?

Mac Miller, Madison, Wis.: "I am against it. It is contrary to my moral beliefs, my disposition, my way of thinking, my upbringing, my heritage, my ideas, my personal makeup, and my outlook. I am opposed personally to mixed dating. What someone else does is their business.

Q. What happens to a girl's reputation at U of W if she dates a Negro boy?

Mary Heermann, Sheboygan, Wis.: "I actually know no girl close to me who ever dated a Negro boy. I am not going to think less of a girl if she does date a Negro boy. I once went out with a Chinese fellow."

Q. Is there mixed dating on the U of W campus?

Phil McGuire, Chicago, Ill: "It does happen a little. But you don't come into contact enough with it to notice it too much."

Answers from the crowd: "I have seen mixed dates." "You see it sometimes". "Talking about it is making a mountain out of a mole hill." "It involves so few people."

Wilson Greaton, Stevens Point, Wis.: "Less than two per cent of the students are Negroes. I don't think that 10 per cent of the two per cent ever date whites. There would be 20 Negroes out of 200. Those who do date Negroes are in a separate social group."

Mary Heermann: "I have seen mixed couples at Union dances. They are accepted there. No one says anything about them."

One of the students opposed her statement: "You wouldn't take them home and introduce them to your folks."

Mary Heermann declared: "I certainly would."

Bob Holberg, Skokie, Ill: "I think mixed dates are tolerated. They are not accepted."

Q. Do you know of any mixed married couples on the campus?

Phil McGuire: "I know of one couple. But they don't go to the University of Wisconsin."

Another student popped up: "I suppose there are some but we don't know about them."

Q. Is there discrimination on the campus?

Gil Homstad, Black River Falls, Wis.: "Of course there is discrimination. There is only one Negro in a fraternity out of the 37 fraternities on the campus. He is the only one I know of."

The other students joined in: "Yes, he's the only one. He's in a Jewish fraternity."

SOCIAL SEGREGATION

Homstad interrupted: "There are fraternities and sororities on the campus which have national discriminatory clauses in their bylaws. They have been given until 1960 by the university to have their national clauses changed. If they are not changed, they will be removed from the campus."

Q. Would you say there is complete integration on the campus?

One student declared: "No, it is not. We are working toward it."

Charlotte Pagel, Milwaukee: "There were two Negroes in a dormitory where I stayed. There was no discrimination against these girls. They were socially accepted. They were actually very nice."

Q. Why were you so concerned about Lawson's statements on mixed dating?

McGuire: "Because the majority of students—I would say 99 per cent of them—fall into the category of opposing mixed dating."

Other students disagreed with the 99 per cent figure and added: "It would be more nearly correct to say just a majority."

Homstad: The reason is you never see mixed couples. They don't go to formal proms and things as mixed couples."

Other students: "I have seen mixed couples." "Me, too." "Not too often, but on the streets and places like that."

Q. What about communism on the campus? Is there any?

Homstad: "I would say there are approximately three to six members of the Labor Youth League. There's probably not more than three and they are known for what they are. They are a standard joke."

Q. Did any of you take part in a boycott of a barber shop where the barber refused to cut a Negro's hair because it was too kinky? Advertiser

The students in a jumbled mass of statements: P.5-A

"Most of us never heard of it."

"What was that about anyway?"

"I heard rumors about it but only a small group of students took part."

"It was in the papers one day and then nothing else was said about it."

Q. Have you heard about the Montgomery Negro bus boycott on your campus?

All of the students said they had.

Q. Have you heard about the Negro segregation violence at Trumbull Park?

Only the Chicago student had heard about the violence at Trumbull Park. The others said they had not heard of it.

Q. Did you know the mayors race in Milwaukee centered on racial segregation this year?

Only the Milwaukee students knew of the segregation angles of the Milwaukee mayors race.

SMALL PROBLEM

From time to time in the interview, the students protested the mixed dating issue at the university was "so very, very small because it concerns so very, very few people."

The students were told in Alabama following the Autherine Lucy incident which involved only one student, the numbers of participants has been unimportant.

Q. What did you, Forrester, as an Alabamian, think when you saw your first mixed couple at the University of Wisconsin?

Forrester: "I was shocked. I had never seen anything like it before. I was just plain shocked. You don't see it much so I didn't have to avoid it. But I was shocked and rather amazed."

Most of the students said they came from cities where there was no large Negro population—only a couple of Negroes or none at all.

One girl student volunteered: "I live in Milwaukee and on the next street to us, the Negroes moved in and the people put their houses up for sale."

Bill Anderson, Wausau, Wis: "I once lived with a guy from Libya in the dormitory. I didn't pay enough attention to him to find out how to spell Libya."

Mac Miller, Madison, Wis.: "I agree with your newspaper in turning the tables on the North. I am a very limited person probably living in a very limited sphere. But I am inclined to agree that despite all said about integration, we are very slightly hipocritical about it. There is a small thing in the back of our minds that causes this.

The students secured several issues of The Advertiser with the original interview article commenting:

"What the other person does is his business. But for us, this isn't the fact."

The students were asked in mass: "Would you or any of you ever date a Negro or consent to a double date with a mixed couple or a Negro couple?"

The students replied in mass: "Never. But what the other person does is not our concern."

Wisconsin University Students Discuss Mixed Dates

EDITORIAL PAGE

¶ *Editorial: "Name's McKay—Howdy."*

¶ *Tom Johnson of our Gath-Askelon bureau: Gov. "Soapy" Williams of Michigan cancelled his Birmingham banquet speech because of the segregation ordinance, but he begs for votes in certain Michigan cities which exclude all Negro residents.*

¶ *Monday's editorial page: Steve Lesher records a news race discrimination facet in New York, which is that Negroes discriminate against Puerto Ricans and don't want to live in the same neighborhood. Real estate operators fatten on this prejudice of the Negro, once the whites have moved out.*

¶ *An editorial," . . . Lest The Daughters Of The Philistines Rejoice," telling the ancient tale of David and the cities of Gath and Askelon (Second Book of Samuel).*

¶ *Upcoming this week: a Detroit newspaper scandal.*

An Interview With NAACP Brass

Advertiser P 4 A

Discrimination Against Negroes In The North Is A Fact Negro Leaders Admit, But They Insist The South Is Still Their Primary Target Area

June 26 56

Montgomery, Ala.

By Joe Azbell
City Editor, The Advertiser

NEW YORK, NEW YORK.

OVER the door of Freedom House at 20 West 40th St. an American flag hung wilted in the muggy heat.

On two and half floors of this concrete and brick building, looking down on the Grecian temple of the New York Public Library and a neatly laid out park close by, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the controversial disturber of the southern way of life, pursues its master plan to integrate the colored and white races of the land.

AZBELL

The neat lobby of the modest sized building is illuminated with the idealism of the social and labor organizations which occupy its seven floors. The whole concept of freedom from the Magna Carta to the United Nations theme in enshrined on the walls, documents of freedom that are as famous as American democracy itself.

Perched atop a low base in one corner, a bust of Abraham Lincoln, not the wrestling railsplitter but bowtied, dignified Lincoln of the brown penny, watches over this extravaganza of freedom scrolls.

On this side of the room, nothing of the race mixing bugaboo is evident. This could be a wall in the civic room of a white class in a Black Belt school. From this display, Freedom House, a memorial building to the late Wendell L Willkie and his "One World" idea, gets its name and significance.

On the opposite wall, the doctrine of integration is the repeated theme. There is attached a plaque that to the Negro is as important as the Emancipation Proclamation and to the South as incendiary and dispised as Sherman's March through Georgia. The plaque proclaims: "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place." Underneath this "commemoration of a historic decision by the U. S. Supreme Court May 17, 1954" are listed the names of the justices who agreed without dissent.

Near the elevators in huge letters again is emblazoned the equality idea in the words of Willkie: "We Must Establish Beyond Any Doubt The Equality Of Man."

The Sanctum

A NEGRO man in his late 40's or early 50's, the grey hairs of his chest showing through his open collar and matching the sprinklings on his head, operates the elevator. His tired, weary face, like the faces of so many people in New York, has no humor, it seems, only the weight of time and meaningless existence. He leans against the elevator's wall as it moves to the fifth floor and stops with a jerk like a car with a tight brake.

The lobby which the opening elevator door unfolds is a part of the NAACP offices. It is H-shaped with executive offices at each end. A partition with a glass top divides the chasm filled with desks and clerical machinery. A teen-age Negro girl, her shiny face the color of night, looks up from the flickering switchboard and asks the visitor what he wants. She calls a secretary of Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, and points to a row of wooden back seats lined up facing a bronze "NAACP Life Membership" scroll bearing the names of individuals and organizations that have planked down $500 in contributions.

Shades Of Uncle Tom

THE seat is an arm's length from a plaster creation that bespeaks the abolitionist spirit of the NAACP, a statuette by John Rogers entitled "The Fugitives' Story," as demonstrated by John O. Whittier, Henry Ward Beecher and William Lloyd Garrison listening to a bandana-bonnetted Negro woman with babe in arms. A card explains that the Rogers creation was presented to the NAACP by the family of Oswald Garrison Villard, a NAACP founder.

Henry Lee Moon, a round-faced Negro who once frequented Montgomery each weekend while serving as a public relations attache at Tuskegee Institute, emerges from behind the partitions as the light skinned secretary to Wilkins, obviously the office's Girl Friday, escorts you from the lobby. At once, it is evident that Moon, although of northern training, has the open face and easy mannerism of the Southern Negro.

At first impression, Moon seems a most docile, helpful, industrious aide. But as he talked it was obvious he possessed a remarkable storehouse of knowledge, uncanny memory and grasp of racial facts. He had the enthusiasm and excitement of a bettor as the horses move down the stretch.

"At an early age, my father fled with me and the family as a refugee from the native fascism of South Carolina," he said, "But I have been back. I worked at Tuskegee Institute but I received most of my training in Ohio." His reference to the flight from the fascism of South Carolina sounded as if it came from a book. Moon's office has many pictures on the wall, a large one of Ted Poston, the Negro reporter of The New York Post, an artist's portrait of Muriel Smith in Carmen Jones' costume, a clever impressionist's work of a Negro emblazoned against the "hold-out" states of the Southeast with the discrimination, a la NAACP. A row of books, most of them on the race question, fill a bookcase.

Segregation Is Doomed

MOON, his infectious smile gleaming, looked down from behind his littered desk at the open windows of the library building, and said:

"I read that you are a segregationist. That you believe in separate but equal. That is your privilege. But you can't win. Segregation is doomed; you can only delay it. You who believe as you do and the Citizens Councils. Segregation contains basic immorality, basic illogic, and is completely un-democratic. I know that the southern white man doesn't want to change his mode of living. But he can't win. He will change for it is the law of the land. Time and law are on our side."

Moon paused, "I suppose you wonder when will integration come. That is difficult to answer. The length of time depends on the success and the strength of the Negro counterbalanced by the strength and power of the white southerner. This, of course, includes the allies of both segment."

Enter Roy Wilkins

AT this point, Roy Wilkins was ushered into the room by the Girl Friday. He is younger than most imagine, a tall, ginger-skinned man, a cigar smoker, with neatly trimmed mustache and the cocksureness of the experienced public relations professional.

Wilkins is a high-powered social worker, scenting opportunity in race matters which on the surface might seem perfectly innocent. He has been at this sort of thing since college and it would appear that he has become conditioned to his job yet he still lives under the tall shadow of Walter White. He, like Moon, is extremely courteous and affable. Wilkins reels off from an eloquent tongue racial incidents from Garvey to Lucy. But you sense he is a northerner who does not altogether comprehend the South because it is his target; in fact he appears to think of Southerners as a bucolic tribe of Bible-beating hate mongers who lounge about the general store tying lyncher's knots but who, like the town's drunkard can be saved.

Wilins said: "When the South mounts the first hurdles of integration, integration then will happen faster in the South than anywhere else. For it is a historical fact that the Southern white and the Southern Negro like each other. I believe it is this friendship between the Southern white and the Southern Negro that will make possible the faster integration there than possibly here"

WCC Is Backfiring

WILKINS twirled his cigar as he was asked about the White Citizens Councils: "The Citizens Councils have delayed integration. But it is merely a delaying tactic. They have only stampeded the white people to their way of thinking. They have not stampeded the Negro or intimidated him."

(After returning to Montgomery this reporter received a telegram from Wilkins stating approximately the same thing, that the Citizens Councils were the largest opposition group and were intimidating whites and not Negroes and that in effect the Citizens Councils have stirred the Negro on to greater ambitions. In essence he said the whites, not Negroes were being bullied by the Citizens Councils.)

Moon observed also that the Citizens Council is a "delaying element" but unlike Wilkins, his statement was more dogmatic: "The only way for the Citizens Councils to succeed is for this country to take a swing to the right to fascism The average Southerner isn't a fascist in my opinion. They could succeed if a Hitler arose here but I don't see any possibility of that. No, they are doomed to failure."

In the intervening conversation, the subject of northern Jim Crowism arose and Wilkins immediately declared: "The Look article is a complete misrepresentation, in fact, it is a very poor job of reporting. In the North, a Negro may ride the bus, he may eat in restaurants with whites, stay at hotels with whites, he has voting rights, and he is a much freer human being than in the South."

"You mean," he was asked, "that you have no segregation in the North. What about the incidents of discrimination we hear of?"

"Oh, hell yes, we have discrimination." he retorted. "We are the ones, the NAACP, who have gone about exposing it. We are not parading the North as a land of perfection, far from it. But I contend that anybody except a blind man and even he could to a degree see that there is a fundamental difference between the way the Negro fares here and the way he fares in the South."

Wilkins picked up a book and replaced it on the desk: "Housing is the crux of the thing up here. The ghetto system is as bad or worse in some places in the North than in the South. We have weak points and we're trying to cure them."

The North Confesses Its Sins

WILKINS apparently had read every chapter of The Advertiser's series of Negro discrimination in the North. He referred to the articles as "sophisticated writing" (in New York everything is sophisticated or not). "But what has hap-

pened," Wilkins said, "is that northern editors are pouring hot ashes on their heads saying we're guilty too. It doesn't solve the problem. The South is the primary 'holdout' area and certainly the North has made more progress than the South. It just doesn't stand up to reason that the North can be compared with the conditions in say, Mississippi, and we certainly re-emphasize that we do not consider the North as a land of perfection."

He was asked about the publication of brides' pictures in New York newspapers and seemed to burn emotionally:

"We don't give a damn if a Negro bride's picture ever appears in a New York newspaper. But we are concerned with whether that New York newspaper has Negro employes. Personally I think that society pages are a waste of newsprint. That is a personal reaction."

The Negro leaders agreed that several incidents in the North such as Trumbull Park, are "phenomena" and certainly are "exceptions" to the general rule. Moon said he was a director of a white housing settlement that included several hundred whites and only a fistful of Negroes. But as they talked, they agreed discrimination was far from abolished North of the Mason & Dixon Line. They added: "We are not unaware of that and we are constantly working on it." (Afterwards a Negro secretary explained that the NAACP was organized as a result of racial disturbances in Springfield, Ohio, the home of Abraham Lincoln, and not as a direct result of discrimination in the South.)

A Matter Of Conditioning

FROM the conversation on northern discrimination envolved only the claims that it did exist in lesser degrees than in the South but that segregation was not fashionable in the North as it is in the South—that in fact the average northern white was conditioned to integration whereas the southern white was conditioned only to segregation.

"The Look article as many of the articles was not representative of the true situation," Wilkins reiterated.

The Martyrs

OF the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, the dapper pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery and heralded by writers here as the "Moses of Negro liberation," Wilkins had only praise but as if he was fearful he would "kiss the boycott to death" he quickly explained the NAACP did not borne it or plant the seed of the idea. "We have cheered King on, we have helped him out on consultations, we have assisted him legally but it is his movement, the movement of the people who participate in it. I do not think anything I have seen in my days as a social worker has captured public imagination as the valiant and almost heroic stand of the Montgomery Negroes against Jim Crow transportation."

The Autherine Lucy incident was glossed over, much as if it had lost significance, and only a bare comment that the Negro girl, like Daniel, had entered the lion's den at the University of Alabama and had proved heroism if nothing else.

Publish It Not In The Streets Of Askelon—XXV

THE City of Buffalo, N.Y., recently had a race riot worthy of Chicago or Detroit. All the combatants on one side were Negroes and all the combatants on the other were whites, but there is still a keen debate between Buffalo civic leaders whether this was a race riot.

It didn't happen at the University of Alabama, nor under a magnolia blossom, so citizens of Buffalo just can't believe this was a "race riot." An official fact-finding committee yesterday decided to sweep the incident under the rug by calling it "hoodlumnism." For if they called it a race riot, as it plainly was, the "daughters of the Philistines would rejoice."

As an *Advertiser* survey documented, some Northern newspapers played the Buffalo race riot just as though it had happened in Alabama or Johannesburg, whereas others refused to acknowledge that such things happen by playing the story down on the inside pages. One of the most pretentious papers in New York let the story get a day old before it printed it.

★

THE ADVERTISER reported that *The New York Times*, the most important newspaper in the world, discredited itself by its ridiculous underplaying of the story. Whereupon, the assistant managing editor of The Times, Robert E. Garst, wrote *The Advertiser* a letter as follows:

> A good many of *New York Times* readers have felt compelled to send to us your editorial page of Sunday, June 3.
>
> You have been misinformed by the Associated Press as to the extent of *Times* coverage of the Buffalo race incident. Apparently you, as well as many other readers, overlooked the original story published on May 31, in which we give a detailed and adequate account of that incident. Most readers apparently saw only a shorter story published on June 1 and assumed that that was all *The Times* had printed.
>
> I attach a photostatic copy of both stories.

THIS wire disturbed *The Advertiser*, as we would no more do them an injustice than they would do us one. *Times* men are honorable and gentlemen—be certain of that—they're just simple-minded and dreamy about race relations, with the exception of Arthur Krock. Our June 3 editorial showed that *The Times* gave the Buffalo story a microscopic play on Pg. 50, the last page in that edition. But what was this *Times* claim of a "detailed and adequate account" of the story on May 31?

We wired Editor Garst back to ask what page this story ran on, and whether, like many other papers, *The Times* had used the dramatic AP Wirephoto picture with the story.

The answer is, this "detailed and adequate account" was less than seven inches long.

It ran on Pg. 10.

The Times did not use the picture offered it.

Thus *The Advertiser* owes *The Times* no correction.

★

ON a major news story smack in its own backyard, it confined the stories—11 inches in all—to Pg. 50 and Pg. 10, with no pictures.

Does any *Times* editor, or any other editor anywhere, think for a moment that this is the treatment the race riot would have received had the dateline read Montgomery?

This country can't even begin to solve its race dilemma until the newspapers tell the people without inhibition what exists.

As we have shown, there are numerous cities in the North where the Negro is *totally excluded* from residence. But the papers in these areas—as we have shown—have never exposed the fact.

How can the American people comprehend the race issue if their newspapers won't even tell them the location?

★

ADVERTISER readers will recall the disclosure, that for all its pretensions, *The New York Times* had in all its 125 years printed the photo of but one Negro bride in its society columns. That was in 1954, and as *The Times* social editor explained to us, the bride was "light skinned" and no one probably knew.

The Advertiser wishes to acknowledge that *The Times* has now printed a grand total of two Negro bride photos. In the Sunday, June 3 society section appeared the photo of a Miss Jewelle A. Taylor, of Ansonia, Conn. It was possible to tell that Miss Taylor was colored because, in telling of the groom, the story casually mentioned that he was the "first *Negro* to receive a national Woodrow Wilson Fellowship for a year of graduate study."

We trust that in his memoirs, Managing Editor Turner Catledge, a fugitive national of the Confederate Republic (Mississippi), will beguile us with a description of the parleys at the summit which led to a 100% increase in the number of Negro bride photos in *The Times*.

Albert BARNETT

2 Motor Clubs—One 'Jim Crow White' The Other Negro, and Interracial

The Chicago Defender, always on the alert to pin back the ears of Ol' Jim Crow, whenever reported facts can be verified, last week carried a front page story about the Chicago Motor Club, based on the sworn affidavit of Alphonse Antoni, who charged that his wife had been denied membership in the club because she was a Negro.

Antoni stated that his wife, Mary, had applied for membership at the club's Loop office, but he soon realized that she was being given the 'run-around.' After repeated calls, he was finally referred to a Southside branch office, which he telephoned.

A woman in the personnel department asked first, for his address, then continued: "Are you Caucasian or non-Caucasian?" When Antoni said that he was a Negro, she replied: "Negroes, Japs, Chinese and so forth are not eligible for membership in the club. The Charter is drawn so that only Caucasians are acceptable for membership — and further discussion is needless."

Immediately after the Defender was placed on sale at key newsstands throughout the city, numerous phone calls came to the Editorial offices, commending both the Defender and Antoni for revealing the Jim Crow rule of the motor club. Later in the week letters poured in, commenting on various phases of discrimination directed against Negro car owners by 'white' motor clubs. One writer — Arthur K. (for Kincheloe) Browning, stated, with great pride:

"I am a member of the Metropolitan Motorists Association, located on the second floor at 418 E. 47th street, in Chicago, owned and operated by Negroes and headed by my good friend, Horace F. Lomax, president, and by State Representative Corneal A. Davis, efficient secretary of Metro, whose Slogan is: "We Serve You When Others Won't" And the firm gives all the protection and services denied by white motor clubs.

"I am just one of the thousands of Metro insured members who have received checks from president Lomax, in prompt settlement of claims. I got my check under Metro's Public Liability and Property Damage Insurance clause, under which a member receives a one-year, $10/$20,000 Public Liability, and $5,000 property damage Insurance Policy. This Policy protects the member regardless of who is at fault, if claim is made against a member for injury or damage done by his car. Tell Brother Antoni to see Metropolitan Motorists, and his motor club worries will be over. Because Metro welcomes members of every race, color, creed and nationality — biggest club of its kind in America."

Another punch-packed letter comes from a white gentleman, Edward L. Schmidt, of a Westside Chicago suburb, whose friend, a Negro, had been refused membership in Chicago Motor Club, after similar refusals by other 'white' motor insurance companies. Concluding his denunciation of all 'white' motor associations which bar Negroes, Mr. Schmidt states:

"The Colored man pays as much income-tax and sales-tax as the white man. He gets maimed, wounded and dies for his country in times of war, to make it 'safe for Democracy,' the same as the white man. His money is always as good as anyone else's (even tho he is overcharged and sold inferior merchandise by many).

"If Colored people are to be treated as Second-Rate citizens, then charge them Second-Rate for their taxes and education and for their lives. When Jesus told us, 'Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself,' there was no postscript saying: 'But only if he is white.' "

Albert BARNETT

Opinions Differ On Proposed Congregational-Evangelical Merger

THERE'S A SHARP DIFFERENCE OF OPINION among members of the Congregational Christian churches of America concerning the widely-heralded merger with the Evangelical and Reformed church, which has blown hot and cold for several years.

Of the two bodies, the Congregational Christian Churches antedate the Evangelical Reformed church by several centuries. The former trace their origin back to the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620 and the early colonists of New England. Christian churches date back to the Weslayan and revival movements at the end of the 18th century.

The two bodies were merged at Seattle, Wash., in 1931. According to the Christian Herald and the World Almanac, membership of the Congregational Christian churches totalled 1,283,754, in 1954.

The Evangelical and Reformed church dates from June 26, 1934, at Cleveland, Ohio, when the Evangelical Synod of North America merged with the Reformed church of the United States. Under the merger agreement, details were to be worked out at a later date, as a result of which the church constitution was adopted at the General Synod, in Lancaster, Pa., in June, 1940. Membership in 1954, was estimated at 743,070.

Members of both church bodies interested in the merger, are sincere, devout followers of the Faith, who form conclusions and make commitments only when convinced their action is for the good of the entire church body.

There are 35 Congregational Christian churches in Chicago, three having predominately Negro memberships — Lincoln Memorial, at 65th and Champlain; Good Shepherd, at 57th and Prairie and Park Manor, at 70th and South Park. There are 30 Evangelical and Reformed churches, with no predominately Negro congregations.

A prominent Congregational layman, Palmer D. Edmunds, member of the John Marshall Law school faculty in Chicago, raises a legal point concerning the action taken by the Executive committee of the General council, last June in Omaha, Neb. Atty. Edmunds states that one of the problems relating to the proposed merger, arises out of an announcement made by the Executive Committee.

The committee announced that a merger of the two denominations to form the United Church of Christ is expected to take place in June, 1957, and that at that time every member of the Congregational Christian church will be ASSUMED to be a member of the new body.

Atty. Edmunds asks: "How can this be, when the Omaha Congregational Council itself gave official approval to a statement which contradicts such carefree assumptions? The Omaha Council declared: 'No action of the General Council can commit the bodies from which the delegates are elected or appointed . . . It can commit itself and only itself to any course of action . . .

" 'The Council IS NOT A CHURCH . . . The self-completeness, under Christ, of the local church, limits the power of the General Council or of any other church body to speak for the whole fellowship in matters in which the guidance of the Holy Spirit is variously understood among us.'

"In this officially approved statement, Omaha is telling the Executive Committee that it can act FOR ITSELF ONLY; it cannot MERGE the churches into a NEW DENOMINATION, nor has it any power to ASSUME something on behalf of the church members . . . How the incongruities inherent in these pronouncements can be resolved, is not apparent."

Albert BARNETT

U. S. Meat Industry Greatest In The World

AMERICA'S MEAT PACKING INDUSTRY, with an annual production in excess of 3 Billion Dollars, takes front rank among the Nation's 12 groups of leading manufacturers whose annual output exceeds one Billion Dollars, and accounts for more than 90 percent of all U. S. manufactures.

Chicago, with its massive Union Stock Yards, is the greatest slaughtering, meat packing and processing center in the world, having long since replaced Cincinnati, which founded the business in 1818.

Ranking next to Chicago, in serving the meat markets of the world, are Kansas City, Kansas and Omaha, Nebraska. The great swing of the meat industry to the West and Mid-West, began when Minnesota became the flour center of America, and when Illinois began the manufacture of the plow, thresher and harvesting machines to Western farmers.

In the three great packing centers — Chicago, Kansas City and Omaha — the Nation's meat industry is located close to the vast cattle raising area of the West, the source of its raw material. Chicago's added advantage of course, is the fact that it is the world's greatest railroad center, and with its port connecions, ships meat and other necessities of life to the farthest corners of the earth.

To the great credit of organized labor, all workers — male and female — in the meat packing and related industries, proudly wear their Union Button, with central offices and headquarters in Chicago — industrial center of the Mid-West.

Top position among organized workers in the meat industry is held by Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, (AFL-CIO), headed by Earl W. Jimerson, president and by Patrick E. Gorman, secretary - treasurer. Amalgamated has more than 315,000 members, 10 million dollars in assets and is housed in impressive headquarters at 2800 N. Sheridan Road, Chicago.

Second, in membership and assets, is the popular United Packinghouse Workers (AFL-CIO), with 150,000 members and $2,000,000 assets, and headed by Ralph Helstein, president and G. R. Hathaway, secretary-treasurer.

Both Amalgamated and Packinghouse Unions are outstanding in upholding the principles of democracy, and admitting all workers to membership — no matter what their race, color, religion or nationality. For that reason they are respected as the 'Voice of America,' whenever the integration of workers — in all sections of the country — comes up for discussion.

Last February, shortly after the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, negotiations were started for a merger of the Amalgamated and Packinghouse workers of the meat industry. But, as officials of the two groups met, complications arose, as to the ultimate identity, scope and power of the new merger.

This was to be expected. There were differences of opinion, which, under the circumstances, as only natural, and need only to be resolved to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. Amalgamated's Jimerson and Gorman say:

"The Amalgamated is as anxious now for a merger of all workers in the meat packing and allied industries as it ever was. We will continue to strive for such added strength through the union of all who work within our great industries.

"Packinghouse Workers' Helstein and Hathaway, reply:

"Because of our strong belief in the value of unity for the best interests of the membership of both Unions, we nevertheless have decided to make it clear that we remain willing to carry out agreements honestly and solemnly made. . ."

Albert BARNETT

Report Shows All-Time High For Financial Support Of Our Churches

A NOVEMBER REPORT, released by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., with headquarters in New York City, reveals that Americans, last year, gave more to their churches than ever before in history.

The Council, America's largest religious body, is a federation of churches, with more than 48 million members, carrying on the work of 13 interdenominational agencies, at home and abroad.

Figures, most times are dull but occasionally, are interesting Here's the exception: Church contributions, totaling $1,842,592,260 have been reported for 1955, by the 48 Protestant and two Eastern Orthodox church bodies. This vast sum, approaching the two billion dollar mark, represents an overall increase of 11 per cent over 1944.

The congregation breakdown shows a per capita increase in contributions of 8 per cent — from $49.96 in 1954, to an all-time high of $53.94.

The new figures were announced by the Rev. T. K. Thompson, executive director of the department of stewardship and benevolence of the National Council of Churches. The survey was compiled by the department in cooperation with the Council's Bureau of research and survey.

The Thompson report shows that this vast sum of nearly 2 billion dollars went to pay ministers' salaries, church building maintenance and repairs, fuel, lighting and other expenses. The contribution for congregational expenses was $43.46, per person.

Highest giving per member for all purposes, was recorded by the Free Methodist church, with $193.45. Ten other denominations also recorded total annual giving of more than $100 per member. They are: Seventh Day Adventist; Weslayan Methodist; Evangelical Free Church; Evangelical Mission Covenant Church; Brethren in Christ; Church of the Nazarene: Orthodox Presbyterian; Friends, Ohio Year Meeting; Conference of Evangelical Mennonities and the Church of God, Anderson, Ind.

There are two churches in the Chicago area, where no plates are passed and where there is no solicitation of funds before, during or after the Sunday service. One is the famous Baha'i Temple of Worship in Wilmette, Illinois and Everybody's Church in Chicago, at 60th and South Wabash, founded by Dr. James M. Scott, Frank (Fay) Young, sports editor emeritus of the Chicago Defender, and this writer.

At Baha'i Temple, only members are premitted to contribute to expenses of the church. It was built at a cost of nearly 3 million dollars and all items of expense, from foundation to the majestic illuminated Tower, were paid for by faithful Baha'i communicants.

At Everybody's Church there is no solicitation of funds for the Pastor's Aid, domestic or foreign missions, the building fund or for other purposes. Members built the church and pay all expenses for maintenance.

Locked Boxes, under guard, are placed at the entrance, for voluntary contributions to the church program. No political speeches are permitted from the rostrum, and three special church-sponsored events are given annually, to help balance the budget.

They are the Musical Concert by the choir; the Woman's Day program and the colorful Fashion Show and Style Revue, which this year was attended by more than 2,000 persons.

Albert BARNETT

Editor Barnett, 78 Years Ago Shouted: "Spell It With A Capital"

JUST BEFORE THE POLLS CLOSED on Election Day, Nov. 6, a Phone call came to the City Desk of the Chicago Defender, with a request for information.

Lloyd General, Defender Staffman, answered the phone and the caller wanted to know which of the two major parties first insisted that the word "negro" be spelled with a Capital; in what year was the demand made and what was the name of the individual originally responsible for the change.

Staffman General (that's his real name) was at a disadvantage because, although an astute, well informed reporter, he's still in his late twenties, and could hardly be expected to qualify as a compendium of universal information. So, he told the caller that he was sorry but was unable to give him the desired information.

But the query intrigued General and, seeking an answer to it, related the incident to this writer, who, it so happens, can speak with authority on the subject. The facts which can be easily verified because this writer has the PROOF of his statements, in his Scrapbook.

The journalistic demand that the word 'negro' be capitalized was made in an Editorial published in the old Chicago Conservator, issue of October 26, 1878. Title of that historic tone was "Spell It With A Capital," and the author was the late Ferdinand Lee Barnett — later an attorney — but at time Editor of the Conservator — and the distinguished father of this humble reporter.

Here's the verbatim text of the Barnett editorial, the original of which is in a highly - prized Scrapbook, given from father to son, 50 years ago. The Editor speaks:

We have noticed an error which all journalists seem to make. Whether from mistake or ill-intention, we are unable to say, but the profession universally begins NEGRO with a small letter.

It is certainly improper, and as no one has ever given us a good reason for this universal breach of orthography, we will offer one. White men being printers long before black men dared read their works, had power to establish any rule they saw fit.

As a mark of disrespect, as a stigma, as a badge of inferiority, they tacitly agreed to spell his name WITHOUT A CAPITAL.

The French, German, Irish, Dutch, Japanese and other nationalities, are honored with a capital letter, but the poor Sons of Ham must bear the burden of a small 'n'.

To our Colored journalistic brothers we present this as a matter of self-interest. Spell It With A Capital. To our Democratic journals we present it as a matter of good grammar. Spell It With A Capital. To Republicans, we present it as a matter of right. Spell It With A Capital.

To all persons who would take from our wearied shoulders a hair's weight of the burden of prejudice and ill-will we bear, we present this as a matter of human charity and beg you SPELL IT WITH A CAPITAL.

Albert BARNETT

Negro History -- Taught Only In Jim Crow Schools Of The South

ONE OF THE GREAT FAULTS and imperfections of the U. S. Educational System, NORTH, is the fact that history books written for the classroom, are "white" in context and teaching—devoted entirely to famous white Americans, since Plymouth Rock, who have contributed to the Nation's progress in all lines of human endeavor.

The heroic deeds and achievements of Negro men and women of the past century, who, though unhonored and unsung, have measured pace with their white brothers—are entirely ignored in the "white" history books of the integrated North and the lily-white schools of the South.

It's a sad commentary, but the fact remains, that for the most part, the only Negro students familiar with Negro history are those attending Jim Crow schools below the Mason-Dixon Line.

The above comment is prompted by a letter from a Miss Luella Dorsey, Manhattan high school student, in which she challenges a recent statement in this column that a Negro, Pickney B. S. Pinchback, was Governor of the State of Louisiana, only man of his race in U. S. history, to hold that honor. Miss Dorsey's history book, of course, makes no mention of the fact,

But the record speaks for itself. Here it is:

Pickney Benton Stewart Pinchback, was born in Georgia, the son of a white planter and a colored mother. He could 'pass for white,' but never denied his race. Educated in Cincinnati, where he became both capable and intelligent, he returned South after the Civil War, and located in Louisiana.

Interested in the problems of his people he entered politics and by degrees, proved his worth. In 1871, his initial success came when he was named Lieut. Governor of Louisiana, to succeed Oscar J. Dunn, who died in November of that year. Pinchback conducted the affairs of his office with great credit, both to himself and to his loyal associates.

Then, on Dec. 9, 1872, when the white Governor, Henry Clay Warmoth, was impeached, for "high crimes and misdemeanors," P. B. S. Pinchback, was declared Governor of Louisiana and was recognized as such by Attorney-General Williams of Washington, D. C. Gov. Pinchback served 43 days. His term expired in January, 1873.

Most white people, in their antipathy and smugness, have 'overlooked' some of the truly famous Negroes of U. S. History. Here are just a few names, selected at random, known to informed Negroes, but who have been passed 'unnoticed' by white historians:

Benjamin Bannaker, Crispus Attucks, Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, Frederick Douglass, Dr. Sadie Dillon, Henry O. Tanner, Phyllis Wheatley, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Atty. John S. Reck, and the Negro poet laureate of America, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, who died a victim of tuberculosis, in 1906.

Dunbar's last verses, depicting the strength and weakness of his people and his philosophy of Negro life, were thus phrased by the master poet:

Because I had loved so deeply,
Because I had loved so long,
God in His great compassion
Gave me the gift of song.
Because I had loved so vainly,
And sung with such faltering breath,
The Master in infinite mercy
Offers the boon of Death.

Albert BARNETT

Defender Chicago Ill. Sat. 9-22-56 P. 9

Chicago's Joint Negro Appeal Civic Project Worthy Of Support

Civic-minded citizens of Chicago — of both races — are cooperating for marshalling their forces in support of a community servcie program, sponsored by the Joint Negro Appeal, with headquarters at 5120 South Parkway.

The Joint Negro Appeal, now in its second year, is one of the Nation's outstanding projects launched by members of the race to give financial aid to those agencies catering exclusively to the pressing, immediate needs of Chicago's Negro families.

In support of the Appeal's present drive, the World's Greatest Weekly — and Daily — stated recently . . . "The Chicago Defender has long recognized the need for such an effort, and has supported the idea since its inception . . . It is a worthy project which can meet a long standing need, and deserves the full cooperation of everyone concerned with the welfare of his fellowman."

Purpose of the Joint Negro Appeal is three-fold:

1—It was organized to assist its member agencies in raising their annual budget.

2—It will reduce the frequent campaigns conducted by the several agencies, and at the same time increase the number of contributions by educating the public and teaching the community the importance of sharing with these institutions dedicated to human betterment.

3—It will relieve executives and staff workers of these agencies from the responsibility of raising funds and enable them to concentrate on programs.

A campaign fund leaflet states: "These agencies forming a core of community life for thousands of Chicagoans, are just as important to you as honest government, sound health programs and national defense."

Commendable feature of the Joint Negro Appeal is the fact, that since the great Chicago Fire of '71, it is the first concerted effort, on the part of Negroes, to do something for themselves. Chicago Daily News says:

". . . The consolidation of these efforts will eliminate much bother and confusion for donors as well as avoid a duplication of work on the part of voluntary solicitors."

Last year, these community agencies were given cash awards from funds raised by the Joint Negro Appeal — money sorely needed to carry on their work of bettering living conditions among the 650,000 Negroes now living in the Chicago Area:

Altgeld Nursery school; Abraham Lincoln Center; American Boys Commonwealth; Camp Reinberg; Chicago Urban League; Firman House; Henry Booth House; Kenwood Ellis; Near West Side Community Council; Parkway Community House; Randall House; South Side Boys' Club; South Side Community Committee and Tabernacle Nursery.

All these agencies need $250,000.00 to carry on their great community service for this year, 1956. The Joint Negro Appeal is going all out to raise at least half of this amount. Their goal has been set at $150,000.00, and they will raise it. Chicago's great 'I Will' spirit will not let them down.

Albert BARNETT

Defender Sat. 9-22-56 Chicago Ill. P. 9

Mr. Abbott's Civil Rights Program Of 1905, 'Bears Fruit' In 1956

FIFTY YEARS AGO, when the late Robert S. Abbott founded the Chicago Defender, he formulated a Platform to justify the name of his paper, and to demand equal rights for Negroes in the civic, political and economic life of the nation.

Mr. Abbott's nine-point civil rights program of 1905, was something new in the field of Negro journalism and won hearty support throughout the country. A close study of the Defender Platform reveals the prophetic vision of the noted publisher and how he envisioned events that were to transpire 50 years later. Here's the Platform:

1. **"American Race Prejudice must be destroyed."**
2. **The opening up of all trade unions to blacks as well as whites.**
3. **Representation in the President's Cabinet.**
4. **Engineers, firemen and conductors on all American railroads, and all jobs in government-controlled industries.**
5. **Representation in all departments of police forces over the entire United States.**
6. **Government schools open to all American citizens in preference to foreigners.**
7. **Motormen and conductors on surface, elevated and motor bus lines throughout America.**
8. **Federal legislation to abolish lynching.**
9. **Full enfranchisement of all American citizens.**

Thirty years ago, following Mr. Abbott's lead in the matter of equal rights, another Chicagoan, James Hale Porter, a hard-hitting crusader who pulled no punches — coined the phrase: "Don't Spend Your Money Where You Can't Work." Porter canvassed all business sections of the Southside, known then as the Black Belt, and demanded that white merchants employ Negro clerks and other workers, under threat of losing Negro patronage, if they refused.

Porter's mouthpiece for his campaign at that time was the Chicago Whip, published by Atty. Joseph Bibb and A. C. MacNeal, both of whom gave ardent support and wide publicity to Porter's program.

Latest crusader for equal advantages for Negroes and who espouses the cause of Negro business enterprises, is R. Henri O'Bryant, nationally known robe and uniform manufacturer, whose plant in Los Angeles, is considered the largest in the country. O'Bryant specializes in robes for ministers, choir members, ushers and other church attendants and has key salesmen in all major cities of the country. He is also chairman of Los Angeles Business Associates, and member of the Deacon Board, Mt. Sinai Baptist church.

O'Bryant's program is aimed at developing Negro-owned business enterprises. He points up the fact that America's 16 million Negroes have an earning capacity of 15 billion dollars annually, much of which is spent for food, clothing and other consumer goods.

At the recent Denver meeting of the National Baptist convention, O'Bryant succeeded in getting a resolution adopted, urging all Baptist ministers to list the business men of their congregation and have the church members patronize them.

O'Bryant has a long-range program, but it will succeed if given proper support, the whole idea being to keep more of the Negro consumers' dollars within the race — where, at least, it will be appreciated.

Albert BARNETT

Defender P. 9 Chicago Ill. Sat. 9-29-56

An Old Land-Lubber Is The Guest Of United States Navy

THE COLUMN, THIS WEEK, is written in tribute to the United States Navy, which last Saturday, played host to a group of 100 Chicagoans for an extended Lake Michigan cruise, on board the USS Daniel A. Joy, commanded by LCDR L. T. Switzer, jr., USN.

This writer and William Sutton, director of Chicago Defender Promotions, were among the civilians who boarded the ship at the Naval Armory Pier, for the day-long cruise that proved to be a novel experience for the land-lubbers and tested their fortitude in climbing and descending ladders from deck to deck and trying to keep 'an even keel' while the craft was in motion.

The cruise was arranged by the Navy to help familiarize Chicagoans with Navy life and equipment. The guests were split up into groups of seven, headed by one of the ship's officers. They were then taken on tours throughout the craft, observing drills and exercises, all details being explained in interesting fashion by the officer-guides.

The USS Daniel A. Joy, is a destroyer escort, designed primarily to form submarine defense for larger ships and fleet forces. When assigned to this type of duty, their main job is to locate enemy submarines, with sonar equipment, then sink them with depth charges.

Highest praise goes to Captain Switzer, his staff officers and enlisted (integrated) personnel, for the many courtesies extended the civilians who were their guests for the day. Even the greenest 'green-horn', on 'sailing the bounding main,' was made to feel relaxed and at ease. His every request for information or service was met with immediate and courteous response by the ship's personnel, of all ranks and grades.

A memorable highlight of the cruise was a visit to the Radar Control room, where a skilled technician explained a slowly revolving disc, on which was recorded the presence of all ships, within a radius of 10 miles. It was uncanny, almost unbelievable to view them on the disc, their distance from your boat, computed with mathematical precision.

Lunch was served at noon, and it was a real 'eye-opener' to see the immaculate, sanitary condition of the galley, (kitchen). Food, plenty of it, was served on aluminum trays, and eaten by the guests at long tables in the mess room. And 'seconds' were given any who wanted them. And the cost, in accordance with Uncle Sam's rules? Just 50 cents.

The JOY, our host ship, has an overall length of 306 feet, beam of 37 feet and displacement of 1,900 tons. Its first assignment was to escort a convoy to North Africa and shortly thereafter was ordered to the Pacific area where she participated in the Leyte and Luzon operations in the invasion of the Philippine Islands.

Since May, 1950, the JOY's mission has been to train Naval Reservists in shipboard procedures and operations by embarking on two weeks training cruises on the Great Lakes. It's the Flagship of the Great Lakes Training Squadron, consisting of six similar-type vessels.

During the training cruises, the ships engage in tactical maneuvering, mail passing exercises, general drills, and fire all guns at surface targets in an area off South Manitou Islands. At the end of the first week of each cruise, a port on the Great Lakes is visited for liberty and recreation.

Albert BARNETT

Negro Worker 'Blows His Top'; Insulted After 40 Yearrs' Service

A READER OF THIS COLUMN —Mr. J. P. (for Percival) Mitchell — who resides on the far Southwest side in Chicago, near Argo, recently had an interesting experience in race and labor relations that, as he puts it, has left him 'boiling mad.'

J. P., as his friends call him, is a native of Memphis, where, as a boy, he lived with his parents on Polk st., near Mississippi ave. After graduating from high school, he struck out on his own, and came to Chicago. He married while still in his twenties and got a job as porter and handyman, in a large manufacturing plant on the Westside.

The man who heads the huge concern today — white, of course —was a shipping clerk when J. P. went to work for the firm, 40 years ago. On July 1, of this year, J. P. at age 74, was retired, and it was an incident in connection with his retirement that ran his blood pressure up to the 'popping point.'

J. P.'s letter to this Column though not lengthy, packs a lot of punch. He writes, in part, as follows:

". . .The treatment I received from this multi-million dollar firm, after 40 years' service, left me disgusted and 'hotter than jail-house coffee,' which as you know, is pretty hot." (We hasten to assure J. P. that this writer's knowledge of jail-house coffee is limited and restricted to statements made by former inmates of the County jail and the House of Correction.) J. P. continues:

"When I had cooled off a bit, my wife and I, 'called a meeting.' We have been married 46 years and I will be 75, on my next birthday, come Feb. 6. We have no children and no dependents, so we decided to chuck the whole business, sell our properties and purchase a Co-op apartment in the Hyde Park district. This we did.

"Our kitchenettes on Indiana ave., which I never liked, but which I 'converted' as an investment, coupled with our home on the far, Southwest side, and 10 adjacent lots which we had purchased through the years—netted us $60,000, in cash. So, we have a definite feeling of security, for the future.

"Now, here's what happened to me on July 1, just two months ago, when I was called to the president's office and given a 'token of esteem' for my 40 years' faithful service. Two men were being honored. I was one. The other was chief of the engineering department, with whom I had worked for 36 years. They called him 'Mac,' as he was as fine a Scotch-Irishman, as I ever met. But, here's your race relations and labor angle. The firm's president knew of the deception, but no mention was made, as Mac and I bowed out of the Chief's office, after receiving his blessing.

"But, I know that all 600 white employes and officials of that manufacturing company — where I had worked for 40 years — 'chipped in' with cash contributions, to give Mac an abundance of life's blessings for his remaining years. Here's what they gave Mac:

"A newly built, $20,000 ranch type home with three bedrooms, on South Cicero avenue, completely furnished and decorated, with wall-to-wall carpet, built-in stove and refrigerator; landscaped, with creeping-bent grass and foliage; gas-fired, hot air heat for the winter and air-conditioning for the Summer. Mac was given a fully stocked deep-freeze, packed with T-Bones, Lamb Chops and other choice meats.

"His utility bills were paid up for one year in advance, and he was presented the Key to his new home at a party given at the home of his white friends the night before he was retired on July 1. In addition, he was given a $1,000, bonus.

"That's what Mac — white employe for 36 years got. What did I, a Negro, get for 40 years' 'loyal and faithful service?' — A Gold watch and a Bible."

Albert BARNETT

LIFE Magazine Lists 7 Negro Solons; Record Shows 20 In U. S. Congress

LIFE MAGAZINE, in its series on "Segregation", has done a remarkable job, depicting and portraying the battered existence of the Negro in America, from the time of arrival, in 1619, of the first boatload of African slaves on the shores of Virginia — to his present uncertain status in the economic, social and political life of the Nation.

The narrative — both text and pictures — shows the result of wide, intensive research, although the drawings and photos, in some cases, serve simply to illustrate tragic incidents and facts already known to informed Negroes of the present day.

Basis of LIFE'S interesting articles, of course, is the new historic May 17, 1954 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, with Chief Justice Earl Warren, reading the unanimous opinion, which decreed that segregation in public schools, violates the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, and MUST END.

One historical reference in LIFE'S series, of interest to students of the American scene, concerns the Reconstruction Period, after Lee's surrender terminated the War between the States. Union Army officers 'took over' the State Capitals, and disfranchised the white rebels who had taken up arms against the Federal Government.

As a result, the ballot, which previously had been limited and restricted to white Southerners, was now vested in the newly freed Negroes, who, to their great credit, used it wisely and well.

That was the glorious era of the 1870's, which saw two Negro United States Senators in the Halls of Congress, and a third — Pickney B. S. Pinchback, who became Governor of the State of Louisiana. The U. S. Senators were Hiram Revels of Mississippi, who took his seat on Feb. 25, 1870, and Blanche K. Bruce, also of Mississippi, who served from 1875 to 1881.

LIFE's story carries one picture, showing a group of seven men, with this caption: "Negroes in Congress, in early 1870's, numbered seven, from five states, and included one senator, H. R. Revels, of Mississippi. . ."

Just to set the record straight, of that period who held seats in the U. S. Congress. The two senators have been named. The other 18 were Representatives in the Lower House. Here are their names:

Robert Brown Elliott, South Carolina, 42nd Congress; Richard H. Cain, So. Car., 43rd and 45th Congresses; Thomas H. Miller, So. Car., 51st Congress; George W. Murray, So. Car., 53rd and 54th Congresses; Robert Smalls, So. Car.; Robert C. DeLarge, So. Car.; 42nd Congress; Joseph H. Rainey, So. Car.;

H. P. Cheatham, North Carolina, 52nd and 53rd Congresses; John Hyman, No. Car., 44th Congress; Jefferson Long, Georgia, 41st Congress; James E. O'Hara, Ga., 48th and 49th Congresses; Jere Haralson, Alabama, 44th Congress; James T. Rapier, Ala., 43rd Congress; Benjamin S. Turner, Ala; 42nd Congress; John M. Langston, Virginia; John R. Lynch, Mississippi; Josiah T. Walls, Florida, 42nd, 43rd and 44th Congresses, and George H. White, North Carolina, last Negro of the Reconstruction Period to be seated in the Halls of Congress.

Albert BARNETT

Don't Get Excited Over Politics; It Makes 'Strange Bedfellows'

NOW THAT THE BALLYHOO of the Conventions of the two major political parties has ended, the trumpet's blast silenced and drum beats muffled, it's interesting to note the reaction of the ordinary citizen — the voter — to the claims and counter-claims of the political orators — both Democrat and Republican.

There were two outstanding features that highlighted both conventions and constituted a challenge to the intelligence of the average voter — the man who earns his daily bread by the sweat of his brow and the housewife, who 'works from sun to sun, but whose work is never done.'

First, was the Civil Rights Plank in the Platform of both parties, a vital issue facing the Nation as result of the Supreme Court ruling banning segregation in public schools. Second, was the indifference and apathy of Negro voters, of both parties — to the 'eloquence and oratory' of the professional politicians, who orate at the dictate of their party chiefs.

As to the Civil Rights Plank in both Platforms, the year 1956 marked the first time in America's history that the NEGRO has become the vital issue in a presidential election, and which indicates that he will show his BALANCE OF POWER, in electing the next President of the United States.

Since Reconstruction Days, Dixie's hatred of the Negro, too often finding its counterpart in the North; segregation and Jim Crow barring of Negroes at the Polls; 'white' and Negro schools, confiscation of 'smart Negro' farms, whose owners spoke up for their constitutional rights as citizens; whip-hand subjugation and exploitation of Negro girls and women; the Dixiecrats' day and night-time morals and his insistence that the Negro 'stay in his place' — all these considerations combined have constituted a political football, since 1865, between the North and the South.

But the goal, on the political gridiron, was kicked by members of the U. S. High Court in their now-famous, non-segregation school decision. This mandate was given the 'cold shoulder' at the Democratic convention, when delegates rejected "all proposals for the use of force to interfere with the orderly determination of these matters by the States' courts."

All these considerations and committments have been given serious thought by the Negro electorate in all sections of the country and their 'silent vote' in November, may sway the election.

Second feature of both conventions, which doubtless will influence the ballots cast by Negro voters, is their refusal to be influenced by the 'spell-binding oratory' of the professional politicians of both parties. Some of the voters interviewed, shrugged their shoulders and said: "It's the same old Malarky and ballyhoo. We hear it every four years. I'll vote for the president who gives the best break to my family and me."

31a 1956

NEGRO (ALBERT BARNETT)

Albert
BARNETT

Kidnap Story Focuses Attention On 15 Billion Dollar Negro Market

NATION - WIDE ATTENTION was centered on the 15 Billion Dollar Negro market this fall when a woman was arrested for kidnaping a Brooklyn baby, with no mention by New York dailies that both kidnaper, and child victim were Negroes.

The strange incident and absence of racial identification brought a storm of protests from white readers who declared that since there was no mention of race in the news stories, the conclusion was that both parties concerned, were white. Other readers stated that some stories, by inference, left the impression that the kidnaper was a Negro and the victim white.

One white reader stated, with great emphasis: "Let's call a spade — a spade." In white papers, where stories concern whites, naturally no mention is made of their race. It's the same with Negro newspapers. When stories concern Negroes, no racial identification is necessary, because their readers are Negroes.

But if a comely Negro damsel marries a John Doe, wealthy white tycoon, you always see (white), in parenthesis, after John Doe's name.

It's all rather confusing and poses a serious problem for white publishers and editors throughout the country, who want to please all readers, regardless of race or nationality.

There is also a strong, economic issue involved, based on the mammoth purchasing power of America's 15 million Negroes, whose income is at high level (compared with former years) and who spend 15 billion dollars annually for consumer goods and for the great Trinity of Life — food, shelter and clothing.

Advertising is to newspapers. what freight is to railroads —their life blood and national advertisers, with investments running into billions of dollars have long since learned that the dollar that goes into the cash register, carries no label of race or color.

Therefore, "in order to reach this vast Negro market, business and industrial tycoons advertise their wares in newspapers —both white and Negro. So, white editors are wary of offending Negro readers in their news columns, because Negroes, all over America, are potential customers of this great horde of white advertisers

So the question facing white editors: "When should we use the word Negro in our papers," is a perplexing one, because advertising rates are based on newspaper circulation (Audit Bureau of Circulation) and the latter is based on a paper's appeal to the reading public. The wider the appeal, the greater the circulation.

The problem, of course, is of more or less recent date. Thirty years ago, Negro news in white dailies, was generally set in small, 6-point type and relegated to the Classified Ad section. Unless, of course, it was a crime story about a 'burly' Negro and an innocent white. Then it got a banner line and was spread all over the front page.

But times have changed. White dailies are today making a strong appeal for Negro readers, printing favorable news about them, and recording their varied activities—a studied effort to woo them away from their Negro newspapers of long standing.

Today, white dailies of metropolitan cities employ Negro reporters. In Chicago, for instance, Negro newsmen have "By-Line" stories regularly, in the American, Tribune, Sun-Times and Daily News.

Defender
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Chicago
Sat. 12-1-56

Albert
BARNETT

Chicago Urban League Develops Program Started By Douglass Center

Defender

THE CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE, at its new headquarters, 2410 S. Michigan ave., is continuing the commendable service as a welfare agency it started years ago at 3032 S. Wabash, the old League building, which at the turn of the century was known as Frederick Douglass Center.

The founders of Douglass Center — Dr. and Mrs. C. H. Wooley — were contemporary with Miss Jane Addams, founder of Hull House on the near Westside. While the Center's membership was interracial, its program was devoted mainly to improving living conditions among the rapidly growing Negro population and finding more jobs for them, thus raising their economic level.

Jane Addams' Hull House, on the other hand was international in scope and character, its program and facilities aimed at improving the lot of foreign-born residents of the city, many of whom had to be taught to speak English and become adapted to the American way of life.

Hull House and Douglass Center would exchange speakers at various times, and some of those early pioneers interested in human welfare who spoke at both centers were:

The Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, founder of Lincoln Center at Oakwood blvd. and Langley ave.; Dr. George Cleveland Hall; Father Dorney, noted Catholic priest; Rabbi Hirsch of Sinai Temple; Bishop A. J. Carey, A. M. E. church;

Also Robert S. Abbott, founder and publisher of the Chicago Defender; Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Atty. F. L. Barnett; Miss Jane McDowell, noted social service leader; Atty. Edward H. Wright, Ald. Robert R. Jackson, and Ald. Oscar DePriest (later congressman,) just to mention a few.

Douglass Center, therefore, was the worthy antecedent of the Chicago Urban League, the solid League has built a social welfare and race relations program that has set the pattern for other metropolitan cities of America.

Present executive secretary of the League, a man of dynamic energy and resourcefulness, is Edwin C. Berry, who put the Portland Oregon Urban League on the map, and was 'drafted' to Chicago to continue his great work here. Berry has made 156 speeches since coming to Chicago nine months ago. Dr. N. C. Calloway, local League president said:

"The great demand for Berry as a speaker is an index of the need for guidance and leadership of the Urban League to the myriad civic, fraternal, social, religious, industrial and labor groups of the city of Chicago . . . And that's as it should be."

Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League with headquarters in Manhattan, visited Chicago recently to see at first hand the operation of the aggressive, power-packed program of the local body which has met with wide-spread approval throughout the nation. Director Granger's comment:

"I have been anxious to come to Chicago to offer whatever help and guidance we can give from the national office, and to personally inspect the current status of the Chicago league in this community, because the rebirth and revitalization of the League here is nothing short of phenomenal."

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P. 9

Albert BARNETT

White Lady In Distress, Says: "A True Friend Is A Gift Of God"

Defender 6-2-56 Chicago, Ill.

HUMAN NATURE HAS MANY FACETS, reflecting the character of the individual, just as the human race, collectively, has many varied profiles, showing the facial characteristics of the individual.

It would require the wisdom of a Solomon to predict the reaction of any person in times of stress, but when emergencies arise which require quick decision to save the life of an individual, race, creed, color or national origin are all — or should be — tossed to the winds, to conquer the exigencies of the moment.

A striking example of human behaviour comes to this column in the form of a letter from an unmarried white lady, who, while driving her car on Chicago's Midway, suddenly became faint and dizzy. Fearing she might 'black out,' she pulled to the side of a curb near Billings Memorial hospital and motioned desperately for help, in the hope that someone would get a policeman to give her first aid. For obvious reasons, the young lady will be referred to as "Miss Susan."

First passer by attracted by her waving, was a white man, who looked at her, shrugged his shoulders AND KEPT WALKING.

Here's how Miss Susan describes her harrowing experience, from this point:

"This person evidently did not notice my frantic gestures for he WALKED RIGHT ON, but the next one, a YOUNG COLORED MAN, came quickly to the side of my car. He sized up the situation with a glance saying, "Lady, you are very sick" — got into the car, eased me over in the seat and, at my direction, drove to the emergency entrance of Billings hospital.

"While we waited for attention and admission, he spoke soothingly and reassuringly trying to quiet my obvious panic. I attempted to thank him for his help, but he brushed it aside saying that he was only doing what any person would do for another at such a time.

"He spoke in simple language of his belief that God intended us to help one another, and that that was what he had tried to do all his life. He said he never thought about whether the person he was trying to help was 'BLACK or WHITE' — it didn't matter — although on occation he had been REBUFFED by people of MY OWN RACE when he attempted to offer assistance. The doctors and nurses finally took over and before I could get my benefactor's name and address, HE HAD QUIETLY DISAPPEARED.

"I have been thinking about this incident a great deal during my days of convalescence, and regretting the fact that I had lost touch so completely with the kind stranger. The thought came to me that, perhaps, by writing this letter with its self-explanatory contents, you might be able to help me through the medium of your newspaper column. I should be most grateful.

"This is what I want to say to my unknown friend: 'Our Lord highly honored the Good Samaritan of old when He held his act of mercy and kindness to another human being up before the peoples of the world for all time as a perfect example of practicing the Golden Rule. You were my Good Samaritan when I needed help most, as I am sure you have been many times for others.

"'May God bless and reward you richly for your aid and comfort in a bad moment. I shall always remember you in my prayers and whenever I, too, have the opportunity of offering my services to a distressed fellow man.'"

Albert BARNETT

Don't Forget The Church When You Speak Of 'Integration, 1956'

Defender Sat. 6-9-56 Chicago, Ill.

WHEN YOU SPEAK OF "INTEGRATION, 1956," don't forget the CHURCH, nationally, because it has been in the forefront of those forces — social, political, fraternal and economic — which, both preach and practice the concept that there is no Jim Crow in the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God.

A cursory glance at the various religious denominations and revered Houses of Worship throughout the country, would convince the most skeptical that the Forces of the Righteous are on the march, and will triumph in the end, because the Church is the balance-wheel of civilization, and its Lay leaders, the ranking officials—in every human endeavor — of city, county, state and Nation.

Pioneers in the teaching of universal brotherhood have been the Lutherans, Seventh Day Adventists, the Bahai's, with headquarters in Wilmette, Ill., the Presbyterians and the Methodists. For example, in Montgomery, Ala., — of all places — the White minister of the all-Negro congregation at Trinity Lutheran church, is the Rev. Robert S. Graetz.

In Chicago, at the all-white congregation of the 6th Presbyterian church in Woodlawn, a noted Negro minister, Dr. A. L. Reynolds, was called to the pastorate.

In Minneapolis, at the recent Methodist General conference, a resolution was passed to abolish the all-Negro central jurisdiction. And, Ernest Wilkins, noted lawyer of Chicago and United States Assistant Secretary of Labor, is the first Negro president of the Judicial Council, 'Supreme Court' of the National Methodist church.

And, don't forget Missouri. Fortnight ago, in Clayton, near St. Louis, 300 delegates, representing 100,000 Lutherans of Illinois, Wisconsin and Missouri, at their 37th annual conclave, adopted a resolution BANNING all SEGREGATION in whatever form, or place.

In Chicago, noted Temples of Faith where all races worship in harmony and real brotherhood, are the First Baptist church of Chicago, 935 E. 50th st.; Salem Lutheran, at 74th and Calumet; St. James, Methodist, at 46th and Ellis; Shiloh 7th-Day Adventist, 70th and S. Michigan, and many others.

For years, Maywood, Ill., — trotting horse-racing center of the West — had two Episcopal churches — one white, the other, Negro. Recently, by special vote of the 'white' congregation, the Negro communicants were invited to join with them — and the TWO CHURCHES MERGED.

In Chicago, last week, St. Thomas Episcopal church, founded in 1878 — just seven years after the Great Fire of '71 — made history when the all-Negro congregation, by unanimous vote, elected a WHITE PRIEST to be their Rector.

He is the Rev. Harry A. Stirling, famed Follower of the Faith, who was born in England and now becomes the first WHITE Rector of an all-Negro parish, anywhere in America.

Proclaiming Father Stirling's election, George Seth Harris, ranking Episcopal Layman and Senior Warden of St. Thomas, sent the letter of Verification to the Rt. Rev. Gerald Francis Burrill, Bishop of the diocese of Chicago, which made official the historic action taken by St. Thomas church.

So, when you speak of "Integration, 1956," don't forget the CHURCH. When others rant and rave, remember the wisdom of Philosopher Lavington, who said:

"Let the chain of Second causes be ever so long — but the First Link is ALWAYS in God's Hand."

Albert BARNETT

Chicago Metropolitan Mutual Adds New Star To Its Crown

Defender Sat. 6-16-56 Chicago, Ill.

Top business news of the past week in the four great states of the Mid-West — Illinois, Indiana, Missouri and Ohio — was the gala, colorful opening of a Branch District office in Gary, Ind., by the Chicago Metropolitan Mutual Assurance company, one of the best-managed and most aggressive insurance firms in America.

Ranking officials of the company journeyed to the Steel City Sunday to open their new Indiana office and they were given a cordial welcome by Gary's popular Mayor, the Hon. Peter Mandich, who assured them that their expansion program in the insurance business, augured well for the entire state of Indiana.

More than 2,000 persons, of both races attended the Open House reception at the new District office, 2176 Broadway the entire program broadcast to the streets by the public address system and sent over the air waves by Gary's Radio station. Eddie Honesty, noted radio announcer, was master of ceremonies.

Officers of the Chicago Metropolitan Mutual Assurance company who planned and directed the opening of the new Gary office, which envisages still further expansion to the states of Missouri and Ohio, are: R. A. Cole, chairman, board of directors; Thomas P. Harris, president and general counsel; Horace G. Hall, vice president and secretary; James W. Tyler, vice president and controller; James D. Grantham, vice president and general manager; Melvin McNairy, vice president and Agency director; George S. Harris, assistant secretary and Investment officer; Charles L. Bell, vice president and cashier and Zeb Perkins, assistant secretary and Claims manager.

Boyd A. Jarrell, alert, active and efficient, is manager of the Gary office. His official staff of supervisors, all 'producers,' include S. L. Clark, A. K. Miller, G. R. Hall, J. S. Isbell and C. B. Elston. Each supervisor has his team of agents, all 'on the beam,' who cover the Greater Steel City area like the morning dew. Details for opening of the new office were worked out by a score of aides, under supervision of President T. P. Harris and Agency Director, Melvin McNairy.

A company brochure, announcing the planned expansion program, states, in part:

"After more than a quarter of a century of experience in the highly competitive field of insurance in the State of Illinois, the Chicago Metropolitan Mutual Assurance company has extended its area of operation to include the Mid-West states of Indiana, Missouri and Ohio. Looking ahead, the thriving company, long known as the pride of Chicago's bustling Southside, anticipates expansion into other states and regions.

"Founded in 1927, by far-visioned Robert A. Cole, as the Metropolitan Funeral System association, the mutual life insurance company now has assets in excess of $8,000,000 and life and other policy reserves of $6,000,000.

"Venturing into new territory, the company offers to citizens of Indiana, Missouri and Ohio the same type of safe and reliable ordinary and industrial insurance policies, of which a quarter of a million, representing nearly $75,000,000 worth of insurance in force, have already been purchased by persons in Illinois . . ."

So, Metropolitan Mutual adds another Star to its Crown, a star, richly deserved. For its success is the result of planning, cooperative action, loyalty and HARD WORK. Henry Ford, motor tycoon and industrialist, must have had Chicago's Metropolitan Mutual in mind when he said:

"Business is never so healthy as when, like a chicken, it must do a certain amount of scratching for what it gets."

Albert BARNETT

'Physical Race Relations," Before And After "War Between The States"

THE WRITER OF THIS COLUMN has long wondered how the WHITE WOMEN of the Deep South felt about the new trend toward integration which started with the Supreme Court ruling outlawing segregation, of the races in public schools.

Since the days of Reconstruction, the White, Vocal voice of the South, has been MALE. He has been the slave-driver and the Master, before, during and after the "War Between the States." He had two sets of morals — one for daytime, the other for 'the cool of the evening' when he 'relaxed' in the plantation cabin of his young, brown-skinned concubine, who bore at least some of his children.

But, look about you. All the mulattoes, quadroons and octoroons seen from coast to coast today, are not, entirely the result of his amorous conquests of bygone days. Without knowing it, or if he did, without admitting it, he was being aided and abetted in propagation of the 'yaller race' by his own WHITE WOMEN. Taken en masse the White Cracker of the South is the most naive, deluded man in the history of Dixie.

He probably thought that while he was consorting with the voluptuous slave-girl of his choice that his wife was at home in the Big House knitting sweaters or reading the Holy Writ. But he was dumb, and didn't know it. What was good for the gander, she said was good for the goose, and the MISSUS had her own husky, brown lover, in the 'cool of the evening' when she felt the urge to indulge in the frivolities of youth.

All this, however, is passe. How do the white women of the South feel today? Here are excerpts from a letter written by a kindly lady of Laurel, Miss., whose initials are Mrs. W. L. C. S. She writes:

"I doubt if you will take the time to read this letter and I don't guess that you will print it in your paper, but it is the truth and is from God's work. Read Genesis — 9th Chapter, 22nd thru 27th verses: Shem is of the Jew Race; Japheth is of the Gentile Race; Ham is of all the Dark and Negro Races . . .

"God made the Negro black and he intended for them to stay like he made them, and when men and women mix the races, they are defying the laws of God. Someday there will be a Judgment Day and Hell will be full of that kind who [illegible]efy God's laws to have power [illegible]e on earth . . . God intended [illegible] each race to produce after [illegible]wn, not intermix. The Devil w[illegible] ave all power in Hell, after [illegible]nent Day . . .

[illegible]e, the mothers, don't hate you people, but we will never ask one of you in for dinner, or to tea, or to a movie. We believe in keeping the races like God made them and we believe in our way of life. Why do you people want to mix in our schools if you don't want to mix in our homes — which will never happen . . .

"We mean what we say. The Mothers of the White race have kept quiet about all of this, but you can rest assured, there is no law that can keep the Mothers from teaching their own children . . .

"What I have written, will happen. You won't believe it until it does. After every town and city in the South does exactly what has been stated here, there won't be any need for public schools and they will have to close. Just wait and see. Then, what will you people do? . . .

"We, of the South, will NEVER mix with you people. That is the Truth!"

Albert BARNETT

Negro Service Employees Have Friends In The Ranks Of Labor

NEGRO SERVICE EMPLOYES OF AMERICA in organized Labor, have two great champions, dedicated to the task of improving their working conditions and giving them top economic security — in all phases — which is their heritage as first-class American citizens.

First, of course, is the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, (AFL-CIO) headed by A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster and their chiefs of staff, who have given real dignity to the former lowly status of the Pullman Car porter.

Brotherhood officials, generations ago, realized that dignity of position results in dignity of character and gives the worker the self-assurance and satisfaction of a job well done. It improves his carriage, makes him walk erect, and not grovel at the feet of the traveling public — seeking alms. The Brotherhood elevated the Pullman Porter to a proud position, and through the years the porter has lived up to it.

Second labor organization, protecting the rights and privileges of all workers, including Negroes, is the Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Bartenders International Union, (AFL-CIO), with headquarters in Cincinnati.

In the June issue of Catering Industry Employee, official organ of the Union, three Negro workers in the dining car service of the Southern Pacific Railroad, were given awards for their long years of service without a reportable injury.

They were: Chef Elonza Spears, 37 years without injury; Waiter Albert Pruitt, 39 years and Bartender James Pendergrass, 35 years. Negro officials of Southern Pacific's Union locals, are T. W. Anderson, Local 456, vice-general chairman of the system, and W. E. Pollard, Local 582, general chairman.

Recently, in Troy, New York, after four weeks of bargaining, Local 583, succeeded in winning a shorter week for 100 employees in eight member restaurants of the Troy association. Arthur Lawrence was the Negro member of the Local's negotiating committee.

Reporting an incident in New York City, the Catering Magazine states: "The real meaning of the kind of brotherhood a union is meant to foster, was dramatically displayed in the East Bronx recently after vandals stoned the home of Mr. and Mrs. Percy Hill, both employed at Hotel Shelton.

"The Hills are Negroes. About three months ago, stones came crashing through their windows in an obvious effort to drive them from the neighborhood.

"The attack brought into action a massive effort on the part of many interested groups, including Hotel and Club Local 6, of which Mrs. Hill is a member, and Front Service Local 144, of which Mr. Hill is a member.

"A delegation of fellow workers from the hotel, with officers of their unions, went at once to the Hill's home to offer aid. The Hotel Trades Council took steps to see that city and state officials moved into the situation, and that the Hills were afforded police protection."

The hoodlums were apprehended and the Hill's windows repaired by a glazier, with a heavy mesh placed over them, "but the union isn't stopping with sympathy and the new windows.

"It has taken steps to encourage interested community agencies to develop a program for this section of the East Bronx which has been neglected in the past. Working with the State Commission Against Discrimination and private groups, the Union reports it will continue its efforts so that others in the area need not suffer the same shocking treatment."

Albert BARNETT

Reader Answers Dixie 'Negro Baiter Who Hides Behind A Cowardly 'Alias'

MEMBERS OF THE FOURTH ESTATE — journalism, in all its phasis have a profound disgust for readers who send in caustic, vituperative letters about their pet 'gripes,' but who either refuse to sign the missives at all, or else give a phony signature.

Letters, unsigned, of course, are thrown into the nearest waste-basket, because they show that the writer hasn't the nerve to stand up and be counted, as a truthful sincere critic of the situation which rankles him.

Other writers hide behind a nom-de-plume — a fake signature which does not reveal their real identity, but whose 'gripe' letters occasionally get into print. Such, apparently, is the case of a Daniel E. Ellingsworth, of Mobile, Alabama, an avowed Negro baiter, whose vicious letter was printed over his signature, in the July 14 issue of the Chicago Defender — and who dared this newspaper to print it.

After admitting that there are some exceptions to the Negro's inferiority, Writer "Ellingsworth," states, in part, as follows:

". . .But, by and large, they are an incompetent lot. After 80 years out of slavery, the Negro is still begging for bread. He has had ample opportunity to invent and create his own market and compete shoulder to shoulder with the white or yellow race. He has not done so, becuase he is indolent and slow and dumb.

"While I, a white man and a good Christian, do not hate the black man, I certainly would not want him to put his feet under my table and share meals with my wife and two daughters. . .

"I am a banker and I welcome Negro patrons in my place of business, but that's as far as I care to be in contact with them. I know the Defender will not print this, because you are deluding your Negro readers into believing that they are as good as anybody else in this country of white people. But I am sending the letter so that you may learn some sense."

NOW, READ THIS! It's an exposé of 'Writer' Ellingsworth, by Mr. H. Dowdy, Chicago reader of this Column — whose address is known to this writer, but must remain confidential. Mr. Dowdy states, under date of July 26:

"I am sure that everyone who read "Mr. Daniel Ellingsworth's" letter to the Defender has his own private list of definitions for this man. I had wanted to write him a long, informative letter of a very penetrative nature. So, I wrote to the Mayor of Mobile, Alabama, and asked him to kindly send Mr. Ellingsworth's address to me. I received a prompt and courteous reply from the City Clerk of Mobile, stating that they had looked in both the Telephone and City Directories, but could find Neither NAME NOR ADDRESS for such a person.

"Now, Mobile is not such a large city and if this man has banking connections as he claims, it should not be too hard to find HIM or his ADDRESS in the city. So, dear readers, we find that our "Daniel Ellingsworth" is not only fictitious in his THINKING, but he also makes the deal complete giving us a fictitious NAME.

"He could very well be Sambo Petersen, Hymie Niscovisch, Rufus Obendorfer or Judas Fiasco. He should be ashamed to hide behind an ALIAS. So, just add to your list of definitions for this character, one more word, and LET THAT WORD BE COWARD."

Albert BARNETT

Defender P.9

Citizens In Faraway India Deplore Treatment Of Negroes In America

Sat. 5-5-56

THE OLD BROMIDE, "All the World is Akin", has been given new meaning in recent years with the notable advances made in the fields of radio, TV, telephone, telegraph, radar and the supersonic Jet plane.

Today, the world is closer together, the Orient and Occident are fast becoming neighbors and among the first to realize this are members of the darker races, whose combined population, by actual statistics, comprises three-fourths of the entire world population.

Chicago, Ill.

Treatment of the American Negro since Reconstruction Days; his subjection to second and third class citizenship by die-hard Dixiecrats and the recent defiance of the U. S. Constitution and the Supreme Court by the 17 Southern states, particularly Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama — has focused the attention of our darker brethren overseas to the point where they are vocal in their appeal that the U. S. Government extend democratic justice to all citizens, regardless of color or race.

These foreign protestants point to the defiance of Southern states to the May 17, 1954 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, outlawing segregated schools throughout the nation, and the more recent High Court edict banning separate, or Jim Crow seats for Negro passengers on public buses in Southern states.

Test case in the Jim Crow Bus rule came more than five months ago in Montgomery, Ala., when Negro passengers refused to sit in the 'Negro Section' of city vehicles. News of the 'passive resistance' being made by Montgomery's stalwart citizens, reached across the seas to faraway India, land of Mahatma Gandhi, master pacificist of all time.

A letter comes to this Column from Saratkumari Chatterjee, secretary and treasurer of the Shalimar Padnapukur Defence Party, with headquarters at 90-1, Currie Road, Howrah, Arya-Bharati, India. Mrs. Chatterjee's letter states:

"I shall be grateful if you kindly publish the enclosed letter in your paper in order that the American readers may know that quite a large section of Indian people are keenly watching America's struggle to maintain the balance of democracy between her Negro and other citizens. The fact that others are watching from outside may also even shame into better behaviour, those who by their anti-Negro actions are sullying the fair name of a great Nation."

And here, word for word, is the resolution passed by the Shalimar Resistance Group, headed by the resourceful and intelligent Mrs. Chatterjee:

"At a meeting of the Shalimar Padmapukur Defense Party (Resistance Group) held under the presidency of Dr. Prabhuram Chatterjee, president and captain of the party, at 90-1 Currie rd., Howrah, the following resolution was unanimously passed: —

"This meeting of the members of the Shalimar Padmapukur Defence Party views with deep concern the inequalities and disabilities as well as at times violent oppression under which the Negro citizens of the U. S. of America have been living and to counteract which the citizens and their sympathizers have been forced to resort to a programme of nation-wide Passive Resistance. The members further in the interests of Peace and Justice call upon the American government to fulfill her pledge of democracy for all American citizens — whether Black or White."

Albert BARNETT

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Proud Chicago Leads Nation In Number Of Interracial Churches

Sat. 4-21-56

IN A QUIET, UNOBTRUSIVE MANNER, without the beating of drums or fanfare of trumpets, Chicago has taken the lead in interracial religious worship, among all the major cities of America.

This trend toward real brotherhood in religion began more than [illegible] years ago, with the founding of [illegible] Seventh Day Adventist church on the city's Southside, which welcomed all parishioners to fellowship, regardless of their nationality or race. One of the founding members of this interracial House of Worship, was the late, revered Johanna Snowden, whose son, Atty. Joseph Snowden, has been for years, a respected member of the Illinois Bar.

P.9

Elder Troy, about 15 years ago, was the "Shepherd of the Flock," and it was during his ministry that the white people and Negroes of Chicago awakened to the fact that after all, we are 'brothers under the skin' and owe spiritual allegiance to but one Master — our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

So effective was Elder Troy's religious leadership that he was transferred to the West Coast, where he now holds a high administrative post in the SDA denomination.

Present pastor of Shiloh, which since has moved to the impressive house of worship at 70th and Michigan ave., is Elder Eric S. Dillett, who has endeared himself to communicants of both races and has carried on the high traditions of the SDA church.

In LaGrange, Ill., the Adventists maintain a Class A, school, the Broadview Academy, and in March of this year, to the great satisfaction of Elder Dillett, his son, Eric, jr., among 600 students, was chosen as the "Senior Student of the Month."

Also, to further demonstrate S. D. A. fellowship, a popular colored girl at Broadview Academy was chosen as the "girl of the Month" by the senior class. The Broadview Exponent, School magazine made this comment:

"Who is she? Who else could it be but Josie Ruffin? To this lively girl with the sparkling good humor, we say, good luck to you in your plans to be an elementary teacher."

Latest commendable example of interracial Christian fellowship, was recorded in the greater Chicago area on Sunday, April 8, in Maywood, Ill., a suburb, when members of St. Simon the Cyrenian Episcopal church, a Negro mission, were invited to attend services at the Episcopal church of the Holy Communion, for the first time since 1937.

The Negro mission was closed recently by Bishop Gerald Francis Burrill of the Episcopal diocese of Chicago, upon recommendation of the diocesan council, and when the order became effective, vestrymen of the white church immediately invited their colored brethren to worship with them. Irony of the welcome invitation was that some of the older Negro parishioners were really returning to the church they belonged to, at the time the mission was founded.

Rector of the Negro mission, St. Simon, is the Rev. Kenneth Curry, who said their building will be sold. Rector of the now interracial church is the Rev. John H. Tredrea. Announcing that the two congregations would merge and become one, Bishop Gerald Francis Burrill said:

"Both intend to make their future life in the church of their community an expression of their Christian intention that God creates all men in His own image, and that all men, regardless of race or color, have immortal souls and are equally dear to Him."

Albert BARNETT

Integration, In North, Changes Public Eating Habits Of Negroes

Defender P.9

TO A GREAT EXTENT, integration, North of the Mason-Dixon Line, has changed the eating habits of many Negro families. In Chicago, for instance, Negro patronage is welcomed in the major hotels and cafes of the loop district and in the plush hostelries of Gold Coast communities.

At the turn of the century, about the only two Negro celebrities (known to this writer) who could get reservations and service at Loop hotels in Chicago, were the late, great comedian, Bert Williams, and the late Booker T. Washington, famed founder of Tuskegee Institute. Both stopped at the old Sherman House, now nationally known as the Hotel Sherman.

Sat. 5-19-56

By degrees the bars have been lowered, through the years, and Negroes no longer have to go up on the freight elevator to get to 'private', Jim Crow dining rooms. Competition in the hotel and restaurant business has been so keen that the industry realized— within the past decade — that the dollar that goes into the cash register, carries no label of race, color or creed.

Chicago, Ill.

Negroes, today, individually, or in groups, are patrons of the Sherman, Palmer House, Morrison, La-Salle and Conrad Hilton hotels in Chicago's famous Loop district, and at the Edgewater Beach, Croydon, Sheraton - Blackstone, Drake and other name hotels and niteries, off the beaten path.

The foregoing comment was prompted by a Defender reader who 'dined out' recently at a banquet given by her organization in the Grand Ballroom of the Palmer House. It was admittedly her first experience, and both food and service were so excellent, her curiosity was aroused. So she complimented her waiter and asked him how his head waiter and maitre d'hotel had perfected the table service. The waiter replied:

"Madame, French service is standard in dining rooms of the Palmer House, Hotel Sherman, Conrad Hilton and all top hotels and cafes in Chicago and other metropolitan Cities." Just then, the red light signal was flashed for all waiters to leave and the gavel for the speaking program to begin.

So, her query unanswered, the lady phoned this Column to have the term "French Service" defined. Briefly, French Service means individual service, introduced in this country more than 50 years ago by Swiss waiters of the Geneva Society. With a party of eight, for instance, the waiter places hot plates, empty, before each guest for the main course, then proceeds to serve them individually.

The main course may be Filet Mignon, Chateau Briand, Breast of Guinea Hen, Stuffed Lamb Chops, Breaded Veal chops, or Half Chicken, roasted with cracker crumbs In any case, the waiter gets eigh portions for his party, in an Escoffier Dish, made of pure aluminum, where the top cover an handle, become the bottom section for serving.

The waiter with fork and spoon then serves each guest with th piece de resistance, and follow it up with service of the potatoe and vegetables called for on th menu. During courses, the waiter stands at attention, waitin for the signal light, telling him t clear the table and prepare fo the next course.

French table service is inte esting, sanitary and clean. Th waiter's hands never touch th food. As it comes from the kitche so it reaches the table of the di er, promptly and without dela French service, both in public ar private, is highly desirable ar reflects the good taste of bo host and guest. More may be sa of it later.

Albert

BARNETT

Defender Chicago, Ill.

IBPOE Of W — Top Ranking Fraternal Group In America

Sat. 7-21-56

OUTSTANDING AMONG THE FRATERNAL MEN of the nation who preach and practice real brotherhood and true philanthropy, are members of the Independent Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World, now engaged in a $100,000 scholarship fund campaign, greatest in history of the popular fraternal organization.

V.9

There are more than 500,000 Brother Elks in the United States and foreign possessions and the creed of each, as told to this writer by an active official, is: "To live unselfishly, not for himself alone, but to extend aid and a helping hand to those who deserve it."

Focusing their philanthropy on the youth of America and of all races, the National Elks body conducts an annual oratorical contest, with eliminations from each region among high school graduates, and winners of the national contest are presented cash scholarships of $1,000, to continue their studies in the various colleges and universities.

Heading their national effort is George W. Lee of Memphis, grand commissioner of education, who is doing a commendable job carrying on the effective program, started 27 years ago, under leadership of the late Judge William C. Hueston, and during which time the Elks' Education department has raised more than $1,500,000, and granted more than 800 Scholarships to the youth of America.

Deputy commissioner for the Northern District, embracing Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin, is Dr. Frederick D. Moore, fraternal, church and civic worker, who places his faith in the youth of America, and ably supervises the spirited oratorical contests held in his district.

Concerning the 1956 drive, which has broadened immeasureably, Grand Commissioner Lee, from his Memphis headquarters, stated: "The first group of an eventual 250,000 Letters of Appeal have been mailed.

"Each Elk and Daughter Elk will be asked to contribute ONE DOLLAR to the crusade for Freedom in Education and to make MORE SCHOLARSHIPS available to aid students who are suffering from the blight of poverty or the lack of opportunity."

The drive will close on August 23, when leaders in th ecrusade will be presented at the finals in the National Oratorical contest, to be held in Los Angeles, Calif.

Scholarship grants for this year, states Commissioner Lee, will include 49 students of both races, who are attending the universities of America, Mexico and Cuba. Awards will not be based on membership of students' parents in the Order of Elks, but upon human needs.

The commissioner said that grants, of $1,000 each, had been made to Ethel L. Belton, Spottswood T. Holling, jr., Linda Brown, Dorothy Davis and Harry Briggs, jr., for their long, legal fight which led to the High Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools.

Other Elk awards went to Autherine Lucy, for her determined fight to enroll at University of Alabama, and to Bruce Boynton of Montgomery, Ala., whose father's business had been closed by a boycott of the Jim Crow Citizens' Council.

But the REAL CITIZENS of America — backbone of the Nation — salute the Order for its great, humanitarian program. They know that true philanthropy, like charity, begins at home, that its ripples broaden into an ever-widening circle, embracing ALL who deserve its comforting solace and aid.

Albert

BARNETT

Defender V.9

Gloria Lockerman, Harry Truman Share Honors In Billiken Parade

IT'S A RARE DISTINCTION for a septuagenarian to be named personal escort and bodyguard for America's champion speller and TV star, Gloria Lockerman, but that was the pleasant duty assigned this writer at the 27th Annual Billiken Parade and Picnic, sponsored by the Chicago Defender, and held on Saturday, Aug. 11.

Chicago, Ill.

Gloria, a great little trouper, calm, tranquil and composed, remains unaffected by the international fame achieved by her TV appearances. She shared the spotlight during the parade and picnic with former President Harry Truman, and on the reviewing stand in Washington Park, both were introduced to the huge crowd which jammed the concourse by John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher of the Chicago Defender and president of Defender Publications.

Sat. 8-25-56

The 13-year-old spelling genius lives in Baltimore and was chaperoned on her Chicago trip by her grandmother, Mrs. Bertha Key, a kindly-faced, soft-spoken matron, who, unobtrusively, maintained a constant vigil over her famous charge. Hostess for Gloria and her grandmother during their weekend stay, was Ella Horton, capable member of the Defender's Promotion department. Gloria's program of events for the parade and picnic were arranged by Mrs. Myrtle Sengstacke, wife of the publisher. Safe and speedy transportation was provided for the distinguished juvenile in a State Highway Police car driven by Sgt. Bob Patton, who, with this writer, acted as custodians to see that nothing went amiss, before, during or after the mammoth BILLIKEN Day festival which had more than 50,000 participants and was viewed by 500,000 spectators.

Gloria and 'Grandma Key' arrived in Chicago on Friday, the day before the big parade, and registered at the Conrad Hilton hotel where a plush suite had been reserved for them. After a rest period they were taken for a sightseeing trip to major points of interest; then to the municipal subway garage at Randolph and Michigan, and after that to the new Prudential building, where they had dinner in Stouffer's cafe.

Highlight of the day was a visit to Johnson Publications, publishers of Ebony, Tan and Jet, where Gloria was shown some of the magazines carrying her picture on the Front Page Cover. The next day — Parade Day — Gloria, seated atop a Cadillac Convertible, waved to the countless thousands along the two mile line of march, which ended in Washington Park, where another jampacked crowd waved greetings to the greatest juvenile star of the century.

Later, Gloria and her entourage were whisked away to South Center Department store, where Morris Berman, proprietor, presented her a complete set of teenage finery, with all accessories. Hostess for the presentation who selected the wardrobe, was Bernadine Carrickett, noted mannequin and chief buyer in the women's department of South Center store.

As a further compliment, Mr. Berman had Mrs. Carrickett 'pick up the Tab' at a full course dinner, served across the street at Morris' Eat Shop. Gloria's main dish — her heart's delight — was Sirloin Steak with mashed potatoes and gravy.

After dessert, as a conversational piece, this writer told Gloria of a hard-to-spell word, put to song, 50 years ago, by the great comedian, Bert Williams — a word he defied anyone to spell. Gloria smiled at the challenge. Here's the word-song that made Bert Williams famous:

Trans-Mag-Nificam-BAN-Dam - Uality

Of all the Words I ever heard
This one has been a Puzzle to Me
I know you can spell C-A-T, Cat
And all such easy spelling words like that,
But Spell — Transmagnificamban damuality!

Albert

BARNETT

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Race-Loyal Reader Answers The 'Mother From Mississippi'

Sat. 7-14-56

IN A RECENT COLUMN, this writer posed the query: "How do the white women of the Deep South feel about the new trend toward integration that stared with the Supreme Court ruling which outlawed segregation of the races in public schools." V.9

Mrs. W. L. C. S., of Laurel, Miss., was the first 'white mother' to answer, and she stated, in part: "God made the Negro black and he intended for them to stay like he made them. When men and women mix the races, they are defying the laws of God. . . .

"We, the mothers, don't hate you people, but we will never ask one of you in for dinner, to a tea, or to a movie. We believe in keeping the races like God made them and we believe in our way of life. Why do you people want to mix in our SCHOOLS if you don't want to mix in our HOMES —which will never happen. . .

"We mothers of the South, will NEVER mix with you people. That is the Truth."

In a deluge of letters and telegrams to the editors of the Chicago Defender, sharp issue was taken to the Biblical viewpoint expressed by the 'Mother from Mississippi.' Typical, was the comment of Charles D. Bennett, well-informed Biblical student of Chicago, who states, in part:

". . .In the first place, the lady is woefully lacking in Scriptural understanding, or deliberately twisting the word of God into a Lie — that she, and others like her, want to believe.

"Instead of reading one Chapter of Genesis, I suggest that she read the entire Book. If she does, she will find that God repeats His command, ten times, in the First Chapter — that all things He had created, reproduce 'after their kind.' Today, that law still stands unbroken. . .The inexorable law that blocks biologists, the one that God laid down in the beginning— 'After their kind.'. . .

"No man has ever been able to make any plant or animal cross the line from its own kind. Horses may be developed into Shetland ponies, giant draft stock or thoroughbred racing horses — but they never become cows, giraffes or monkeys. Millions of mules have been produced. . .but every one had to be a cross between horse and donkey. Not one single mule ever had a mule for a father or for a mother. . .That inexorable law of God has never been broken. . .

"According to the Bible, God is no respector of persons — Romans — 2nd Chapter, 11th Verse. Now, the good Bible-reading lady down in Mississippi, will not have to look too far to see vari-colored humans — their fathers white, their mothers, Negroes. . .Had God not wanted these things to be — His law could have blocked it. . .

"In the Book of Numbers (Chapter 12, 1-15 Verses), we find God punishing the brother and sister of Moses — because he had married a Colored woman. . .

"However, 'Mother of Mississippi,' it is not social equality that concerns the mass of we Colored Americans — it's equal rights, defined by our Constitution, as our rightful due.

"So far as seeking to put my feet under your table for a meal, or to go dancing with you, because of your color or lack of it, I say, with most of my colored fellow-Americans: 'Don't worry about it. We have (thanks to the whites, both male and female) all colors of the rainbow to pick from And, right in our back yard.' "

Albert BARNETT

Better Business Bureau Warns Of New "Display House" Racket

THE PRESENT NATION-WIDE UPSURGE IN HOME CONSTRUCTION — stemmed in the desire of every family man to be the "lord of his own castle"—has spawned a litter of building parasites, who, by deception, guile and fraud, mulct hundreds of thousands of dollars annually from property owners, mostly in the middle and lower income brackets.

Complaints pour in from all sections of the country, citing the loss of money, in varying sums, to the lecherous swindlers who use the "display house" racket as a lure to deprive honest families of their meagre savings.

Here's how the racket works, as described in a recent release by Chicago's Better Business Bureau, the description being typical of other metropolitan cities. A. B. Johnston, vice president of the Bureau, warns:

"Don't fall for the 'display house' racket by a fast-talking salesman who wants to use your residence as a 'demonstration home' for his company's remodelling work. This warning is issued because inquiries and complaints indicate such selling techniques are AGAIN being used by some of the less reputable organizations in the Chicago area.

"This 'demonstration home' approach is followed by high pressure boys who attempt to make the home owner believe he is getting a special price, if he HELPS SELL other prospective purchasers. It has been used by salesmen selling various types of remodeling work, such as aluminum or suedo brick siding, awnings, mastic paint jobs, etc.

"The build-up on this fast-buck operation may vary. Sometimes the home owner will receive an impressive letter from the company about some new product or process it wants to demonstrate. The letter says the sales manager will call that evening for written consent to use the owner's home as a "display house."

Later, a salesman may call the home owner, saying he can reduce his heating bill for the winter by one-third, can insulate and keep out the heat on hot, Summer days, and 'Guarantee' that he will never have to paint his house again.

But, here's the real bait. The salesman says he'll give you a $3,600 remodeling job for $2,100-provided you let him take photographs, place his firm's sign in your front yard — and tell everybody how completely satisfied you are with the completed job.

And, here's where the "sucker" falls. The glib-mouthed salesman shows the "prospect" how he can get the entire job done—FOR FREE. The salesman spiels: "Chances are, your job won't cost you a cent — our company will pay you a bonus of $75 for every customer you help us sell, and since we expect to sell 25 or 30 homes in this part of town — well, add it up for yourself." The Better Business Bureau calls this the "bonus bait," and condemns the vicious practice as follows:

"As for the bonuses, the Bureau's files hold scores of complaints from home owners who BIT on this deal, but who say they RECEIVED NO BONUSES. The Better Business Bureau condemns this method of selling as DECEPTIVE and MISLEADING. Its records show that firms following such sales procedures have an UNSAVORY REPUTATION, and that the files of such companies following such practices contain MANY COMPLAINTS."

So, Mr. Home Owner beware, and remember that you never get SOMETHING for NOTHING. Shenstone must have had a similar experience, when he said:

"A liar begins with making FALSEHOOD appear like TRUTH, and ends with making TRUTH itself appear like FALSEHOOD."

Albert BARNETT

High School Principal Stirs A "Tempest In The Segregation Teapot"

BLAIR T. HUNT, principal at Booker T. Washington High school, Memphis, Tenn., stirred a "tempest in the segregation teapot" recently, when he sent a letter to that city's Commercial Appeal newspaper advising his fellow Negroes, in effect, to 'lay off my good white folks,'' and stop yelping about 'mixed schools,' because Negroes are not ready for integration.

Compare his weak, subservient attitude on this vital question, to the positive, forceful stand taken by stout-hearted Autherine Lucy, Birmingham, Ala., secretary, who insists on being admitted to the 'all-white' University of Alabama, in accordance with the May 17, 1954, edict of the U. S. Supreme Court, specifically outlawing segregation in public schols.

Principal Hunt speaks: ". . .I advise that agitation evokes trouble, and strife begets strife. Let's toss both agitation and strife overboard. Let's substitute persuasion, reason and merit. I quote what a good sister said in a prayer meeting recently:

" 'This ain't no time for scrapping and fussing. This is praying time.' "

Principal Hunt doesn't indicate just what type of 'persuasion' Negroes must use on his 'good white folks', when they avowedly and openly defy a MANDATE of the highest court in the land. Furthermore, it's the duty of a school principal to train young minds, to direct their faltering steps, teach them moral, spiritual and social values, respect for the home and the law of the land.

How Principal Hunt can square ... weak, insipid, 'middle of the road' PHILOSOPHY WITH HIS conscience. and still look his students — and their parents — in the face, is a question only he can answer. He should be advised that freedom of thought and speech do not constitute debauchery of the Truth.

A. M. Conley, reputable and race-conscious citizen of Marks, Miss., has this to say about the letter Mr. Hunt sent to the Memphis Commercial:

". . .Our people in the South need help to persuade our Negro teachers, who care only about their jobs, to hold their peace, rather than ENCOURAGE segregation and ASK for it. Tell the teachers to have the courage of the two midwives in Egypt, whom Pharoah told to destroy the male children, WHICH THEY DID NOT.

"In obedience to the law, there is no 'middle of the road.' Now is the time to protest unfairness in education and to stand against it. Tell these teachers that SEGREGATED schools are SECOND RATE schools, and second rate schools make SECOND RATE CITIZENS.

"The fact is that our Negro teachers are bowing to segregation because of their big salaries and they thus deny our children the advantage of a well-rounded education."

Principal Hunt may consider himself an erudite but his knowledge of human relations leaves much to be desired. A man does not have to advocate the violent overthrow of his government to be a traitor. But any man who poisons the minds of children and ignorant adults and influences them to think and act against their best interests is a traitor to his own people and his government and defiles his God who gave him breath, but no license, to preach his vile philosophy.

Albert BARNETT

Workers Of Both Races Share In Profits Of Giant Steel Industry

AMERICA'S 582,000 STEELworkers, of both races today, are enjoying working and living conditions unprecedented in labor history, attributable to the industry's record production of 84,717,444 net tons of steel in 1955.

Sharing in this tremendous output, which means a marked raising of their economic level, are the Negro steel workers, who constitute an estimated 15 percent of the total number employed.

According to the American Iron and Steel Institute, the industry's payroll for 1954 reached the staggering total of $2.8 billions in wages and salaries for skilled workers, white-collar employes and men in the production line.

Average earnings of today's steelworker is $103 a week. Commenting on the present-day economic level of the worker and the high standard of living he enjoys, STEELWAYS, official magazine of the American Iron and Steel Institute, says in its February issue:

"One of the profound changes that marks this era in American life is industry's direct assistance to the employe in satisfying his desire for security and happiness . . . In terms of dollars, it is 'hidden pay' that lifts the American workman still higher above the world average. To the steelworker, let us say, who is earning around $100 for a 40-hour week, it means an additional $14 a week set aside by the company for his benefit.

"In terms of pleasure, it means paid vacations — vacations at a pay that is only a dream to the workmen in many other countries. Vacationing steelworkers literally 'see the world' as a part of their new standard of living.

"In terms of security, it means health and accident retirement pensions as a reward for a fruitful work life, and life insurance to protect the family.

"The man and his family are protected if he loses work through illness or mishap, and when his working days are over, his social security checks are supplemented by substantial payments from his company pension fund."

A recent survey showed that the greater Chicago area — extending south, to Gary, Ind., — is now the greatest steel producing center in America, its output exceeding that of Pittsburgh, longtime 'champ' of the industry. This great Illinois-Indiana band of iron and steel extends from South Chicago to the Calumet area, including Calumet City, East Chicago and Gary. Mills of the U. S. Steel corporation dominate the Gary scene, employing an estimated 5,000 workers with at least 30 percent (about 7,500) of them, Negroes.

Negro white-collar workers in the general offices are conspicuous by their absence, but one girl serves as clerk, and there are two Negro technicians — one in the chemical laboratory, the other in the physics lab. In the furnace sections and rolling mills of U. S. Steel, however, Negro workers are upgraded according to their particular skills, some making as high as $8,000 a year.

One of the best-informed men on Negro participation in the steel industry, is Clifford Minton, suave, efficient executive director of the Gary Urban League, who, for more than six years has done a creditable job creating new work opportunities and upgrading for Negro personnel. Minton was formerly head of the industrial relations department, Cleveland Urban League.

Independent steel companies of the great Calumet area, which, combined, employ thousands of Negro workers comprising 13-15 percent of their payrolls, are, American Bridge company, Union Drawn Steel division, National Tube division, Standard Steel Springs division, Universal Atlas Cement company, Gary Screw and Bolt company, Gary Sheet and Tin Works and Inland Steel company.

Albert

BARNETT

Defender P. 9

How Chicago Reclaims TB Victims To Normal, Productive Lives

Sat. 3-17-56

IT'S INTERESTING TO NOTE the remarkable advance made in recent years by the medical profession and welfare agencies in the treatment and cure of tuberculosis. Chicago, Ill.

This is generally true throughout the country, with the larger, metropolitan centers setting the pace for smaller communities.

In the Greater Chicago area, for instance, the TB treatment and cure program for years has been directed by the Tuberculosis Institute of Chicago and Cook County, the annual budget being partly met by the sale of Christmas Seals. Response to the Institute's annual drive has been generous, with many of the larger business and industrial firms soliciting funds from both employes and officials, in support of the effort.

As a result, the high position formerly held by TB in the ranks of 'disease killers,' has been lowered. A major factor in this welcome reduction is the city-wide free Chest X-Ray examination. This vital service is made available to all residents of the city and county, 15 years of age and older, by means of mobile Motor Units, staffed by doctors and nurses. Tuberculin skin tests are also available for children and designated clinics for working people only.

A case in point, and close at home, was that of a young Chicago printer, and graduate of Tuskegee Institute, who was stricken with the dread disease. On first examination, his condition was pronounced critical, but after a series of clinic tests and treatment, he improved. He was told to stop work, and later was taken to the TB Sanatarium — where he remained for two years.

At the end of that time he was released and given final instructions as to future health safeguards. A cooperative patient, he recovered completely and later passed the tests for induction into the armed services. He served 18 months in Korea, came back to Chicago, streamlined and healthy, 'took himself' a bride, and now is the proud father of two robust children.

Chicago's TB Institute is headed by an expert, Herbert C. DeYoung, and the institute's official magazine is THE CHALLENGER. An editorial in a recent issue stressed the important part rehabilitation plays in the final cure and release of a patient. It states clearly the course pursued by the Institute in reclaiming the young printer to a normal, productive life. The editorial states, in part:

"The advent of long-term drug therapy in tuberculosis has brought about a changing attitude toward the total tuberculosis control program, and is creating a different approach to many problems.

"This is particularly true regarding the phase classified as 'rehabilitation.'

"The term covers a wide range of activities, from in-sanitarium vocational counseling or training, to job placement. All, however, have as the ultimate goal the fitting, or re-fitting, of the tuberculosis patient into the life he will lead when he leaves the sanitarium . . ."

Albert

BARNETT

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Norma Jean's Interesting Letter Is Much "Better Than The Best"

Sat. 4-28-56

MR. JOHN W. BEST of Sarcamento, Calif., stirred a 'tempest in a teapot,' recently when he sent a letter to the editor of the Chicago Defender and asked that it be printed in the "What the People Say" column. P. 9

Mr. Best's letter was in answer to a previous one sent in by a Miss Pauline Warfield, in which she said that white men were jealous of Negroes, and that white girls liked Negro men. Mr. Best, of course, is white, and answering Miss Warfield, he stated in part:

"I have never heard such nonesense as your statement that our girls are trying to get your Negro men. That is either a brazen lie or utter stupidity. Our girls will not be seen with Negro men. They would be ashamed to be caught with one.

"They value their white men far above the Negro men. Only in the North, where the culture is lower, will a few whites breach the Ethical Taboo and go with a Negro. This is not the South. Neither is this the usual. This is the great minority."

So spake Mr. Best. And now comes a reply to him, from a highly respected and intelligent white woman resident of River Grove, Illinois — Norma Jean Boisse, who has the courage of her convictions and expresses them in excellent English. Miss Boisse speaks:

"People like 'Mr. Best of Sacramento,' whose letter of April 16, was published in the Defender, are truly a disgrace to the Caucasian Race and to the Human Race which presumedly all men regardless of color, are members of. He has the audacity to say that the South has a higher culture than the North because integration, fraternization, and miscegenation, do not occur — what nonesense!

"Is it civilized to teach hate, injustice and continued exploitation of men, and to justify their illogical, unscientific reasoning and actions on the basis of pigmentation or lack of it, despite the established fact that personality, physical and mental differences are greater WITHIN races than BETWEEN races? Is it civilized to burn UNHOLY CROSSES and parade around in sheets, threatening violence, LYNCHING and KILLING their darker brothers?

"As for mongrelization of the so-called white race — such a union can take place only when both parties so desire it. Furthermore, miscegenation is unifying and tends to bring both races into closer harmony. Those who are in favor of exogamy (marriage outside of one's group) should surely have the freedom of choosing it. Since the beginning of history and quite probably 'til the end, there will be intermarriage between different ethnic groups. It is a matter of personal, not public discrimination.

"Frequently I have heard persons of my race (white) state that although they are in favor of desegregation, they believe the Negro should show more responsibility, so that integration can successfully be achieved for the benefit of all concerned. To this I reply . . .:

". . . When an individual's self-respect and dignity have for years been suppressed, discouraged and mocked, responsibility is, as a consequence, also thwarted . . . Freedom and responsibility go hand in hand. When freedom is given experiences, it will be broadened, concepts changed and new values, for the average man, will ultimately result."

Albert

BARNETT

Defender Sat. 5-12-56 P. 9

Greek Government States Views On The "Imminent" "Crisis In Cyprus"

Chicago, Ill.

THE WRITER OF THIS COLUMN, unversed in diplomatic usages, has neither the intention nor desire to evoke an international incident, but a recent column, commenting on the "Crisis in Cyprus," has resulted in the receipt of letters from two of the countries involved — Great Britain and Greece.

The first letter, explaining England's position, came from Mr. Stafford E. D. Barff, director of the British Information Services, an agency of the British Government. Referring to the deportation of Archbishop Makarios, Mr. Barff stated:

". . .There is evidence that Archbishop Makarios has personally supplied funds to agents in Greece for the purchase of arms and explosives for use in terrorist operations in Cyprus."

That was the "punch" paragraph in the British letter. The Greek Government now speaks. In an interesting, highly informative letter, commenting on the Barnett column, Mr. John A. Tzounis, Chief Information Officer of the Royal Greek Embassy, Washington, D. C., writes in part, as follows:

". . .Inasmuch as the discussion on Cyprus originated from a request of one of your readers who is obviously interested in both sides of the story, I felt that you might want to give a brief account of the Greek interpretation of the breakdown of negotiations between the Colonial Administration of Cyprus and Archbishop Makarios, which led to his arrest and deportation.

"As regards the charges brought against the Archbishop by members of the British Government, I would like to point out that these were never proven and that they were described by British members of Parliament, in speeches delivered in the House of Commons, as 'allegations, none of which would have stood up for one moment in a court of Law.'

"The very fact that the charges were made public AFTER the arrest of the Archbishop, when he no longer was in a position to answer them, and that they were not endorsed or even submitted to a court of law, is most significant in itself, and justifies the suspicion that their only purpose was to discredit the Archbishop and lend some measure of respectability to an act of violence perpetrated against the head of one of the most ancient Churches of Christendom."

Mr. Tzounis also enclosed a copy of Hellenic News, published by the Royal Greek Embassy Information Service, which summarized the "Crisis in Cyprus", as follows:

". . .Thus, in September, 1955, the British position on Cyprus, stripped to its essentials, consisted of:

a) A flat refusal to grant self-determination 'within the foreseeable future', and

b) A veiled, but equally categorical refusal to yield any of the actual powers of local government to the islanders.

"In the five months of negotiations with Archbishop Makarios, which followed the collapse of the London talks, Britain DID NOT MOVE AN INCH from her original position.

". . .Under the circumstances, the Archbishop had no choice other than to reject the British proposals and to insist on certain minimum guarantees."

Albert BARNETT

Defender P.9

They're 'Splitting Hairs' On the Campus At University Of Iowa

Sat. 3-10-56

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, (SUI), abbreviated, is presently having a segregation problem of its own in Iowa City. It has nothing to do with campus activities, public accommodations in cafes, theatres or hotels, but is concerned strictly with the cutting and trimming of Negro students' hirsute adornment.

In other words some Iowa City barber shops are refusing to cut the hair of colored people. The situation, of late, has become so acute, that the plight of the school's several hundred Negro students has been aired in the public press.

Chicago, Ill.

Thirty years ago Iowa City had a Jim Crow policy as strict and unremitting as any city below the Mason-Dixon Line. But, starting with the mid-twenties, the prowess of Negro athletes on the gridiron and cinder paths, resulted in a gradual upward trend in race relations.

The great Fred (Duke) Slater—now serving with distinction on Chicago's Municipal Court Bench — 'broke the ice' in the twenties, when, as a one-man football team, he defeated 'invincible' Notre Dame, and later was named an all-time, All-American. Then came the elusive Ozzie Simmons, Varsity Captain Harris and last year's Capt. Calvin Jones, all ace players who have helped make Iowa football history.

As a result of the exploits of these and other Iowa athletic greats, the Jim Crow bars were gradually lowered, and today Negro students — both men and women — are welcomed whole-heartedly on the basis of merit, not race, enjoy equal rights and privileges and participate in all campus activities.

So, when the hair-cutting problem cropped up last week, the Daily Iowan took official notice of it. The Daily Iowan is an independent newspaper, written and edited by students—it is governed by a board of five student trustees elected by the student body and by four faculty trustees appointed by the president of the university.

Last week the Daily Iowan printed an editorial which stated, in part, as follows:

"It's true that Iowa City has no pressing race, problems. But there are stains (faint, but stains, nevertheless) upon this record. Some Iowa City barber shops REFUSE TO CUT THE HAIR OF COLORED PEOPLE."

Interviewed by a reporter, Merle Fowler, secretary of the Iowa City Barbers' union, said: "It's up to the individual barber whether or not he will cut a Negro's hair." The newly formed Community Council on Race Relations, pressed the investigation in local shops, and one barber's comment was that he thought the committee was "just trying to stir up trouble"

Stated another barber: "Its awful hard to cut a Negro's hair. I tried once and didn't do such a good job" Send another: "We will cut their hair when the public accepts it. We have customers come in now and ask if we cut Negroes' hair. They wouldn't come here if we did" A third tonsorial artist commented: "If they'd just hold their horses, maybe in a little while something could be done."

The Daily Iowan shot back, editorially: "Iowa City cannot afford to allow discrimination to be practiced. It is a showcase of Iowa, the middlewest and the United States, to too many people. . .Business and civic leaders should take part in wiping out discrimination. They can do the most in helping attain this goal. . .Iowa City townspeople, SUI students and SUI staff members alike cannot afford to be satisfied with a better-than-most record. They should have enough pride in their town to WANT A CLEAN RECORD.

Albert BARNETT

Defender P.9 Chicago, Ill.

Position On 'Crisis In Cyprus British Information Services State

Sat. 4-14-56

IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE POLICY OF THIS COLUMN comment on news happenings from an impersonal, objective viewpoint, giving credit, where due, and withholding it when not warranted.

Recently, a former semi-pro ball player of Greek descent — Lefty Parker — addressed a query to this Column, seeking information on the present status of the three warring partners in NATO—Greece, Britain and Turkey. Point at issue, of course, is control of the tiny island of Cyprus, Britain's strategic military base in the eastern Mediterranean.

The stand taken by the British in the imbroglio is significant because they believe that to lose control of Cyprus would weaken their position in the Mediterranean and challenge the security of the entire world. Explaining England's position, Mr. Stafford E. D. Barff, director of the British Information Services, an agency of the British Government, last week wrote the writer of this Column, as follows:

"I read with interest your column in last Saturday's DEFENDER: 'Greek - American Reader Wants Low-down on Crisis in Cyprus.' I thought you might care to see the enclosed papers which deal with the very complex problem of Cyprus, and you might care to pass them on to Lefty Parker who evinces an interest in the three countries most intimately concerned in the Cyprus question."

One of the enclosures Director Barff was kind enough to send, stated, in part, as follows:

"Britain has recently taken two decisive steps designed to stem the campaign of terror and violence in Cyprus. Archbishop Makarios and three other Cypriot leaders have been deported; and the Government of Cyprus has jammed some broadcasts by Athens radio aimed at the people of Cyprus in a series entitled 'Voice of the Fatherland.'

"On March 5th, 1956, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, informed the House of Commons that negotiations which he and the Governor of Cyprus, Sir John Harding, had been conducting with Archbishop Makarios and other Cypriot leaders on the future of the Island had broken down because of the unwillingness of the Archbishop to accept the British offer of a constitution and an amnesty. . .

"There is evidence that Archbishop Makarios has personally supplied funds to agents in Greece for the purchase of arms and explosives for use in terrorist operations in Cyprus.

"Funds under the Archbishopric's control are known to have been used to pay fines imposed by the Courts on persons convicted of illegal political activities in Cyprus.

"Members of the Greek Orthodox community requiring the services of the Archbishopric have been forced to contribute to the funds for the 'national struggle.' Various church fees and dues have been increased for this object. . .

"The Governor of Cyprus decided on the basis of the evidence that the influence of Archbishop Makarios was so detrimental to public safety and order and to the interests of the Cypriot people that his continued presence in the Island could no longer be accepted. . ."

Albert BARNETT

Defender P.9 Sat. 3-31-56

Easter -- And A Plea For Funds To Aid The Lame, Halt And Blind

Chicago, Ill.

ALTHOUGH BOTH ARE UNIVERSALLY OBSERVED, there is a striking difference — in addition to the seasons — between the spirit that characterizes Christmas and that which prevails at Easter.

Christmas, which means literally, Christ's Mass, describes the festival which commemorates the birth of Christ and is celebrated on December 25. Theologians agree that the exact day of the birth of Jesus is unknown and it was not until the 3rd century that his birth anniversary was celebrated to any great extent by Christians.

In those early times it was noted that December 25, was already a festive day for the sun god Mithra, therefore it appealed to Christians as an appropriate date to mark the birth of Jesus the "Light of the World." Christmas, however, did not become a legal holiday until 534. The beloved story of the Manger, the Star in the East and the Three Wise Men is a familiar legend throughout the civilized world.

On the other hand, Easter-tide is not a single day observance, but a season which marks the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ and is generally regarded as the main Christian festival. The word Easter is derived from the name of the Anglo-Saxon or Norse goddess of Spring — Eostre or Ostara, and to them the month Eostur, which corresponds to our April, was sacred.

In the 7th century, the Council of Nice — composed of Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians — decided and the decision was accepted, on just what date Easter should be observed. That date was the first Sunday after the full Moon, which follows the vernal equinox. If that full Moon falls on a Sunday — Easter is the following Sunday.

The four periods of the Easter season, now universally accepted, are: Lent, or the 40 days preceding Easter Sunday; the period of Holy Week, beginning with Palm Sunday and ending with Easter; the Octave of Easter, extending

from Easter to the following Sunday, and Eastertide, the period from Easter Sunday to Whitsunday, or Pentecost — seven weeks after Easter.

The foregoing comment on our two great Christian Holidays, was prompted by a touching appeal for funds, just prior to this Easter season, from the Fathers of Saint Edmund, Oblates of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and of the Immaculate Heart of Mary — The Mother Mission House of Selma, Ala.

Mother Mission House, headed by the Very Reverend Norman E. Lambert, S.S.E., is a God-sent, haven of refuge, for aged, sick and crippled Negro men and women, ranging in age from 60 to 90. In the Good Samaritan Inn, these unfortunate people, walking with canes, crutches and other artificial means of support, are nourished and cared for in the true Christian spirit, with tender hands that never fail, no matter how great the task.

But Mother Mission House needs immediate funds at this Easter season, as the present home for these helpless people is inadequate and the kindly Fathers there want to build a 26-bed unit to be known as the Good Samaritan Nursing Home. To raise funds for the new building, the Fathers will send a beautiful House Blessing in two colors and suitable for framing, to all who request it and who enclose a $2.00 donation for the new Nursing Home. Requests should be mailed to: Father Director, Mother Mission House, Selma, Ala., and be sure to enclose a check or money order for $2.00 with your request. Here's the House Blessing you'll receive:

"Visit, We beseech Thee, O Lord, this house and family, driving from them all snares of the enemy; Let Thy Holy Angels dwell herein, who may keep us in peace, and let Thy blessing be always upon us. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God, world without end. Amen."

Albert BARNETT

Chicago Holds Top Position In Low Rent Pubic Housing

PUBLIC HOUSING OFFICIALS OF THE NATION doffed their collective hats to Chicago last week when the great Metropolis of the West again established its position as the top U.S. city in slum clearance and redevelopment programs.

The spotlight was centered on the Windy City when Mayor Richard J. Daley and the Chicago Land Clearance commission, jointly announced a new $10,000,000 project for the South Side, to replace tenements and fire-traps with comfortable, modern living quarters for families in the lower income brackets.

Land for the new site, which is adjacent to the Ida B. Wells homes on the near Southside, will be purchased for $5,000,000, and another $5,000,000 will be allocated for construction of 500 residential units.

More than $136,000,000 has been spent in developing housing projects, by utilizing the services of private architects, contractors and local labor. In this vast program five projects were built by the Federal government now operated by CHA, under lease agreement.

To meet this multi-million dollar expense, private investors purchased bonds and loan notes, and at present private funds amounting to $90,000,000 have been invested in Chicago public housing.

A Chicago Housing Authority brochure states: "With 10,500 additional homes in construction, land buying and in planning stage today, a housing program has been developed with a value which will exceed $260,000,000."

With the opening of new job opportunities for Negroes and improvement of their economic status, many families originally eligible to live in project homes, were compelled to vacate when their total earnings exceed the maximum bracket set by CHA.

As a result, many inquiries have come to the Chicago Defender seeking clarification as to facts and figures about tenancy in these project homes. The CHA report for 1955, an attractive well-edited and illustrated brochure, gives an interesting break-down of the many services rendered by the Chicago Housing Authority. It states that at present, public housing provides for a total of 56,500 people — a population far exceeding that of hundreds of U.S. cities. More than 33,000 of this total number are children under 21, and 2,300 tenants are over 65.

Since many of Chicago's 633,000 Negroes live in so called slum areas, most of the applications received by CHA, are from Negro families. During 1955, 73 percent of all families moving into CHA projects, were Negro. The proportion for all families at this point is 30 percent white, 70 percent Negro.

Last year, of the 1,907 families who left CHA apartments, more than 100 said they were buying homes. Giving specific facts and figures, the CHA report states:

"The average rent paid by families living in CHA homes in 1955, was $48. Rents of eligible families range from $21 to $76. Rents, for the most part, represent approximately 20 percent of income, regardless of size of apartment needed, and cover heat and other utilities.

"The typical family moving into CHA apartments, consisted of father, mother and two children. Seventy percent of the families derived their income from employment. 'Workerless' families moving in, totalled 30 percent. Besides those on public assistance, the workerless families included those living on old-age insurance benefits, contributions, and savings."

Albert BARNETT

Greek - American Reader Wants Low-down On Crisis In Cyprus

IT'S A FAR CRY FROM ALABAMA TO CYPRUS, but a query comes to this column that's both unusual and interesting. The writer is Lefty Parker, old-time semi-pro baseball player, whose father was a native of Greece, named Dmitri Populous, and whose mother was colored.

Populous came to Chicago from Saloniki, Greece, about 1890, with a small stake, and three years later opened a popular-priced restaurant near 31st and State, near enough to the great World's Fair of '93, to develop a profitable business. He married one of his waitresses, and a year later a son, Lefty Populous was born. He was christened Lefty when his father discovered he was a side-wheeler — left-handed.

One of the favorites on Dimitri's menu was his 25-cent Special, consisting of two pork chops, grits and gravy, bread, butter and coffee. He did a land-office business on that one item alone. As Lefty grew up, he did odd chores around the restaurant and became a fast, courteous waiter.

At age 16, he became interested in baseball and two years later graduated from the sand-lots to a semi-pro league. As a centerfielder, he traveled with his team all over the country and was noted for his snappy, under-arm toss to second base, which nipped many a base-stealer sliding into second. When he became of age he had his name officially changed to Lefty Parker, because his teammates and friends gave him the nickname "Poppy".

Now retired, and a testy old bachelor, Lefty reads a great deal and likes to keep informed on world events, especially the present crisis in Greece and Cyprus. Hence his query about the status of the three warring partners in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization — NATO.

To begin with, as Lefty probably knows, Cyprus is an island, about four times the size of Cook county, but is the last strategic foothold for British military forces in the eastern Mediterranean. Because of its great importance, Cyprus has been a sort of international football for more than 4,000 years, and England now has the ball.

Britian has important air and sea bases on the island and says that to lose control of these would imperil the security, not only of the British, but the defense of the entire free world. Cyprus has a population of about 500,000 and four fifths of them are Greeks. From every conceivable angle, therefore it should be united with Greece. Recently, Archbishop Makarios, Cyprus Nationalist leader, insisted that Britain let the Cyprians themselves, by popular vote decide just how they wish to be governed. For his trouble, the archbishop was seized by the British and with three other Greek Nationalists, was placed aboard a frigate and deported to Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean.

The streets of Athens and other Cyprus cities have run with blood since the deportation of their leaders and roving bands of youths have started violent demonstrations against the British all over the island.

Turkey, the third segment in the Greek-British-Turkey triangle, fears for the safety of the 100,000 Turks living in Cyprus, because they are out-numbered by the Greeks, four to one. And, if Britain should relinquish soverignty over the small island, Turkey wants it back, because it was from Turkey that Britain originally took Cyprus in 1878.

The Greeks have a word for it — "Enosis" — which means union of Cyprus with Greece, and they want no alternative. Time, the great leveller, will decide their fate. Meanwhile, if Lefty Parker can get a copy of the March issue of World Events, published by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, he'll find some interesting reading on 'Cyprus, the romantic, troubled isle that threatens friendship of three NATO partners'.

Albert BARNETT

Defender Sat. 2-4-56 P. 7 Chicago, Ill.

Foreign Police Officials Get The Lowdown On Juvenile Delinquency

THE PROBLEM OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY is not confined to any particular race, religious group or nation, but is international in scope and presents a real challenge to law enforcement agencies and police officials all over the world.

The gravity of the situation, aggravated by juvenile drug addiction, was brought forcibly to the attention of 25 foreign police officials taking the recent police administration course at Purdue university, West Lafayette, Ind.

It was a six-weeks course, directed by Prof. Shelby Gallien and Jim Lewis of Purdue's Public Safety institute and by Col. Russell A. Snook of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. There were delegates from Brazil, Ecuador, Germany, Indonesia, Korea, Lebanon, Libya, Turkey, Venezuela, Thailand, Saigon, Liberia and Ethiopia. From Liberia, came Col. Nathaniel H. Baker, commissioner of police, and Inspector Nicholas C. Diggs, of Monrovia's National Police Force, Ethiopia was represented by Lt. Col. Dawit Gabrou and Capt. Girma Mengistu.

One of the main speakers who discussed the juvenile problem in the United States, was Dr. Lois Higgins, noted director of Chicago's Crime Prevention Bureau. Dr. Higgins told the police officials that drug addiction presents the most serious problem today in dealing with juvenile delinquents, and that arrests of teen-agers on all charges, have increased in recent years.

Dr. Higgins said that nationally, more than 1,333,000 children came to the attention of police during 1954, and that 168,668 arrests were made of children under 18, during the same year.

Juvenile arrests in 1954, showed a 10 percent increase over 1953, and a 58 percent increase over 1948. Also, smaller communities showed a marked increase in youth waywardness. Courts serving districts having less than 100,000 population, had a combined increase of 63 percent, showing conclusively that juvenile delinquency is far from being a 'big city' problem.

Basing her conclusions on police records, case histories and research, Dr. Higgins told the foreign police officials of the various steps by which youngsters become drug addicts. She said:

"The vast majority of young people have heard about marijuana and heroin, before beginning its use, and usually in the preliminary introduction by a 'friend', the thought that marijuana is harmless, is stressed. . .

"As the body develops a tolerance for marijuana, the youths appear to switch naturally to heroin. The daily dosage seems quickly to mount to between four and six capsules, costing $1.50 to $7.50. . . .

"If the need grows stronger and his money is inadequate, the young addict often commits more serious offenses, such as robbing newsstands, stripping automobiles, shoplifting, burglary, purse snatching and occasional strong-arm robbery.

"A small percentage become 'runners' or 'pushers' for the drug peddlers, receiving one capsule for each four they sell."

It was a distressing story that Dr. Lois Higgins related, and comment was general that addicts — young and old — are more to be pitied than censured. That view is debatable, but one thing is certain. Drug addicts never 'stand still'; if they don't retreat from the habit, they advance into it, and the further they go, the longer the road back to rehabilitation and a normal life.

Albert BARNETT

Defender Sat. 1-14-56 P. 9 Chicago, Ill.

The New DAILY DEFENDER — Another Milestone In American Journalism

THE DAILY DEFENDER makes its bow to the public on Monday, Feb. 6, when it will stand shoulder to shoulder and measure pace with its twin publication, The CHICAGO DEFENDER, now entering its 51st year of service to the city, state and nation.

THE DAILY DEFENDER, directed by John H. Sengstacke, publisher and editor, will be tabloid, in size and format, embracing all modern innovations for this type of newspaper and creating new journalistic devices to meet the daily challenge of an ever-growing community.

THE DAILY DEFENDER will be published on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. The weekend CHICAGO DEFENDER, will roll off the giant press on Friday morning, its size and appearance resembling the Sunday editions of metropolitan dailies. It will combine all late, up-to-the-minute news with features, photos, comics and club and social events incidental to the weekend of a great metropolis.

A special effort will be made by the DAILY DEFENDER to still further acquaint manufacturers and dealers with the great, untapped Negro market, which annually spends more than one billion dollars for consumer goods and services.

In its coverage of news, the DAILY DEFENDER will utilize the facilities of the International News Service, the City News Bureau, the Associated Negro Press and other news-gathering agencies. The facilities offered by these major services will be augmented and strengthened by the DEFENDER'S Chicago staff of 75 trained reporters, photographers, artists, feature writers and Columnists, and a further staff of 300 correspondents, writers and contributors of various types, all over the world.

As a result, the DAILY DEFENDER will carry condensed reports of city, state, national and foreign news, coming to the DEFENDER offices by wire, cablegram, radio and TV, through the mails and by wire-photo. It will be a complete and comprehensive coverage of global happenings, with on-the-spot pictures that at always tell the story better than words.

In a specially prepared brochure, heralding the founding of THE DAILY DEFENDER, Publisher John H. Sengstacke, states, in part:

". . .The CHICAGO DEFENDER has grown with Chicago and the expansion taking place today in our city creates new needs which can be met only by the expansion of our facilities and the general press of the city. Over the last half century we have become an institution to which citizens of all groups look for an authentic interpretation of the problems and developments on the race relations front. Also, we have pioneered in the development of the much neglected NEGRO CONSUMER MARKET.

". . .The new DAILY DEFENDER will carry forward this tradition, and we shall not be limited in either our COVERAGE or our DISTRIBUTION by reasons of RACE or COLOR.

". . .We shall strive to serve the best interests of the TOTAL POPULATION and give substance to the DEMOCRATIC IDEALS which undergird our GOVERNMENT."

Albert BARNETT

Defender Sat. 2-4-56 P. 9 Chicago, Ill.

Negro Voters Were "Absent" When Virginia Voted Jim Crow Schools

A READER OF THIS COLUMN POSES AN INTERESTING QUESTION. She is Miss Agaliece Eustis, New York school teacher, and she asks: "Where were the Negro voters of Virginia on Jan. 9, when a state-wide referendum was held on a proposal to amend the State Constitution, to allow use of state funds for so-called "private schools?"

"Election returns showed that the voters approved the plan by a majority of more than 2-to-1. This, of course, means a direct defiance by the State of Virginia of the U. S. Supreme Court ruling of May 17, 1954, outlawing segregation in public schools of the Nation.

"We all know that when the constitutional convention is called, the proposed amendment will be written on the statute books, and that JIM CROW schools will then be LEGAL, so far as Virginia is concerned. But, I am amazed at the lack of interest shown by Negro voters in the election, which was an open assault on their constitutional rights.

"Were the registered Negro voters threatened or intimidated at the polls? Were they callous and indifferent to the future educational advantages of their own children? Or were they just plain 'Uncle Toms', prostrating themselves at the knees of the white electorate?"

Basis for Miss Eustis' query about Negro voters in the Virginia election, is well grounded in fact. The answer is that they were conspicuous by their absence. The surprisingly low turnout at the polls caused many a brow to wrinkle because of the previous heavy Negro registration, and at least a close vote was anticipated at election time.

Albert BARNETT

Defender Sat. 1-28-56
Chicago Ill.

Virginia's Bigots Lead In The "Cold War Between The States"

p. 9

DIE-HARD DIXIE BIGOTS are pressing their 'Cold War Between the States,' based on their open defiance of the May 17, 1954 ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court, outlawing segregation in public schools of the Nation.

First off, was Virginia's statewide referendum on Jan. 9, when voters ballotted two-to-one, to amend the State Constitution to remove a statute prohibiting the use of public funds for private education.

The "white" referendum victory makes it possible for the legislature to set up a system of tuition grants to parents who want their children educated in "white" schools. Also, in communities where schools are de-segregated, dissenting parents will be eligible for tuition grants, so that they, too, can send their children to 'white, private schools.'

The Virginia Legislature is now in session, and doubtless will (if it hasn't already done so,) set a date for elected delegates to vote on the proposed amendment. Gov. Thomas B. Stanley, who spearheaded the move calling for the referendum, was jubilant over the "white" victory aimed at "keeping niggers in their place."

So, the 1955 version of the 1861 "War Between the States," is not yet a 'hot' war, but a viciously active 'cold' war, where Dixie's stupid, blood-thirsty bigots are marshalling their forces to defy the United States government and its highest legal tribunal, the U. S. Supreme Court.

But, the State of Virginia and compatriot states below the Mason-Dixon Line (established in 1767 as the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland,) might well remember that the U. S. High Court is still SUPREME in this Land of the Free and Home of the Brave.

Let Virginia's Governor Stanley, his attorney general and other legal advisers, read Article III, Section 2, of the United States Constitution, which states specifically, quote:

". . . Original and Appellate Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court — (2) — In all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those (cases) in which a STATE SHALL BE A PARTY, the SUPREME COURT shall have ORIGINAL JURISDICTION . . ."

So, Dear Reader, let not your heart be disturbed. Virginia's legislative action, defying U. S. Constituted Authority, must come, for review, before the United States Supreme Court. Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP, and other liberal individuals and organizations, will see to it that Virginia bows to the close scrutiny of America's Highest Tribunal and abides by its decision.

And that is as it should be. Why spend billions on guided missles, super-sonic air power, hydrogen bombs and other lethal weapons to fight foreign invasion, when we have one of our own states — Virginia — leading a treasonable invasion of our Constitutional rights?

It just doesn't make sense. Virginia has made America the laughing stock of the world, and Russia continues to chuckle up her sleeve.

Estimates, as usual vary, but in Richmond only 5,000 NEGROES cast ballots. Of Roanoke's 2,000 qualified Negro voters, a bare 1,000 went to the polls. Here's another astounding figure: in Prince Edward county, Negro voters at the election were OUTNUMBERED, 9-1.

But here's the payoff: Charles City Va., is in a county where Negro children constitute 77 PERCENT of the SCHOOL POPULATION. But the measure was defeated by a narrow, 513-344 margin. In other words, where nearly three-fourths of the population were Negroes — they only cast 169 more votes than the whites. It should have been a landslide!

One voter who braved the dirty looks of the whites, and the turned faces of his neighbors, is the father of five children of school age. This was his comment:

"Any Negro, in the whole state of Virginia, who refused to vote against a law that deprives his children the advantages of modern education on a level with the whites — is a traitor against his race and should be deprived of his vote."

Prior to the election, aid and comfort were given the cause of Negro education by the white clergy, represented in this case by the Rt. Rev. William H. Marmion, Texas-born prelate of Southwestern Virginia, who wrote a pastoral letter, published in the January issue of the "Southwest Episcopalian" and which stated firmly, in part:

". . .Loyal American citizens who believe in the nation which established the SUPREME COURT as the highest tribunal, should DEFEND THE COURT against those who attack it and seek to UNDERMINE its AUTHORITY. . ."

Albert BARNETT

Nehru's India Undergoes Strange Civil War Based On "Language"

FROM RADIO AND NEWS DISPATCHERS, it is evident that members of the world's darker races are genuinely interested in the present trouble that besets India, climaxed by rioting, arson, acid-bomb throwing and wholesale murder — with an estimated death toll in a 10-day period of 500 victims.

Defender

Real cause of the riots is a decision made one year ago by Premier Nehru, that the state of India be re-districted along LANGUAGE lines, rather than the POLITICAL lines, established in 1947, when British rule was terminated in India.

p. 8

Irony of the situation is that when Britain gave India her independence as a sovereign nation, the country was divided into two parts — Hindu India, and Moslem Pakistan. During that hectic period which witnessed the mass migration of Moslems to Pakistan, bloody warfare was the order of the day, resulting in the slaughter of 500,000 natives.

However, the trouble today is not in Pakistan, but in the Republic of India, headed by Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Among his own people and even among world diplomats, Premier Nehru, suave, steel-eyed and analytical, is respected as a mastercraftsman in the field of both domestic and world politics. His goal in India, according to best reports, is first, to abolish costly by-lingual government in the Indian states — with 14 different major languages; and secondly, to consolidate the political strength of Nehru's Congress Party. . .

First to challenge the Nehru LANGUAGE 'apartheid', was the state of Bombay, which violently protested the plan for re-districting. Nehru wants the Gujerati speaking people of that area to be organized into a state of their own, north of Bombay, along the Arabian sea. Nehru's plan also provides for creation of a state for the Maharatti speaking people.

But the fuse that blew up the dynamite keg and inflamed the rioters to murder, arson and pillage, was Nehru's insistence on making the city of Bombay, a restricted, bi-lingual Hindu domain — similar to the District of Columbia in America. And, here's the rub: the Gujeratis constitute the wealth of Bombay. They are the bankers, merchants, shopkeepers and business people of the great metropolis. The Maharatti speaking natives are the working class, making their living in Bombay. So, they refuse to leave their 'bread-and-butter' city and defy Nehru to move them into separate LANGUAGE states.

Fortnight ago, as tempers flared and ideologies clashed, the rioting and bloodshed began in Bombay, but has since spread to Calcutta and East Bengali, fanned all the way by the Communist underground movement. Although India's Reds are in a minority, politically, its underground 'gestapo' continues to harass the Nehru government and spread the flames of the LANGUAGE riots. You have probably witnessed some of these tragic scenes on your TV set.

But Premier Nehru remains adamant and has ordered police to fire on rioting mobs, unmindful, apparently, that enforced mass migration to his 'new states', will doubtless result in the slaughter of another half-million, innocent natives. Premier Nehru may well ponder the wisdom of the great Lamartine, who, generations ago, envisaged the bloody strife of states, races and religions, when he stated:

"Man has never fastened one end of a chain round the neck of his BROTHER, that God did not fasten the other end round the neck of the OPPRESSOR."

Thunder Over Dixie

Inquirer

Integration Seen in 5 Years

Mon. 3-26-56 P.1

Philadelphia Pa.

Last of a Series

By JIM BISHOP

RALEIGH, N. C., March 26.

IT IS a sleepy, sunny Sunday morning with a crayon of blue woodsmoke in the sky. From a window in the Carolina Hotel, I can see a prim young lady on her way, I suppose, to church with her young man, and I can see a diesel locomotive moving a solitary boxcar down a siding; the tops of the trees show a conceited puce and the traffic lights wink from red to green but there are no automobiles waiting and there is something of impotence about the majesty of the law telling someone to stop and someone else to go and no one there to obey.

There are times like that in the South.

From what I have seen on this trip, the South is economically sprightlier than it used to be, and a shade less stubborn. It is a land of long-legged women and short tempers; two-lane highways and one-track minds; good industry and bad cooking; a place where the decay is deeper in the mansions than in the shacks; a matriarchal shadow of courtly manners and vague fears; magnolias and bootleggers and pickaninnies and rebel banners and fine universities and poor whites and women who live in a mental Tara Hall.

* * *

TO ME, Raleigh is churches; Richmond is department stores; Charleston is a gorgeous hussy; Augusta is a man with his sleeves rolled up; Atlanta is a finger of suspicion; Birmingham is a lazy boy under a tree; New Orleans is a woman promising more

Thunder Over Dixie

Integration Expected In South in 5 Years

By JIM BISHOP

Continued From First Page

than she can give; Jackson is an old man trying to stop a fight before it starts; Lexington, Mississippi, is a hot pistol with a barrel at both ends.

Inquirer

Will desegregation come to the South? The whole South? Sure it will. In how long? Five years at most. The South lost the battle to the Negro in May, 1954 when the Supreme Court said: "Take them in the schools." There is no appeal from the Supreme Court, and Congress cannot pass a law which abridges human rights.

The court was called names by such august statesmen as Senators Byrd and Eastland, who know that the fight is lost, and by editors and Congressmen and State legislators and Governors and Mayors and sundry Claghorns.

P.15

* * *

THE thinking South decided to stall the execution of the order. It cannot be stopped, but it can be slowed. This can be done in several ways. The Georgia Legislature has passed six segregation bills and has empowered Governor Marvin Griffin to close all schools, if he wants to. Scores of White Citizens Councils will fight any individual Negro who petitions to enter a white school. Virginia is trying to call its public schools private. South Carolina may integrate white and Negro students and then, on order of the State psychologists, order all white students reassigned to other schools for emotional reasons.

Then there is interposition, a word that changes direction in mid-syllable. There is a lot of talk in all the States about interposition, but it is a legal nothing.

The word was first heard in Virginia in 1798 and it means that, theoretically, a State can interpose itself between the Supreme Court and the Constitution in an effort to protect the Constitution.

It was invoked against the Alien and Sedition Act. The act died before the case for interposition could be heard. In 1814, the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut tried interposition in protest against the conduct of the War of 1812. The war ended before the case could be heard. Just before the Civil War, the State of Wisconsin interposed to protest the return to the South of a fugitive slave. The war started before the case could be heard, so there is no precedent for interposition.

* * *

ANOTHER Southern device is to propose a new constitutional amendment which would ask for integration under Federal control in all schools. This sounds as though the South were giving itself a judicial hot-foot, but the reasoning is subtle. Constitutional amendments usually require years for ratification. Besides, any thirteen States can block it and the South is confident that it can stop its own proposition.

Meanwhile, Louisiana has a law which says that the State Board of Education must close any school in which the students are mixed. South Carolina is prepared to make segregation more rigid. In Texas, integration was started in most southwest and western public schools in 1955, though there has been no integration in east and north Texas where the Negro population is heavier. Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi will be the most difficult States to desegregate.

* * *

IN ARKANSAS, there is integration in three towns, and more will follow before September. Florida has a primary coming up in May and does not want to discuss the question until afterward. About half of Kentucky's 43,000 Negro students will be enrolled in white schools by autumn. In Tennessee, the Governor says that it is a "local" matter. The State of Virginia will have desegregation in Arlington County only.

It isn't a bad record. Anyone who has a nodding acquaintance with Southern customs is bound to consider it a good record. The fear of the white man for the Negro is real. It does no good to tell the Southerner that the sins of his fathers are lying on his shoulders. He knows it better than you do.

He hurts the most when he thinks about the things he has done in the past twenty years to help the Negro advance—the near elimination of lynchings and violence; the modern schools which have been built for Negroes; the accreditation of Negro colleges with graduates in law and medicine and the arts; the tentative extension of the vote to Negroes in some counties; the building of many Negro clinics and hospitals out of public funds; free school buses; Negro policemen; libraries, taverns, taxicabs, and public welfare departments solely for Negroes.

Now the white South is being led by the ear to do something that it is not ready to do.

* * *

THEN too, it must be said that the Northern Negro and the Southern Negro have little in common at present except complexion. Most Northern Negroes—like their white neighbors—are responsible citizens. Many Southern Negroes are not. If their youngsters are integrated now, the Southerners fear they will set hundreds of thousands of white students back in their studies from eighteen months to two years.

The argument that, once the Negroes get into white schools, they will move into white beds is dishonest and shameful. Most Negroes are too poor to afford white wives, even assuming that they desired to or that any sizable number of white women were willing to marry them. And, if the economic condition of the Negro improves to a point where it is comparable to that of the white man, there will still be no reason to expect an epidemic of intermarriages.

The Negro will not "mongrelize" the races. Is a baby from a white father and a black mother a shade different in hue from a baby coming from a white mother and a black father?

* * *

THE Negro children seem to be uniformly bright and mannerly and healthy. I saw no resentment among them; just silent envy of white children.

I was told repeatedly that the morals of the average Negro woman in the South were far below those of her white sisters. I do not know to what extent this may be true, but I do know that economic pressures are great and that it is doubly difficult to defeat evil and hunger at the same time.

This is not to say that all Negroes, or all whites are guilty of any weaknesses mentioned. The word is many.

Integration will work out fine for the next generation, by which time both sides will have learned that skin is not character, and that the human soul is colorless.

THE END

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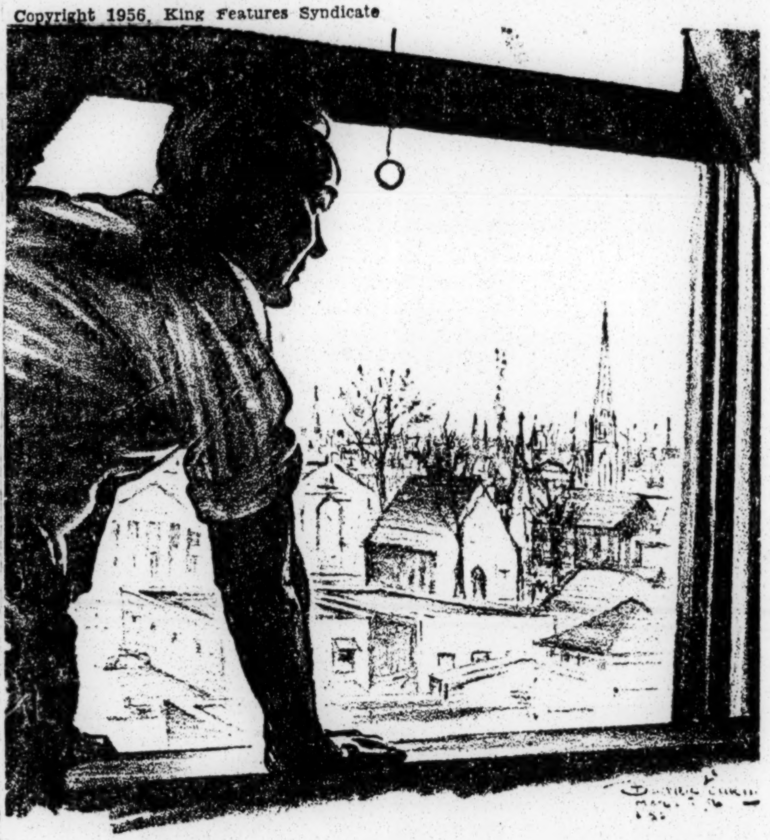

To Jim Bishop, the South is less stubborn than it used to be; a land of good industry and bad cooking.

Thunder Over Dixie

Inquirer P.1
Thurs. 3-22-56
Philadelphia Pa.

Unafraid in Georgia, Respected Negro Leader Speaks Mind

Fifth of a Series

By JIM BISHOP

ATLANTA, Ga., March 21.

IT ISN'T easy to see inside a Southern Negro's heart. He doesn't want you to look.

I wanted to look into one heart. To do this, I had to find a Negro who was unafraid. A cab spun between the downtown skyscrapers of Atlanta across Peachtree st. and up Butler st. to a small structure marked Walden Building. On the second floor, in suite 200, is a stout elderly man who shows gold caps when he smiles.

This is Austin T. Walden, Negro lawyer, politician, a member of the national legal committee of the

Picture on Page 10

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This is a man who stands in well with Negroes, and with whites. As a ranking member of NAACP, he is also the voice of the organization which fought for desegregation up to the Supreme Court, and won it.

* * *

HE CHEWS gum. He smiles all the time and the bridge of his nose is bent back so that he looks faintly like the old-time prize fighter, Joe Gans. He is 70, and he has been practicing law 44 years. He attended school in Fort Riley, Ga., and in Atlanta and at the University of Michigan.

He is a shrewd man and he blinks his eyes rapidly when he is thinking hard, which is most of the time. Sometimes, when he needs a little longer to think, he buzzes for Mrs. Lovelace, his secretary, and he talks about a letter which has to go out.

"Integration will be complete in six to eight years," he says in a voice that is soft and sweet as wet sugar. "I wouldn't say that all of my people are ready for integration now, but the children of both races will be in a common school by 1962 or 1964." His jaws pause over the gum. "I mean Mississippi too.

"We've got a lot of work ahead. Our children must be taught to be twice as mannerly as white children to make this thing work. In the early tryout period, the need for infinite patience is going to be on our side."

Inquirer P.10

THE morning sun came through the blinds and threw yellow strips across his milk chocolate skin. "So far, we have made no progress here. Negro parents in maybe six cities have petitioned for admission of children to white schools. All that has happened is that committees have been appointed by boards of education to investigate the matter."

The eyes blink. "It's stalling. Sure it's stalling, but the way you make progress in the South is by moving slowly. Sometimes the other side makes mistakes and these mistakes help us. For instance, when the Federal Court says we must have integration in our schools, we cannot go back to that court until we have exhausted all administrative means of integrating. This takes a long time. But down in Valdosta, they made a mistake.

"There the Board of Education appointed a committee to investigate integration, and the committee began to do a serious job—an honest job. At once, the State of Georgia sued out a restraining order to prevent Valdosta from doing any such thing. We of the NAACP were glad to hear this because now we will try to make ourselves parti-defendants in this action and, in that way, we will leapfrog all the time-wasting maneuvers. We will get back to Federal Court quicker than we had a right to expect."

* * *

WHAT about the charges of Communism against the NAACP? This brings on the smile On the desk, the thumbs rub in circles rapidly.

"NAACP is 47 years old," Walden says. "It is opposed to Communism because Negroes are a little bit more religious than most other folks and they are opposed to anyone who is opposed to God. Oh, we may have had a few Communists in the ranks. I don't know. Maybe. But if so, they couldn't get far with the members."

The Attorney General of the State of Georgia, Eugene Cook, says that the real goal of NAACP is racial intermarriage. What about it?

"It's absurd. Nothing is farther from the aims of NAACP. I will admit that we are opposed to laws which forbid marriage between the races, but the reason for that is because such laws give the stronger race an opportunity to prey on the women of the weaker race.

"A long time ago, thirty years, I guess, I was defending a case in court and the prosecutor felt that he was losing and so he stood up in court and walked over to the jury box and wagged his finger at me. 'I do believe,' he said, 'that he believes in intermarriage.' This was supposed to inflame the white jury against my client. So, when he got finished, I stood up and I said: 'Marriage, gentlemen, is a two-way proposition. I couldn't marry a white woman unless she wanted to marry me and I don't know any so disposed. One more thing: If I can't marry a woman unless she wants to marry me, then neither can you.' "

* * *

THE jury slapped its thighs laughing. Austin Walden's client was acquitted. The moral would appear to be that, in the matter of interracial marriage, the white women will be the controlling factor and, as long as they remain on their side of the color fence, no one need worry about the ambitions of the Negro male. The key is held by Southern white womanhood.

Even Walden, as a highly placed member of NAACP, does not claim that the organization represents a majority of the Negroes of the South. The total membership of NAACP is down from a high of above a half million to about 400,000. Of these, about 20,000 are white people. In sum, NAACP represents almost 4 percent of the Negroes of the South, a small and articulate group.

Atlanta has a few Negro policemen, and Walden wanted to show how well integration works on the law-enforcement level. He got into his automobile, and drove Burris Jenkins and me to police headquarters. There, we waited outside an office for a few minutes, and met Chief Herbert T. Jenkins, one of the handsomest men in the South.

* * *

THE chief said that there are now 10 Negroes on the force. Six Negro women are in uniform. "We had people in this department who were determined to see that Negro policemen failed," the chief said. "I was just as determined to see that they wouldn't. So I took personal charge of them myself. They have worked out well and I never get tired of saying it. Two of them showed exceptional merit and I promoted them to detectives without tests."

The one Negro on duty at the time was Claude E. Mundy, 36, a good-looking man with a pencil-streak mustache who has had two years of college and has five children by two wives. He is the jailer on the third floor of Atlanta prison. Sometimes he patrols on foot. When he is off duty, he sits with his shoes off and watches "Dragnet." That's his favorite on TV.

His pay is $318 a month and he works on the side as an automobile mechanic. He's been on the force only five years, but he's already bucking for a pension. "When I get that pension," he says, looking off beyond the three Negro prisoners who stand behind him holding onto the bars and listening, "I think I'll open a little filling station or something. A little garage maybe."

* * *

WALDEN nods approvingly. Mundy has made the right answers. When you ask the cop about desegregation, the far-off look leaves his eyes and he looks to Walden for help. The policeman has no opinion about desegregation, even though it is now the law of the land and he has sworn to uphold the law.

We go back downstairs and the chief walks by, on his way out. He says a word of farewell, and Austin Walden smiles obsequiously and bows his woolly head and giggles a faint reply. He is now a Negro in the white man's company.

Drawing by Burris Jenkins, Jr.

Austin T. Walden, Atlanta lawyer, is unafraid . . . he stands in well with both Negroes and whites.

31a 1956

NEGRO (PAUL E,X. BROWN)

The Passing Caravan

Courier Sec. Pittsburgh Pa.

By PAUL E. X. BROWN

Courier Georgia Editor

Sat. 9-7-56

Changes Noted as School Opens

In a few days our schools will open. Many changes will be noted and these can mean much to the future of educational progress in our town.

It is generally known that area supervisors are at work now effecting administrative plans for the development of a better school system. These men have a great job before them. They can be effective in the promotion of the total school community which will redound to the future good of unborn generations.

Regardless of the ability of the new administration, the able administrators (and no doubt about it, they are qualified), there is a responsibility resting upon the citizens of Atlanta. The full success of the new school program will depend upon a mutual understanding.

It is also important that civic and educational organizations devote some time and effort to the school problems. A greater knowledge of the work of the Board of Education is needed. Representatives of the groups ought be in attendance at the monthly Board of Education meetings. This matter has been stressed time and again by ministers' groups and others.

One area supervisor particularly will need the opportunity to share a mutual understanding of the total school program. Dr. Bowen, who has some 20 or more schools in our area, can achieve success only with the fullest opportunity to do a thorough job and to understand the community. He has been received with understanding and appreciation.

These are not enough. The people, patrons of the several schools in his area, would do the community a service by getting to know the administrator first hand. Then again it is important that they work with the total school program. The best understanding can come with working with an idea and knowing first hand the problems.

■

What's Behind Civil Rights Planks?

The civil rights planks of the two national parties is of interest and should be studied by all colored peoples around the nation, especially those in the South. It is of interest what is behind the planks, not so much as what is written.

The full study of the development and factors pertaining to the writing of the two civil rights planks are important. In fact, the background of each is far more important than anything else. All else fades into nothing if we are aware of the truth and facts in the total picture.

With the implication it would seem important for the winning of positions and the development of strong places in the policy forming bodies of states and governments.

■

Frontiers Convention Shows High Ideals

The report of the Atlanta Frontiers to the annual convention would indicate a high purpose and noble goals for community improvement, social betterment and civic participation. The local group has participated in many active programs. We could point out a long list of activities which would include the first annual citizenship award and an economic conference, but let it be said that the Frontiers are pioneering. The group is giving vitality and spirit to the Atlanta community.

The members of the local chapter are leaders in a cross-section of our community life. Particularly did its leadership support the recent voter registration, and is pledged to get behind the get-out-the-vote campaign.

The Frontiers have set an example. The men have spearheaded some useful and fruitful projects.

Around the U. N. . . . . By Marguerite Cartwria

Courier P.11

IN MAY the World Health Assembly considered applications for full membership of the Sudan, and associate membership of Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria.

Technical assistance to non-self-governing territories, 130 millions of the world population, has been doubled over the past two years. Rendered mainly through scholarships, fellowships and seminars it also sends experts to demonstrate on-the-spot methods suited to the development of the territories. In the Gold Coast a community development seminar will be held at Achimota College this spring, with 40 scholarships awarded from other West African areas.

Dr. Cartwright

The WHO (World Health Organization) has approved two TB surveys, one in East Africa and one in Nigeria. It is also sponsoring a malaria eradication project in the Caribbean area with headquarters in Jamaica.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

AT THE UN, a discussion of Louis Fischer's recent book, "This Is Our World." He makes the point that, although the cold war will continue, there will probably be no World War III—"peace with China or Russia is just as possible as peace with Japan or Germany." It is the problem of color which will give us more trouble in the next decade than the direct conflict with Soviet power in Europe, according to Fischer.

The first anniversary of the Bandung Conference was celebrated by a luncheon for Asian-African delegates given by the conference's host country, Indonesia. The message sent by Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo again called attention to the influence of the conference.

The Indonesian Ambassador also gave a luncheon for the members of the press who were at Bandung. As we were one of this group, we attended and saw former Bandung colleagues from Life magazine, CBS Radio and others.

■

THE REGULARLY accredited representative to the UN of the Negro Baptist Church pressed into my hand a broadside entitled "The Negro's Declaration of Intention," written by J. H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention. It is the answer to the "many people in Europe, including Russia, as well as those in Africa and South America and the isles of the sea," as to "the basic reaction of the Negro population. Will they remain loyal or will they turn Communist?" The full impact of the statement has to be received in its entirety. Copies can be secured from Rev. J. H. Jackson at the Mt. Olivet Church in Chicago.

Around the U. N. . . . . By Marguerite Cartwri

Courier P.11

AS A TEACHER we were particularly gratified that UNESCO has turned its attention to ways of giving school children in the West a clearer picture of Asian civilization. Experts from 16 countries met at UNESCO House, Paris to consider studies which revealed "inadequate coverage" and "general lack of objectivity in the treatment of Asian history and culture." We can only hope that Africa will be next!

Dr. Cartwright

A major conclusion reached by this meeting of experts was that children should be "helped to realize as early as possible the unity and continuity of human civilization."

The participants outlined six appropriate objectives which are so good that we set them down in their entirety:

Sat. 6-16-56

1. **A balanced emphasis upon the contribution of Asian peoples to the development of civilization.**
2. **The more detailed treatment of great Asian civilizations, the object being to provide some understanding of their essential characteristics.**
3. **Introduction of biographical material relating to outstanding Asian figures.**
4. **An attempt to portray in a vivid and realistic way some conception of ways of life and thought by reference to such matters as family, transport, food, education, architecture, literature, etc.**
5. **The treatment of cultural contact between East and West, especially in the last 200 years.**
6. **A study of some of the more basic contemporary issues in Asia, from the point of view of both internal development and external relations.**

■

AMONG THE distinguished visitors to the UN during the latter part of May was President Sukarno of Indonesia. His foreign minister held a press conference at UN Headquarters, which was marked by its frankness and open expression of goodwill.

The World Bank has loaned Haiti 2.6 million to improve its highways and "expedite the delivery of agricultural goods from farms to markets and better serve Haiti's growing tourist industry." The first of the Bank's loans to Haiti, it is for a term of 10 years and bearing interest of 4½ per cent.

■

UN's ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization) recently described the new turbo-jet aircraft which will be in commercial service in a short time. It will mean New York, or Rio to Dakar, in six hours; New York to Miami in less than 150 minutes. More than 200 of these planes of various sizes have already been ordered. The largest of the jets will have about the same annual trans-Atlantic passenger-carrying capacity as a 40,000-ton ocean liner.

■

THE TURBO-JETS are unsuitable for many of the world's existing air routes, due to the great altitudes at which the planes have to fly for efficient operation—about 40,000 feet—making them inefficient for distances of less than 600 miles. Also, runway length requirements can be met only by a few of the larger international airports in use today.

The report notes that almost 70 million passengers flew on commercial air lines last year.

Around the U. N. . . . . By Marguerite Cartwrigh

Courier P.11

U. N. REPORTERS took special interest in Frances Bolton's definition of "our foreign policy: first and foremost, to remain strong—strengthen our alliances—spiritually, militarily and economically; (2) to continue to work for freedom for all peoples everywhere; (3) to maintain our watchfulness against any outbreak of violence or breach of the peace; (4) to give our know-how to any less developed countries who ask for it—to help them develop economic and political freedom to build their health and to educate their people."

Sat. 6-9-56

Dr. Cartwright

Interest also in the definition of a political party: "...if a political party does not have its foundation in the determination to advance a cause that is right and moral, then it is not a political party—it is merely a conspiracy.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE MAJOR focus of U. S. concern in the UN must continue to be the vast uncommitted areas of the world. Spreading across Africa, the Middle East and South Asia, they include lands which vary widely, but have two things in common. They are less industrialized, or underdeveloped, and they have the spiritual link of color. The U. S. and USSR are the major contestants for their allegiance.

With the increase in the membership of the UN, the "colored nations" will have increased influence in furthering the anti-colonial cause. Since, in December, the 16 new members were admitted (soon with the Sudan, the number to be officially raised to 17) there has been a lessening of U. S. strength. Including the Sudan, the Asian African block will have 24 votes. There is in the next two or three years even likelihood of increased A-A Japan, Outer Mongolia and Malaya in Asia, and Nigeria and the Gold Coast in Africa, while the European countries are largely all UN members or in a couple of cases have not made application. The U. S. is faced with the neutralism of the anti-colonial countries and is therefore compelled to be less neutral on colonial issues, itself.

■

MANY HAVE observed that, along with the admission of the new members and the shift in balance of power, the UN has lost its element of compulsion—there can be no more Koreas (i. e., military approach to collective security). The possibility of Soviet veto will continue to compel the Security Council to suspend its operations in security matters. Aggressive disputes must be settled by the force of world opinion and conciliation alone.

The accelerated advance of anti-colonialism is already plainly seen.

Around the U. N. . . . . . By Marguerite Cartwright

Courier 8.11

Pittsburgh, Pa.

CONCERNING the U. N.'s tenth year of existence, someone has recently pointed out that, if all recorded history were to be represented by a 24-hour day, the UN would have existed less than 2½ minutes.

Dr. Cartwright

Toward Freedom, the Newsletter on Colonial Affairs (343 S. Dearborn St., Chicago) calls attention to Arnold Toynbee's observation: "European nations should liquidate the remnants of their former colonial empires. If the colonials powers wait until they are ignominiously expelled from their possessions by force, they will be branded permanently in the eyes of the rest of the human race as defeated but impenitent imperialists."

Sat. 6-30-56

IT HAS often been pointed out that the UN is New York's number one tourist attraction, with an average of 2,500 visitors daily—(one day 5,600 visitors showed up!). These people take the tours, attend the briefing sessions and regular committee and conference meetings General public participation is one of the earliest objectives of the World Organization, as is seen in its extensive information services, for club and other groups, for Mr. and Mrs. Average Citizen, and of course, Junior. In setting up the Department of Public Information, it was resolved that "The UN cannot achieve the purposes for which it has been created unless the peoples of the world are fully informed of its activities."

■

IF A TRIP to New York City is on your summer schedule, a visit to the UN should lead the list of things to do. It is an opportunity to study the organization in action, to see in person the individuals who make it tick. Plans for your visit should be made well in advance and, if possible, at a time when some of the principal organs of the UN are in session. All information and necessary arrangements are handled by the Public Reception Unit (Room CB-11, United Nations, New York). If writing, all necessary information should be given, such as the number of persons, time, date, etc. Available are tickets for meetings, hour-long guided tours ($1 per person), luncheon in the delegates' dining room (by reservation—price range from $2 to $4) and briefing sessions, often with film or other visual aids, for which there is no charge.

■

A RECENT poll of U. S. opinion showed that 62 per cent of the American people are "broadly satisfied" with the U. N., and only 7 per cent are opposed; 31 per cent are neither for nor against.

Around the U. N. . . . . . By Marguerite Cartwright

Courier

MURDER in the sky — In the recent report of UN's ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization) it is noted that in the past seven years, six passenger plane crashes have been the result of human intent—a total of 146 passenger deaths.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dr. Cartwright

According to "World Community Reporter," the UN sheet put out by Ruth Gage Colby and Alexander Gabriel, there were 39 occasions from January, 1955, to March, 1956, during which hopes for world peace were strengthened. Listing these dates under the classification, "Pageant of Peace," the round-up begins with Pope Pius' appeal for a broad co-existence bridge (Jan. 2) and concludes with full independence for Morocco (March 6).

Sat. 7-21-56

MODERN PEDIATRICIANS now recommend that sick children never be separated from their mothers even when hospitalized. The emotional effects of separating the mother and child can cause permanent damage, it is held, and the benefits of keeping them together are often a valuable supplement to the physical effects of treatment. According to UNESCO Courier, this has been a tradition in the Orient since ancient times.

In May, WHO (World Health Organization) granted full membership to Morocco, Tunisia and the Sudan, and associate membership to the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

A recent WHO report notes that the malaria-carrying mosquito has developed a high degree of resistance to known insecticides. Efforts continue to eliminate this most expensive and debilitating disease.

"Good government is no substitute for self-government," recently observed Krishna Menon.

HIGHLY RECOMMENDED is the recently published pamphlet, "You and the United Nations." It consists of 20 well-framed questions concerning the UN which are answered simply and concisely. Copies are available from the U. S. Department of State, Washington, D. C. (price 15 cents).

One of the questions is: "Can the United Nations prevent another World War"? Answer: "... The UN is the world's best hope for peace; its record shows it to be on the right track . . . it has not found the cure, but it is advancing steadily in its struggle to remove the causes of war."

Around the U. N. . . . . . By Marguerite Cartwrig

Courier

A NEW YORK publication recently noted that the U. N. in 10 years has prevented four wars, presided at the birth of three independent nations, influenced the granting of independence to twice as many more, defended three countries against Communist aggression, fed 12 million half-starved children, and prevented and cured disease for 80 million mothers and their children. It all cost the U. S. half the sum spent for cosmetics and each person less than the price of a movie ticket.

Dr. Cartwright

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Recommended summer reading: Toward a Science of Peace, by Professor Theodore Lentz, which former UNESCO Secretary General Julian Huxley feels "should be read and pondered by all who look forward to the establishment of One World on a constructive and peaceful basis (for), in the long run, nothing but good, can come from the marriage of scientific method and human values and ideals . . ."

Sat. 7-14-56

THERE ARE more women job holders than ever before, according to a recent UNESCO survey. Thirty-nine and three-tenths per cent of Austria's women are gainfully employed; 34.8 per cent in France, 33.1 per cent in Western Germany and 30.8 per cent in Sweden. In the Netherlands and Belgium, one-fourth of the workers are women. Twenty-seven and five-tenths per cent of the women of the United States are employed.

For those who cannot visit the U. N., but must limit their contact to their home communities, there are many ways to keep up with its activities. Documents and publications can be purchased inexpensively through the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press (2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y.). The record of the activities of the U. N. organs, reports, yearbooks, surveys and other publications give a detailed picture of the world organization and its work. For 50c there is a complete catalogue—"Ten Years of U. N. Publications—1945-1955."

■

THE AUDIO-VISUAL material, posters, films, film strips, radio and U. N. speakers are also available. The film strips are for sale at McGraw-Hill (330 W. 42nd St., New York, N. Y.) and cost $3 each, or 16 mm and 35 mm films can be had at nominal rental fee. Then there are picture sets especially designed for windows, organization display, schools and libraries and the excellent posters and U. N. flag kit.

The U. N. Radio produces programs for transmission through the national broadcasting stations. Finally, lecturers are provided through their speakers' bureau. (The speakers' expense must be covered by the group making the request; for full information write Unit for Lecture Service, DPI, U. N., New York, N. Y.)

31a 1956 NEGRO (MARGUERITE CARTWRIGHT)

Around the U. N. . . . . . . By Marguerite Cartwright

Courier Sat. 1-7-56 P.8 Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE GENERAL Assembly has come to an end. Unquestionably its most far-reaching accomplishment was the admission of sixteen new members.

Miss Cartwright

Long ago, Nov. 4 to be exact, there appeared a lengthy and detailed letter in the New York Times concerning the admission of new members to the UN. Describing the United States' opposition which had existed previously the letter continued: "I was the American delegate speaking on this issue . . . (but now) I submit it is time for our Government to change its attitude."

The letter was signed Ernest A. Gross. On reading this I felt pretty certain that the die was cast.

Earlier, at San Francisco, it had been held that the UN should be more nearly universal and a solution to the problem of new members was sought. Its effectiveness was impaired so long as the membership issue was not solved, they said.

* * *

MANY WEEKS later the Hon. Paul Martin of Canada magnificently argued for broad membership—pointing out that even "the powers represented at Bandung recorded in no uncertain terms their position regarding universality of membership." (They should not allow) "countries to languish in frustration outside the UN..." The delegate from Canada then added that his Government made a proposal (after "careful probing at our conscience, not advanced lightly as it was not always favored")—that all the present applicants should be accepted.

The Canadian delegate pointed out that "some dwell in isolation and obscurity . . . but the edge is more likely to be taken off of intolerance within the UN than in barren isolation . . . Admission to membership means bringing the countries under the obligations of our organizations — obligations to behave in accordance to definite principles."

* * *

THERE ARE legitimate differences in the interpretation of the charter, which is, after all, "the product of many civilizations and schools of thought (but) UN membership should be broadly representative in character . . . We are aware of the fact that the expansion of the UN will introduce more voices, perhaps, in some cases, discordant voices (but) we can not ignore the nature of the world as it exists—if the UN is to survive it must reflect the real world, not a partial world of our contriving . . . If we approach the task in the spirit of understanding and moderation which inspired our course ten years ago, I am sure that we shall succeed now."

* * *

C. W. A. SCHURMAN of the Netherlands calls attention to the confusion between self-government and independence. Denying that the aim of the UN charter is independence, he maintained that "such is not the aim mentioned in Article 73, but rather it is self-government—" whatever the exact meaning of self-government may be, and this committee has never been able to agree on any definition on that concept, it is not the same thing as independence — self-government may be achieved in other forms than independence, such as integration or free association."

Around the U. N. . . . . . . By Marguerite Cartwright

Courier Sat. 1-21-56 P.8 Pittsburgh, Pa.

LAST time we gave some of the question asked the top eight CBS World News reporters at their year-end round-up. The experts were Bill Downs (Rome), Robert Pierpoint Asia), Daniel Schorr (Moscow), Richard C. Hottelet (Bonn), Daniel Schoenbrun (Paris), Alexander Kendrick (Africa), Howard K. Smith (London) and Ed Murrow (New York).

Miss Cartwright

Q. (to Hottelet and Schoenbrun): Has the election in the Saar made it more possible for the French and Germans to get together?

A. (Murrow, aside): "If they agree it will be for the first time." Hottelet: The effect has been salutary. I also think I see the beginnings of the revival of the ideal of European unity. Schoenbrun: Perhaps it is not the big story of the year, but I think that I agree with him.

Q. (to Downs): Will you give us a rundown on the Italian elections?

A. Mr. Nenni recently made a visit to Moscow, and is still in the Russian vest-pocket. The Neo-Fascists and the Monarchists have gotten together, but we have little to worry about as longas US aid keeps as long as U. S. aid keeps

Q. (to Kendrick): What do the colonial peoples think of our attitude toward their strivings for freedom when we ally ourselves with the colonial powers, and what can be done about it?

A. I think that we need only be loyal to our own principles and we will be loyal to our allies. Our policies in the UN have often been unwise.

Q. (to Hottelet): What is the true story of Otto John? (pronounced "Yone" to rhyme with "own.")

He is a twerp. (aside) Now for a one minute definition of a "twerp." He was hired for a job that he was incompetent to fill, and was about to be fired when he had a brainstorm and went over to the Russian side and stayed for seventeen or eighteen months. He was disillusioned, as have been so many others, so he returned and was placed under technical arrest, probably because the Bonn Government wanted to show the world that they do not regard such things lightly. However, they have no charge on which to hold him, and he perhaps won't be tried, but will drop out of sight and be forgotten. There was no evidence, after careful police check, that he was drugged as he claimed.

Q. (to Hottelet): Is the influence of Nazism an illusion?

A. No, it is there in measurable quantity, but it is a recessive factor in the German body politic.

Q. (to Schorr): What is your opinion of the new Russian-Yugoslav friendship?

A. It is a calculated risk, but most feel that Tito knows what he is doing. There is a story that is making the rounds that Krushchev admired Tito's tailor in Yugoslavia and went to him to have a suit made. The tailor explained that he could make two suits out of the amount of material provided. When Krushchev protested that it would have only been enough to make one suit at home, he was told that he was a bigger man in Moscow (laughter).

Around the U. N

Courier P.8 Sat. 3-10-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.

FROM the Foreign Minister of the Sudan to the President of the U. N. Security Council:

"Most hearty thanks from the Sudan Government . . . for your cordial welcome, sympathetic support and prompt and favorable action. This adds to our sense of responsibility toward your honorable organization. Reaffirm our pledge and pray Almighty help you successfully achieve lofty principles of U. N. for benefit of all mankind. Mubarak Zarrouk, Minister Foreign Affairs, Sudan."

Miss Cartwrigh

And so a great chapter in African history is written.

Pleasing to note that there is now a Foreign Correspondents Association in Singapore. We recall our brief and lonely stay there at the Raffles Hotel.

One of the interesting developments of the year was the proposal by the Negro Baptist Church to set up U. N. units in each of their churches and schools. They already have a full-time accredited observer—the Rev. Mr. Hardmon.

* * *

Of interest to social studies teachers—the second volume of the record album, "This is the U. N., Its Actual Voices." Written by Saul Carson, U. N. correspondent, and produced at U. N. headquarters, it is sold by mail through the Tribune Productions, Inc., 251 Broadway, New York 7.

* * *

"The Development of Public Libraries in West Africa," and a West African Library Association, were the outcome of THE UNESCO seminar held in Nigeria some while back.

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Women of the world still chafe over the fact that not a single female is included in a high and responsible position in the Secretariat.

* * *

The U. S. Bureau of Census report of great interest to U. N. Press Corps: On New Year's Day, 1956, we stood at 166.7 million—an increase of 15 million since 1950. Our population has multiplied forty times since the first census was taken in 1790.

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There are seventy million in the labor force—26 per cent of all married couples living together, or 9.8 million couples, both work.

* * *

According to Press Club News, Eugene Lyons, Reader's Digest editor, considered his interview with President Magloire the high point of his recent visit to Haiti.

Also Press Club News reports recent associate members are Mrs. Poppy Cannon White of House Beautiful, and Gertrude Samuels of the New York Times.

Around the U. N. .... By Marguerite Cartwright

Courier P.10

THE SUDAN Government invited Henry Cabot Lodge to visit that country, following his visit to Lybia, where he is studying UN technical assistance projects.

Sat. 3-17-56

Rafik Asha, Syrian member of the Trusteeship Council, gave "lack of balance in the political development of French and British Togoland" as the reason a simultaneous plebiscite had not been recommended.

Miss Cartwrigh

Pittsburgh, Pa.

A distinguished gentleman of color presented his credentials to the UN in the person of Sir Senarat Gunewardene. Formerly Ceylon's Ambassador to the U. S., he is now also his country's permanent delegate, Ceylon being one of the sixteen new nations admitted to the UN last December.

* * *

VASILY GRUBYAKOV, Russian member of the Council, noted the progress that had been made, with 57,000 children now attending primary school, but still, he pointed out, 100,000 children are still not attending school. "At present rate, it would take another thirty years before all children are attending school."

* * *

One of the largest agencies, about which the public should know more, is WHO (World Health Organization). Having a membership of seventy-nine countries, its objective is to attain for all "the highest possible level of healthy, carrying out numerous activities designed to help countries to strengthen their public health services." Because of the world shortage of public health workers, it maintains training courses and seminars and grants hundreds of fellowships which make it possible for nurses and doctors to engage in study and research abroad. Maintaining a central technical service, it engages in such activities as biological standardization, unification of pharmacopoeias, collection and dissemination of epidemiological information, special international research projects on a number of parasitic and virus diseases and a series of some fifteen types of technical publications.

* * *

The International Abolitionist Federation issued a complaint against the French Government to the effect that a Moroccan decree of 10/53 had lowed to 16 the legal minimum age for prestitution. (It had previously been fixed at 20.) However, it was decided not to circulate the complaint because the Sultan's decree applied only to Moroccan nationals, it being a care of domestic jurisdiction, with the French Government not involved.

* * *

The Burmese member of the Trusteeship Council, U Than Hla, in commenting on conditions in French Togoland, noted the need for educating girls. "Woman still has to find her place in African society." At present, bride-price and polygamy are still practiced, with educational progress "far from satisfactory."

* * *

In the discussion in the Trusteeship Council concerning French Togoland, Mr. Krishna Menon stated that there was no excuse, in his view, for restricting the right to vote. "If the Sudan can be independent, and have an adequate electoral apparatus, this could apply equally in Togoland." While it is true that Africa is in ferment, he commented, it is also true that, in a trust territory, there is at least an opportunity to channel this ferment into orderly elections.

Around the U. N. .... By Marguerite Cartwright

Courier P.9

THE TRUSTEESHIP Council, now discussing the French Cameroons, announced through its Under-Secretary, Benjamin Cohen, that it had received over 20,000 communications from trust territories, and a request was made for a substantial increase in staff.

There is an Overseas Press Club in Kenya — their recently elected secretary is Harold G. Lacock.

The fifty-seven Chinese veterans of the Korean War who have been stationed in India selected Brazil as the neutral country of their choice and have now taken up residence there.

Dr. Cartwright

Sat. 4-14-56

IN THE U. N. our Government makes pious criticisms of South Africa, but at the same time we have (with the World Bank) entered into an agreement to lend them $502 million. The bond issue was the first public offering of the Union of South Africa in the U. S. The World Bank had already made two loans, one of $20 million in 1951, and another of $30 million in 1953, to finance earlier phases of their program of expansion. Total loans have amounted to $135 million—so far.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

A recent survey make by UNESCO showed that the granting of equal political rights to women has yet to be accompanied by equal participation of women in political life. "The higher the political post, the lower the chances are that it will be filled by a woman. This holds true not only in government circles, but also in civil service, political parties, trade unions and private enterprise."

■

PRESIDENT OF the World Federation of Trade Unions, Guiseppe Di Vittorio, included in his cable to the General Assembly the observation that "rearmament is at once a menace to peace and a factor in the constant reduction of levels of living of the world people . . . With a view to achieving in actuality the respect for the right of the peoples to self-determination . . . guaranteed by the charter" (they hoped) "The General Assembly would approve, and make its own—the conclusions of the Bandung Conference."

Currently, a meeting of the Trusteeship Council is under way. The future of about twenty million souls is involved. Fourteen countries now represented on the council are assigned to find out whether the administering powers are doing all they can to prepare the inhabitants in the eleven trust territories for self-government. Thousands of petitions are received and as many as possible acted upon.

Former U. N. reporter for the N. Y. Herald Tribunte, Arch Parsons Jr., is now roaming head of their Beirut Bureau, stationed in Cairo, he has covered the SEATO meet and Dulles' visit to India.

Around the U. N.

Courier

SOMETIMES it is profitable to go into the U. N. Delegates' Lounge and read the newspapers of other lands (in English, of course) to see what they are featuring. P. 11

The Ceylon Daily News headlines a story: "Will the Negro Return to the GOP?" The people of Ceylon meet Val Washington.

Dr. Cartwright

The same newspaper has an illustrated feature story about Shirley Bassey, a 19-year-old Negro singer from Cardiff, Wales, who has "unsuccessfully de-kinked hair" and the daughter of a West African sailor and a Welsh mother. She sings naughty-but-nice songs, and is a juke-box favorite.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Nippon Times finds a lead story in the South Carolina law which compels firms in the state dealing in Japanese textiles to publish the fact in a sign not less than four inches high.

Sat. 5-12-56

A headline reads: "Attacks on U. S. Policy continue in Philippines."

Another item states that Paul Robeson may visit Prague.

There is much space given to Archie Moore, and the Ceylon Daily News announces a forthcoming serial by Sugar Ray Robinson called "Why I Cried."

The Indonesian Times, in a feature story entitled "Negro Student's New Life in U. S.," subtitles the item, "Really No Place For Us Here." It tells of an African student's experiences, but also describes efforts made to make him feel welcome.

The Hindustani Times, commenting at length on the Ceylonese election, said that the defeated Sir John "lived in a fool's paradise by imagining that by playing up the anti-Indian feelings among the Sinhalese population, he could get carte blanche a sell-out to the West."

■

THE INDIAN EXPRESS said Sir John's defeat was due to Bandung.

Bandung is frequently mentioned. Singapore's Chief Minister, David Marshall, proclaimed that that country would "join the Bandung group." "We are an integral part of Asia, and our ties with the Commonwealth (British) cannot conflict with this" . . . Demand that Malay be used instead of English.

President Mizra of Pakistan said Nehru "violated Bandung" (on Kashmir).

The English-language paper, Dawn, in Pakistan, founded by Jinnah, demanding a plebiscite on Kashmir, reported a "reign of terror" there.

Other miscellaneous items included a story of Abe Saperstein and his Globetrotters; "Johnny Ray sobs to cold audience" (Nippon Times), and visit of Sam Goldwyn to Japan. Much space is given to visits—e.g., summer state visit to Japan by Emperior Haile Selassie with his Empress, the offiical visit of Pakistan's new Premier Mohammed Ali to Red China, Nehru's visits to Yugoslavia in July (and the U. S. in June). Among U. S. visitors are six Indonesian police officers. Their hosts, the University of Louisiana, where they are attending the Southern Police Institute.

More serious items included "Mass killing of Algerians." Though Federation in 1938, independence not in sight for BWI (British West Indies), according to Grantley Adams. Ceylon's new Prime Minister announced: "I would welcome economic aid from Russia."

Ceylon's legations in Jarkarta, Rome and Bonn were closed, with new ones opened in Moscow and Peking. Japan signs iron ore contract with Red China.

Finally, there were headlines, such as "Supreme Court Upholds Ban on Segregation," "Negro Lawyer, M. W. Plummer, Assaulted in Cafeteria."

All papers carried the story: "Whites Attack a Negro Singer During Show."

World At Large

Courier P. 9
Sat. 6-2-56

By Horace R. Cayton

Pittsburgh, Pa.

LAST week a little brown man came from the other side of the world to pay a visit to this country. He is President Sukarno of the new Republic of Indonesia, and he came in response to an official invitation from President Eisenhower. The announced purpose of his visit was to strengthen the "bonds of friendship between Indonesia and the United States," which is another way of saying that it was to bolster the weakening prestige of American policy among the uncommitted nations of Asia and Africa.

Mr. Cayton

The red carpet was rolled out to its full length. Sukarno lunched with Vice President Nixon and congressional leaders, dined with President Eisenhower, spoke to a joint session of both houses of Congress, and addressed a capacity audience at the National Press Club.

■

BENEATH the surface, deeper currents were stirring than could be seen by just a superficial glance at the headlines and feature stories. President Sukarno was not simply paying a social visit, but was here as the representative of his newly liberated nation of 80 million people. More than that, and he did not hesitate to say so, he represented the thinking and aspirations of all the peoples of Asia and Africa, those which have recently established their independence, as well as those still struggling to liberate themselves from colonial subjugation.

The main theme running through all of Sukarno's utterances was the resurgence of nationalism now taking place in Asia and Africa. He called upon the leaders and the people of America to understand and appreciate the struggle of these peoples to achieve freedom and independence from colonial rule. He pleaded for an American policy in support of these aspirations, even at the expense of the interests of our European colony-owning allies such as England, France, Holland and Belgium. He cited both past American history and tradition, as well as the present political situation, as the basis for his eloquent pleading.

■

SUKARNO joined the great debate on foreign aid by specifically rejecting military assistance as "no substitute for Asian stability," even though our motives "were solely the stability of the region" which could lead only to "strained relations" and "make countries accepting it more dependent."

He correlated the further progress of his own country with the aspirations of the darker peoples of Asia and Africa in the following terms: "We ask you to understand our national struggle, and sympathize with the fact that (it) is not complete. How can it be complete when millions of our people in Asia and Africa are still under colonial domination, are still not free? Nationalism may be out of date for many; for us of Asia and Africa it is the mainspring of our efforts. Understand that, and you have the key to much of post-war history."

World At Large

Courier P. 9
Sat. 6-9-56

By Horace R. Cayton

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THERE is a deep symbolic meaning underlying the visit of Louis Armstrong to the African Gold Coast last week. It could not have been only an enthusiasm for American jazz music that brought out a roaring throng of 10,000 to the airport to greet him, and the incredible number of 100,000 people to his concert in Accra's largest park, transforming his three-day visit into a national holiday in honor of his "homecoming."

Mr. Cayton

Nor was Louis' response lacking in the same symbolic overtones when he said: "After all, my ancestors came from here—and I still have African blood in me." What emerged from the occasion was a dramatic illustration of the deep bonds of mutual sympathy between American and African Negroes, deeper and wider than the oceans and centuries which separate us.

■

SATCHMO'S role as the chief American roving ambassador of goodwill as of late has been recognized by the press and official circles both in this country and abroad. Even more than his trumpet and his music, Louis' smile and personality have to an almost epic degree the qualities of brotherhood and the common touch that bind people together. One can go almost as far as to say that just as Dulles goes about presenting America's worst side in terms of an outworn and belligerent foreign policy, Louis Armstrong represents the best qualities of America, her plain people, white and black, and their democratic tradition. And if he cannot quite undo the mischief of our Secretary of State, he is at least a symbol that there is another America, an America of good humor, goodwill, and peaceful intentions toward all.

But Louis' visit to Africa has a special significance. The hundreds of thousands of Africans were not only cheering Louis Armstrong as an artist and musician, or as an American. They were cheering Louis Armstrong as the representative of 15 million American Negroes. They were cheering the bus boycott in Montgomery, they were cheering Autherine Lucy, and all those embattled in the struggle for full equality of citizenship in the United States. And make no mistake about it, the events in this country are known in all the cities, towns, village and compounds of Africa.

■

AND LOUIS' simple response could—or should — be spelled out to mean that the Negro people of the United States, while we are Americans possessing our own history, tradition and culture, can and should take pride in the vast upsurge toward freedom that is taking place throughout the length and breadth of that vast continent of Africa.

The awakening of Africa is one of the great epochal movements which will determine the course of history in the next half century. When it is finished, Africa will be free, and inequality and discrimination in the United States only a bad memory.

World At Large

Courier P. 10
Pittsburgh, Pa.

By Horace R. Cayton

Sat. 7-7-56

TO DENY Paul Robeson a passport is to deny an American citizen of one of his fundamental rights. There is no doubt that Robeson is unhappy with many conditions in the United States, especially the treatment of Negroes. But that seems to me to be a position which he has a right to take and is shared by many others.

Mr. Cayton

At present the technical reason for the refusal is that Robeson will not declare his position on communism. I agree with Robeson on the point that one's political opinions are one's right.

Of course the underlying reason for the denial is Robeson's sympathy with the Communist cause. The feeling is that he would assist the Communist movement abroad. If this is his objective he could do it just as well in the United States as he could abroad. If Robeson is engaged in a Communist conspiracy which is illegal then he should be prosecuted rather than denied the right to travel.

■

THERE IS great fear, too, that he would embarrass the United States abroad in regard to the Negro question. This is sheer foolishness. The world is well aware of the treatment which America accords its Negro population. The foreign press on occasion gives more space to these events than does the American press.

In the Montgomery affair hundreds of reporters from all over the nation and from such foreign countries as England, France, India, Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, Holland, Japan and Canada wrote reams of material on the efforts of the Negro population to break down segregation on the buses.

The Till case, the Autherine Lucy case and other such events are world property. What on earth could Robeson say that has not already been said about these sad affairs?

■

FROM THE personal point of view, Robeson has been deprived since 1950 of a chance to make a livelihood. His loss in fees would go into the millions. He is now 58 years of age and his life as an entertainer is limited. He has many offers from countries throughout the world—this denial is robbing him of some of the most important years of his life.

But more important than Robeson as an individual is the fact that this denial of the right to travel is a precedent for the denial of many Americans who hold unpopular views. Further it shows to the world the unreasonable fears of the most powerful country in the world. If we are afraid to let a man travel because his views are unpopular we are indeed a weak and fearful nation.

I probably would not agree with things Robeson might say. But I am anxious for the exercise of his American right to say them.

World At Large

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

By Horace R. Cayton

Sat. 6-30-56

P. 12

AT THIS writing the Algerian question is again being brought before the Security Council of the United Nations at the request of 13 African and Asian states. The last time that this North African colonial question was brought up for discussion by the World Organization, France, the mother country, walked out of the discussion, warning the U. N. that it should keep out of French internal affairs and that the continued strife in Algeria presented no threat to international peace.

Mr. Cayton

The Algerian problem is a difficult one for France. Unlike Morocco and Tunisia, Algeria has been incorporated into the French Union and is considered by the French as an integral part of their nation. Nobody in France will mind very much losing political responsibility for Morocco and Tunisia, because France will lose at the same time the obligation to keep law and order there. But Algeria is different. For 108 years it has been considered a part of France. This legal fiction has given rise to a remarkable solid structure of popular belief. Most French really feel that the four Algerian departments are just an addition of metropolitan France on the continent of Africa.

■

THAT ALGERIA might be lost to France causes most Frenchmen great concern. Still conscious of the debacle of Dienbienphu and the loss of Indo-China, the military is apprehensive. Stated one French general, "Unless we have a change of regime in France, we shall loss North Africa as well."

France, indeed, is very near

to losing North Africa. Algerians have no inclination to arbitrate the problem. They insist the French must first recognize the fact of Algerian nationality. France, on the other hand, is trying to repress the revolt. In the meantime, Finance Minister Paul Ramadier announced gloomily that the North African war was costing a billion francs ($2,850,000) a day, as much as the Indo-China war at its peak.

There is little hope that the request of the 13 African and Asian states will get the seven votes they need to place the issue on the Security Council's agenda. There will be discussion, and that apparently is what the nations want. As far as action is concerned, France can always veto any substantive action.

■

AS USUAL the position of the United States will be an embarrassing one. The Arab nations have already publicly warned the U. S. that further siding with the colonial powers would be considered as unfriendly to the ligitimate demands of the Arab people. On the other hand, French Foreign Minister Christian Pineau, now in the United States for State Department visits, pleads for United States "understanding." Sensing American public opinion, Pineau stated that France had serious difficulties in Algeria but she expected to surmount those difficulties alone. What the Foreign Minister was saying was that he did not expect America to help France actively as she did in Indo-China, but that diplomatic assistance should be forthcoming.

World At Large

Journal 4/10
Pittsburgh Pa.

By Horace R. Cayton

Sat. 7-21-56

THE EUROPEANS in Africa, especially the English, are anxious to make political concessions which they hope will contain the growing spirit of nationalism on that continent. The question is whether they will be able to do this. Many Africans in their desire for self-government are making a program of conciliation

impossible. Uganda is a case in point.

Mr. Cayton

In that area the African-language newspapers have been so inflammatory in their advocacy of Uganda's burning desire for self-government that the British Protectorate Government has brought about a wave of prosecutions for sedition.

A story in one paper, The Answer, quoted a speaker as saying: "All of us should strike for self-government. Foreigners pack up and go home. The people of Uganda should unite to clamor for self-government and if we are to die then we shall die until we are exterminated." This story the British colonial police declared amounted to an exhortation to fight to the death. The editor was fined $140.

■

THE TWO publishers and two editors of Emambya Esage, The Dawn, are awaiting trial on a sedition charge for having printed an article titled, "How Can Peace Come to the Country While British Uses Robbery?"

Another paper, The Uganda Post, was fined for printing a letter containing the following: "There are many reasons why the people of this country wish to govern themselves. Racial discrimination, being made to work like slaves and being cheated in a cunning manner, failure to realize that the African was created in the same way as the Europeans (whites) are some of the many reasons, so when we hear that other countries are fighting for self-government we should not sit back and watch."

■

THE UGANDA POST and The Uganda Express, now defunct, were suspended by government order from June, 1954, to January, 1955, at the height of the crisis over the exile to London of Kabaka, the King of Buganda, Uganda's largest province, after he refused to cooperate with British officials.

In this same protectorate major land reforms are being undertaken. The main objectives are to establish individual rather than tribal ownership of land and to eliminate fragmentation—splitting of land into many pieces over a wide area—the outcome of providing shares to each generation of a family. With Government-sponsored training in better agricultural methods, it is expected the result will be more efficient land use among Africans, whose primitive methods in the past have produced poor crops, serious soil erosion and poverty.

But when these land reforms are juxtaposed against the passion for self-rule which the people of Uganda have it is evident that, commendable as are the land reforms, they do not begin to meet the challenge of the situation.

World At Large

Journal
Pittsburgh Pa.

By Horace R. Cayton

Sat. 7-28-56

THERE are two competing social forces in Africa south of the Sahara; one is the determination on the part of white Europeans to maintain white supremacy for many years to come, even though the most intelligent know that it will finally have to come to an end. The other force is African nationalism which is existent in the area south of the Sudan. The competing of these forces is causing mounting tension and areas of conflict. What is happening in Northern Rhodesia is an example of what will tend to be found in other parts of the continent.

Mr. Cayton

4/10

There are two weapons which the 2,000,000 Africans of Northern Rhodesia are now employing against the dominant 60,000 whites who rule and exploit the country. One weapon is that of the boycott; the other, the strike. Both are being used more extensively and both are effective.

■

THERE HAVE been in recent months a series of boycotts against shops operated by whites and Asians in many towns. The boycotts are against traders for overcharging Negroes and compelling them to be served through small windows instead of at counters inside the stores side by side with whites. Not only are these boycotts forcing concessions, but a recent court decision upheld their use. This form of economic pressure is an effective weapon for a subjected majority of the population and will continue to be used.

The strikes, which are also increasing in frequency, have resulted from dissatisfaction with the advancement programs for Negro miners. These strikes are under the leadership of the African Mineworkers Union which speaks for 37,000 Negro miners and the officials of the African Mineworkers Union. The union says that the program for the advancement of Africans in the mine industry is "a farce." They say that in reality it is a "cheap labor" program and point to the fact that Negroes promoted to jobs formerly held by whites are being paid one third for identical work.

■

THERE IS an interrelation between the boycotts and the strikes. The leadership of the African Mineworkers Union and that of the African National Congress is said to be identical and most officers of the union are loyal congress members. The African National Congress is not officially recognized by the Northern Rhodesian Government, but its effective use of strikes and boycotts has forced the Government to deal with it on a practical basis.

The white Europeans in their effort to extend their period of dominance as long as possible have proposed the Central African Federation based on the principle of racial partnership. But the Africans cannot see how 2,000,000 Africans can be equal partners with 60,000 whites. In any real economic or political organization based on democracy, the Africans would be the real majority rulers of the country. This, they know the whites will not allow as long as they are able to prevent it.

World At Large

Courier Pittsburgh Pa.

By Horace R. Cayton

Sat. 7-14-56

DUE TO the President's illness, Nehru is not coming to this country for a visit. This is a terrible loss for us for the United States needs to know Nehru and India desperately. Nehru is a symbol of the color-conscious East and perhaps its leading spokesman. He is not only the leader of the Indian people, and what India does is of the utmost importance to this country, but Prime Minister Nehru has a finger in every doplimatic pie throughout the world.

Mr. Cayton

9.10

Nehru is a puzzling man, especially to Americans. Although he embodies the yearnings of the Asians to rid themselves of the domination of white Europeans, in many ways his behavior is more English than that of the English themselves. Some say that he thinks and dreams in English. In the United States where attempts to analyze him are for a group a pre-occupation he is often called "pompous," a "neutralist" and a "fence sitter," all with derogatory insinuations. He is often given up as impossible.

■

THIS, STATES one writer, is unfortunate, for to give up in our attempt to understand Nehru is a luxury which we cannot afford. He put it this way—it is a matter of considerable importance for most people of the world, including the Americans to understand Nehru. "If Asia," he states, "is important, and the direction it is going is important, so is Nehru. Nehru does not speak for all Asia. The Pakistanis, the Thais, the Filipinos, violently object to the suggestion that he does. But there is nobody in Asia who has been able to influence so many, who has been able so to make his thoughts theirs—and the other way around."

Nehru is a powerful international figure and has world influence and importance which extend beyond India and even the Asian world. But even if he was important in India alone, we should strive to understand him and his visit would be of importance.

Writing in the New York Times A. M. Rosenthal said, "The reason simply is that entirely apart from foreign policy, India's future is quite likely to determine Asia's. If India goes the way of China, then Asia will go the way of India."

■

NEHRU HAS recently traveled a great deal and spoken to a number of people. He has visited London, Paris and Bonn. He has talked with Tito and Egypt's Premier Nasser. With some of these people it is difficult for us to talk on the same frank basis with which Nehru is able. With the debates about further aid to Yugoslavia, friendly and relaxed conversations with Tito are difficult. With the tension around Israel and Egypt, and between the United States and Egypt when this country refused to sell Egypt more arms, talks which would break through the hostility which Egypt has for us are difficult. In both instances Nehru's visit would have enlightened us not only as to how those countries and leaders felt toward the United States but would give us some insight as to how Prime Minister Nehru himself felt.

World At Large

Courier 9.10 Pittsburgh Pa.

By Horace R. Cayton

WHILE jungle warfare is popping up in city after city and in the towns, villages and hamlets of Tennessee and Texas, let's not forget the significance of Montgomery.

Montgomery has become a symbol, a cause celebre, a defiant act on the part of Negroes as a community which gained such world-wide publicity that it does and will stand as a landmark in the fight of Negroes (and some decent whites) for the principle of human decency. It struck at the total adjustment and peculiar relationship between Negroes and whites because in the context of that event the role of the Negro woman involved not only the emotional relationship between whites and Negroes within the family structure of the white family, but also raised sharp and in a dramatic fashion the question of the economic exploitation of Negroes by whites.

Sat 9-22-56

Mr. Cayton

Ted Poston in the New York Post related how one Negro cook had stated that her presence in the home, the fact that the white woman has someone to take care of her children at low pay while she could go out and earn a large salary, made to buy a new Buick.

"I bought them a new Buick," the Negro cook states simply it possible for the white family but flatly.

■

MONTGOMERY ALSO showed the impotence of the Communist in dealing with the Negro question. The movement to boycott the buses was led by Negro ministers. It employed as its ethics democracy and Christian philosophy. After years of trying to win the leadership of the black people of the South, the left is now witnessing the thing they fought for led by the church. It must be a bitter pill for Communist leaders, not only to realize that they are not a part of the movement, but would be pariahs in Montgomery. The Communists are demoralized, confused and puzzled by what is happening and their absolute failure to predict the historical movements of our country. This above all should demonstrate that there is no Communist threat in the country and especially among Negroes.

■

MONTGOMERY illustrated another point; that the Negro community could act as a disciplined and organized unit even in the face of danger. The refusal of Negroes to ride the buses was a community decision. When one woman was being questioned by an investigating body which was trying to establish that the entire movement was a conspiracy of the NAACP, she was asked why she did not ride the buses. She answered, "We just talked it over and decided not to." Then she was pressed to say who "we" were. Her answer was simple, direct and spontaneous. "All 50,000 of us." The Negro population of Montgomery is exactly 50,000.

The legal aspects of the Montgomery case are still in the courts. The strike continues. But the ultimate victory of the Negro community is sure: it is on the winning side. And it is the winning side not only for Negroes but for the United States and for democracy.

World At Large

Courier Pittsburgh Pa.

By Horace R. Cayton

Sat 9-1-56

I SELDOM write about national politics but after sitting for days and nights listening to the conventions in Chicago and San Francisco I can hardly get them out of my mind. It wasn't always the long, tedious windbag speeches which kept me up drinking innumerable cups of coffee to keep from going to sleep. There was but one issue which steeled me to see it through. That issue was civil rights.

9.10

Mr. Cayton

Let me give you my overall impression, both intellectual and emotional thought, about both conferences. Both the Democrats and the Republicans dodged the issue; played cruel and cynical tricks with what Tom Dewey called "the simple issue of human rights."

■

FIRST LET me say that there has been progress on the Negro question in America, great progress. A progress I would not have thought possible twenty years ago. I remember as a child in the early twenties listening to my father and a small group of Negro leaders in the community where I was born discussing the hope that the Negro would even be mentioned specifically in the Republican platform. I remember their delight when he was allotted a sentence; it was a meaningless sentence but at least the presence of 15 million people suffering from great disabilities was recognized. Then to see the entire nation participating through television in a debate which might have split the Democratic party was to realize that world forces, internal changes, moral consciousness and political expediency had raised the Negro to a symbol of world and national importance. There are forces which will work toward the solution of the Negro problem because now its solution, for many reasons, is a categorical necessity.

It was with this thought in mind, the urgency for the solution of America's number one problem, that. I watched the conventions; it is by reason of this thought that I was disappointed in both.

■

MANY OF you saw the cynical maneuvers of the Democrats who wanted, indeed had to have, the Negro vote of the large Northern cities but at the same time were not willing to take a moral stand on the issue lest the Southern states walk out. The platform they adopted was feeble, confusing and raised the unrealistic issue of armed force.

After this performance by the Democrats there were sneers and jeers from the Republican chorus of righteousness. It was in connection with the hope of a strong Republican plank that Dewey said: "I don't think you can play politics with the simple issue of human rights." The Republican conference then proceeded to do just that.

Their platform accepted but did not acclaim or welcome the Supreme Court decision. They deplored the use of violence to enforce it but they were silent about the violence of those who defy it. They urged the Government to support the court's decision but avoided any plan for implementation. This compromise was the result of a small Southern caucus, not one which might have split the party as in the case of the Democrats.

World at Large . . . . By Horace R. Cayton

Courier Sat 1-7-56 P. 9 Pittsburgh Pa.

AMERICA never had it so good as to have one-tenth of its population Negro. I am trying to say that the Negro in the United States is fast becoming the country's most valuable asset. What I have specific reference to at the moment is "Porgy and Bess" in Russia.

Mr. Cayton

Let's forget for the time being whether you like "Porgy and Bess" or whether you think it is a great folk opera. This isn't a theatrical column and I don't intend to write drama criticism. What happened when "Porgy and Bess" opened in Leningrad was perhaps great artistry, but over and above that, it was a political event.

* * *

CONSIDER A FEW of the facts. Every attempt was made by Americans and Russians alike to find some common grounds for friendship. On the stage, there were flags of both nations. This is perhaps the first time that the American flag has been publicly flown since the revolution.

There was a polite argument between Robert Breen, who staged the production, and Nikolai Petrovich Savchenko, of the Russian Ministry of Culture, as to whether the Soviet or the American anthem should be played first. The Russian insisted that the American anthem should be played first and the American argued that the Russian song should take precedence. The Russian won and "The Star-Spangled Banner" was heard publicly in Leningrad, again perhaps for the first time since the revolution.

The American Ambassador and his wife came to the opening from Moscow. Russian officials, trade union leaders and cultural personalities were there by the baker's dozens. In his speech of greeting, Director Sigoursky of the Little Opera House addressed the visitors as "Dear Brothers in Art and Colleagues." There were more American celebrities there than you would find in the Stork Club. Good-will flowed like vodka.

* * *

I'M NOT interested at the moment as to how fundamental, the change these occasional orgies of brotherhood may be. Cold or hot wars are made of too stern stuff to be dissipated by cultural exchanges. But there is no argument, on the other hand, that any exchange of friendship helps break or ease international tensions. That is why the playing of "Porgy and Bess" in Russia is a political event.

Now comes the point. The Russians could go all out for this cultural event because it was a Negro production. Russia has long harped upon the Negro question in America. This has built up a special feeling for Negroes. America and the American culture are acceptable, even welcomed when they come from Negroes. No white American could have found the welcome which was and is accorded to Negro artists.

And what is true of Russia and the other Communist countries is also true of the Asian countries who fear, and often dislike, the United States for a different set of reasons. They, for reasons of color, would welcome dark Americans while distrusting our whiter brothers. These are hard political facts.

So America never had it so good as to have sixteen or seventeen million Negroes. Let's secede from Mississippi and cash in on our assets.

World at Large . . . . By Horace R. Cayton

Courier Sat. 1-14-56 P. 9 Pittsburgh, Pa.

BEHIND the recall of the United States Ambassadors to Egypt and to India for consultation is the question of Russia and colonialism. The papers have announced that the officials have been asked to come to Washington to deal with the problem of neutralists of the Middle East and South Asia and to talk of ways of countering Soviet initiatives in these areas. It is doubtful that this country will soon find a formula by which she can act in international affairs which will assure colonial people that she is in sympathy with their cause.

Mr. Cayton

Nineteen-fifty-five saw the United States lose prestige in world affairs. This loss was due in a large part to the colonial question and the growth of the neutral bloc of nations who are first against colonialism and second against the Soviet Union. Last year saw also the Soviet Union beginning to push aggresively its own program for capturing the sympathies of countries plagued with colonialism or who are bitterly opposed to it as a system even though they have won their own freedom.

* * *

NOT ONLY did Party Secretary Krushchev and Premier Bulganin speak out against all phases of colonial domination of one country by another, but in their visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan they made some realistic agreements for expanded trade with those countries.

Russia's attempt to build up a neutral bloc of anti-imperialistic, hence anti-Western, countries, has passed the talking stage and now is being instrumented by realistic trade and assistance agreements.

America's difficulty was that her policies and leadership in international affairs were neither flexible, imaginative nor daring enough to insure her position of leadership. This country was so occupied with the cold war between Russia and the United States that she could not fully understand, much less devise an action to fit, the tremendous surge of nationalism which was sweeping Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

WITH MILLIONS of people being inflamed by the cause of human rights, America in the United Nations, for example, spoke guardedly on the question of South Africa's treatment of people of Indian origin and negatively on South Africa's treatment of its Negro population. In a number of other issues concerning the colonial questions, the U. S. either sided with the colonial powers or remained silent on the question of political domination of one people by another.

Challenged about her position of defending the imperialism of her allies, America had but one answer. The Soviet Union, too, is imperialistic and holds colonies, was America's reply. But peoples of Asia, Africa and the Middle East knew, as Editor Prattis has shown in his column, that they were held and exploited by white European powers because they were non-white. Further they knew and had suffered for years from the kind of imperialism that European countries employed. What took place in Soviet satellite countries was not the kind of imperialism that had injured them.

World at Large . . . . By Horace R. Cayton

Courier Sat. 1-21-56 P. 9 Pittsburgh, Pa.

THREE Russian officials showed up at the third inauguration of President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia. This was greeted by the West as another step in the "foot-in-door" in Africa campaign of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Cayton

It was stated that in a forty-five minute talk with the President the Soviet spokesmen proposed exchange of ambassadors and indicated that Moscow was ready to provide economic and technical assistance to the country.

Certainly Liberia is fertile soil for Soviet endeavors. It is a poor and underdeveloped country. Fully 90 per cent of the population is illiterate. There are terrible health problems. The total national budget of this African republic of 43,000 square miles is but $15,000,000. The country is in desperate need of capital, technical know-how and general social and economic development.

* * *

FOR THIS TYPE of assistance Liberia has looked toward the United States for historical reasons. The country was founded by freed slaves from the U. S. and by slaves captured on the high seas by American forces. The government is patterned after America's.

At present Liberia receives from the U. S. about $1,000,000 worth of technical assistance a year. Admirable as U. S. projects are they do not meet in any adequate fashion the needs of the country. Fear of Russia's interest in Liberia is compounded by the fact that the extreme needs of the country are well known.

A PROGRAM of technical assistance to Liberia would be a propaganda asset for Russia throughout Africa. The Russians have discovered that technical assistance can pay off in the game of power politics. The Russians can come to Liberia and other African countries with hands clean of western Imperialism: it would be of advantage to Russian international politics to have free and strong countries in Africa. This is something which European countries and the United States are unable and unwilling to work toward.

The importance of the Russian move to Liberia is that whether they dare take Russian assistance or not, they at least have a bargaining position with the United States. The Soviet Union is trying hard to get into the African picture and will bid against the U. S. for native African friendship. Whether or not President Tubman plays it right, he at least, by this move of the Russians, has a card to play.

World at Large . . . . By Horace R. Cayton

Courier P. 9
Sat 2-11-56

QUEEN Elizabeth's three-week visit to Nigeria is evidence that the Soviet Union is forcing England's hand in her measured progress in transforming her colonial empire into a united commonwealth of independent nations.

Mr. Cayton

Russia has launched a great offensive in the Middle East and Africa. She has made denunciations of Britain's colonial past and has pointed up the inequalities which exist between the white Europeans and the Africans throughout the continent. The Soviet Union has given moral support to the nationalistic movements from Morocco to South Africa. In addition she has initiated a technical assistance program and made trade agreements with areas formerly strangled by the economic fences of the mother country. Through these devices the Soviet Union hopes to lure the close to one billion people in the uncommitted nations and dependent areas away from the Western world.

ENGLAND HAS long known that the old type of colonialism was on the way out. But that country was equally aware that she was dependent upon, if not an empire, at least a commonwealth of nations. With wisdom far greater than the French, she embarked upon a program to give political independence to those of her colonies who demanded and were willing to struggle for political freedom. India was the first country to benefit under that program. Now it is to be extended to the Gold Coast and Nigeria.

England cannot afford to lose Nigeria; nor can she risk a long and protracted struggle over the area such as France had over Indo-China and is now having over North Afr'. The West African federation contains nearly half of Britain's African colonial subjects. It is Britain's biggest dependency; in area it is larger than France and Italy combined; its population is thirty-two million.

THE QUEEN'S visit is expected to strengthen Nigerian loyalty to the British Crown. This the English believe is their most effective bulwark against Communist influence. So far the enthusiasm with which she Queen has been received seems to indicate that this political move has met with some success. But the stern reality of the national aspirations of the Nigerians cannot be judged by their receptions of the Queen. Because hundreds of thousands of Nigerians flocked to see her in Lagos does not mean that the mere presence of the Queen will insure continued Nigerian loyalty. This public relations gesture must be followed by actual political concessions.

uncommitted peoples — formerly colonial peoples—are throwing off the yoke of their former rulers and are making for themselves distinctions and choices in the fight between East and West.

While the United States, as the strongest power of the West, attempts to persuade these uncommitted peoples to join her, she finds that she has two great disadvantages: In the first place the former, and sometimes present, colonial power is now the ally of the United States. It is difficult to convince the French Africans of the United States' friendly position when the North Africans know full well the relationship which exists between France and the United States.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

World at Large . . . . By Horace R. Cayton

Courier P. 11
Sat 3-3-56

ONE of the objectives in the cold war between the East and the West is the allegiance of uncommitted lands. According to the New York Times, 38 per cent of the world's population is for the West, 35 per cent for the Communists and 27 per cent is uncommitted. In the areas of the world, out of a total of 58.3 millions of square miles, the West controls 33 per cent, the Communists 37, with 40 per cent being uncommitted. It is for these peoples and in this wide area extending from Indonesia through Africa that success or failure for the East or the West will be fought out.

Mr. Cayton

THE PEOPLE OF THE uncommitted countries are as diverse as the land itself. They do, however, have one thing in common: These people of Asia and Africa (with the exception of the Arabs) are predominantly non-white. The color question is the psychological link among these divergent peoples. They have known the domination of white European countries, and the symbol of these countries and of their former inferior position is colonialism. What is happening is that these

THE SECOND REASON for the United States' difficulty is that she is a white nation. The uncommitted countries, being predominantly non-white, and for that reason formerly subjugated politically, do not look kindly upon the efforts of another powerful white nation to win their friendship.

It would seem that Russia, too, would have difficulties. But Russia is not a colonial country in the common sense and though she is also a white country she has within her boundaries people of many colors and cultures and long [illegible] embraced a philosophy against color discrimination.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

World At Large

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 4-7-56

By Horace R. Cayton

IT IS official that Premier Nehru of India has accepted the invitation of President Eisenhower, and is scheduled to visit Washington early this summer. There are some interesting circumstances surrounding Nehru's decision to come here which furnish the clues as to the main purposes of his trip.

One thing is abundantly clear from the outset: he is not coming hat in hand to beg for favors. Nor is he coming in response to a summons from above. He is coming as the leader of Indian's 400 million people, and as the spokesman of the Asian-African world which is committed to neither the Russian nor the American system of alliances, but which is committed to maintaining the peace, and extending self-determination, freedom and progress in the colonies, semi-colonies and former colonies, whose peoples make up the vast majority of the population of the Asian-African world.

Mr. Cayton

■

ON THE same day that he announced his forthcoming trip to the United States, Nehru stood before the Indian Parliament and delivered a scathing and scornful attack on the whole system of American-built alliances in the Far East and Middle East. He accused the SEATO (the Far East alliance) as a threat to peace in the Orient, stated that it has "increased tensions," and said of its recent meeting in Karachi that "it confirmed our worst apprehensions" about that organization. Of the Baghdad Pact (the Middle East alliance), Nehru said that it has brought "disruption, insecurity and discontent in Western Asia."

It is noteworthy that this speech and his decision to visit Eisenhower in Washington came immediately after Secretary of State Dulles' latest junket through Asia, and after two long conferences between Nehru and our far-ranging No. 1 diplomatist.

■

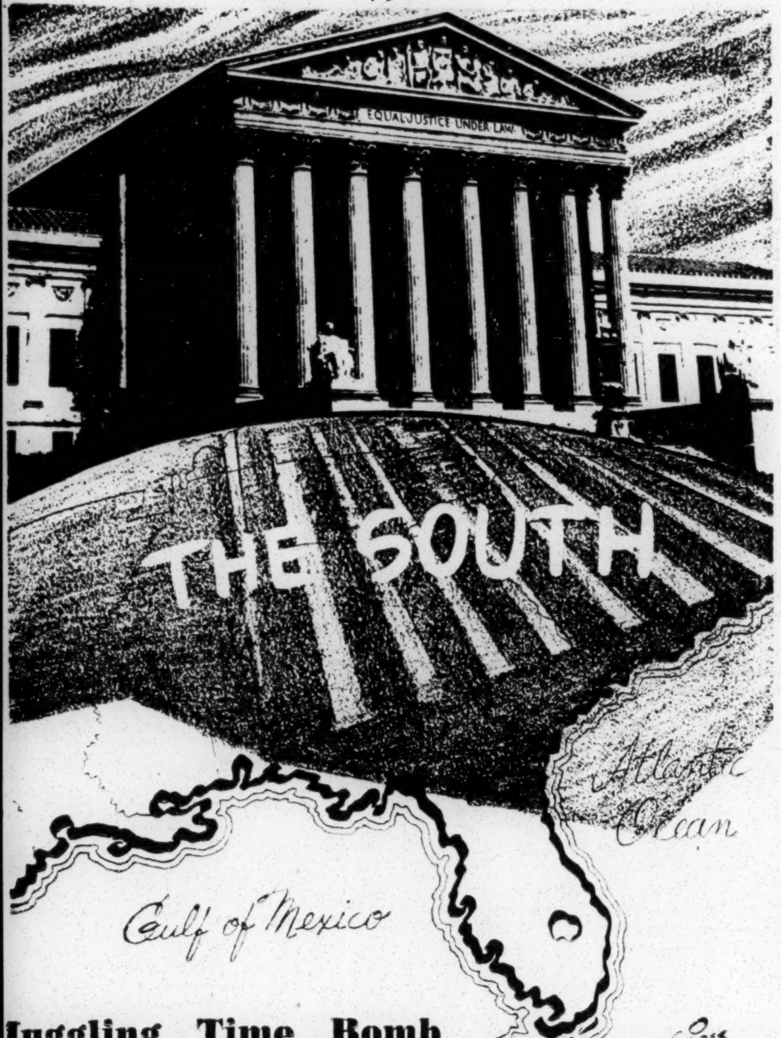
ALTHOUGH DULLES stated at the time that "the area of agreement between India and the United States was bigger than the area of disagreement," all indications leads to the fact that Mr. Nehru certainly does not think so, and that he intends to go over the head of Mr. Dulles and bring his views directly to the President.

While no formal agenda is likely to be announced, it is not hard to anticipate the main lines of Nehru's arguments:

The situation in the Far East can never be stable until Red China is seated in the United Nations. Get Chiang Kai-shek's forces out of the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, and turn them over to Red China. Put an end to the dreams of Chiang Kai-shek about invading the mainland of China, and of Singhman Rhee about recapturing North Korea. Let the elections on the unification of Viet Nam be held this year as scheduled. Stop the dependence on military pacts to normalize the Far East.

31a 1956

WHITE (BERT COLLIER)



Juggling Time Bomb

Herald P. 8A

Dixie Must Act On Racial Issue-- But What to Do?

Tues. 3-27-56
Miami, Fla.

First of a Series

By BERT COLLIER
Herald Staff Writer

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — Standing at a historic crossroads the South is seeking anxiously the way to a new social order.

It is a way of struggle and travail, in many sections, with a need for decisions that few want to make.

Today, in some sections of the South, the impact of the Supreme Court decision banning segregation in the schools is just reaching full force.

Many thought the doctrine of gradualism and the court's mandate to proceed with "all deliberate speed" meant years of grace, possibly decades.

COLLIER

But events—particularly the Lucy case at the University of Alabama, marked by riots, and the troubling bus boycott at Montgomery — have dramatized the situation and brought an urgent need for action, one way or the other.

"It is like a delayed time bomb," said a Nashville matron. "For two years we have been like ostriches. Now, we realize we'd better do something."

This point of view is widespread in the South. But there is no agreement on what to do.

Here, in this center of Southern culture, the Southern Education Reporting Service is the nation's top repository of information on developments in the wake of the 1954 and 1955 Supreme Court decisions.

Here, the diversity of opinion, the soul searching, the slow building of tremendous pressures, are apparent.

★ ★ ★

256,000 Negroes Now Integrated

WHEN THE 1954 decision was handed down, 17 states and the District of Columbia had school segregation by law In most border states, desegregation began to take place at once. Today, 256,000 Negro pupils are in integrated school situations, attending, or able to attend if they wish, former white schools.

This is about 10 per cent of the Negro school children of the South.

But almost all are in the border states.

Seven states are resisting, some so bitterly that there is a real fear of violence.

In these states, pressures are mounting. Tempers are shortening. Moderates are being forced to become extremists.

The middle ground is dwindling between the never and the now.

While the solidarity of the Negro boycott at Montgomery opened the eyes of many Americans, there is significance also in the upsurge of groups organized to fight the Supreme Court mandate.

Today, at least 46 resistance groups are in being. The spreading Citizens Councils alone, their leaders say, count a quarter million names on the rolls.

Many of these are working actively at the political level, backing officeholders or candidates who preach opposition.

This pressure is having effect upon legislature. Several Deep South states have enacted defiant laws this year. They open the way for new court tests of a delaying nature.

One of the disturbing effects of increasing tension is the use of the economic weapon. In some areas, this has become alarming.

Negroes have lost jobs. Whites who resist segregationists have lost business. National firms have found their sales cut through rumors of support for one side or another.

This force has made many community leaders aware that some positive stand must be taken.

In this turmoil, the voice of the church, a decisive force in many Southern communities, has not been loud. Though some denominations have adopted a policy of compliance at the top level, this has not trickled down. Church leaders say frankly they fear the disruptive force of the issue.

So, parts of the South are troubled and confused by the necessity for decision. Many Southerners now realize the region is under a spotlight. Events in small towns that once went unnoticed are magnified into international incidents.

Each section of the region has a different problem, generally more serious as the ratio of Negro population goes up. Mississippi, with a 45 per cent Negro citizenship, has a more complex problem than Kentucky with 10 per cent.

★ ★ ★

The Import for Both Sides

BUT in both states, and in the rest of the South, change and controversy are in the air. In its function as an impartial reporter, SERS illustrates the situation with this quote:

"Integration is more important to Negroes than the white man realizes. Segregation is more important to whites than the Negro realizes."

This is the dilemma of the South where many are bewildered by the impending changes in the old order. SERS characterizes the times as an era of litigation and legislation, as the opposing advocates attempt to solve the problem by law.

But it also notes that while state authority is being asserted and the matter becomes a political issue, solutions are being found in many communities, on the basis of people meeting and planning together.

NEXT—Progress is being made in Louisville.

On Dixie-Wide Tour

Alabama-Born Newsman Knows Southern Problems

Bert Collier was born in Montgomery and has been a newspaperman in Alabama, Georgia and Florida most of the time since his teens. He has been a member of The Herald staff nine years. His interest in social problems of his native region sidetracked him briefly from newspaper work to become a Community Chest executive in Atlanta and here before joining The Herald in 1947.

Collier, one of Florida's best known reporters, is on an automobile tour of the South to report the biggest story since Reconstruction—the integration problem. Because of his knowledge of the South and his affection for it, Collier's articles are for the Knight Newspapers in Chicago, Detroit, Akron and Charlotte, as well as Miami. The nearly 100 newspaper clients of The Chicago Daily News Service also are receiving Collier's first-hand reports on Dixie's dilemma.

Integration Stand Praised

Herald P. 14-A

By BERT COLLIER
Herald Staff Writer

Florida is meeting the problems of integration in the public schools with wisdom and tolerance, Atty. Gen. Richard W. Ervin said Monday on a visit to Miami.

Miami Fla.

He said the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was in error when it bracketed Florida with seven other Southern states which it said was in "open rebellion" against the U. S. Supreme Court mandate on segregation.

Tues. 2-21-56.

"We have had no trouble in Florida," Ervin said. "There is no open rebellion, no overt acts against the mandate.

"Our Negro citizens have shown forebearance and have not been led to foment trouble."

Some Florida schools may never have to accept Negro students, Ervin said.

"Gradualism, under the second decision of the U.S. Supreme Court, does not mean immediate integration. It may not mean integration at all unless racial discrimination is clearly demonstrated."

Florida has gained time to settle the problems in an equitable manner, Ervin said.

"Timing of measures is possible in Florida because of the way the problem has thus far been handled," he declared. "The state has time to adopt those measures which appear worthwhile and reject those that do not. Its present policies of patience and wisdom appear to give Florida more opportunities for careful deliberation and adoption of more efficacious solutions than otherwise might be the case if strife and discord were raging."

Race Issue Breeds Fear In Alabama

Herald Tues. 4-3-56

P. 2-A Miami, Fla.

Seventh of a Series

By BERT COLLIER
Herald Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Knock on any door in Central Alabama and you will find a person concerned about segregation.

COLLIER

It makes no difference whether that person is white or black, businessman, housewife or day laborer.

Daily he hears the loud debate of race issues. Daily it is brought home that he is living in a period of change and must do something about it.

The average Alabaman resents the spotlight.

He would rather work out his race problems without being in the world's eye, as he undoubtedly is. More newspaper copy originated here during the bus boycott and the Autherine Lucy case than any other city outside Washington and New York.

But the big emotion here is fear of forces unseen and elusive.

Watching the buses, empty of Negro patrons, pass her door, a housewife said:

"How can a thing like this happen when suddenly thousands of people stop doing something they've done every day of their lives?

"Who called the signal?"

The bus boycott, which started Dec. 5, over an incident involving a Negro woman rider, is still almost totally effective. Yet Montgomery business, and its contacts between the races goes on much as usual. Negroes report for work—on time. None has been fired. None has quit his job.

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No Solution Yet

THERE is no solution in sight. The saying in Montgomery is that each side is trying to outdo the other in passive resistance.

Negroes here and elsewhere in the state have accepted the refusal to ride segregated buses as a symbol of their demand for full citizenship.

"It is the most significant thing we have ever done," said a school teacher in a nearby rural county. "Isolated protests over wrongs, a few signatures on a petition for school admission, are important.

"But this reaches out to all our people. They join in with rhythm and real feeling. It is like a gigantic folk dance."

This is a frightening aspect to persons who have lived in Alabama all their lives. This is evidence of organization and a common front for the first time. Negroes make up a third of Alabama's population and outnumber their white neighbors in 14 counties.

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Whites Organize

WHITE ALABAMA has reacted strongly. The principal sign is the great expansion of Citizens Councils. The organization has become a factor in many communities. Representatives are asked to attend meetings at which racial issues are discussed. Councils are active in politics and are questioning closely all candidates for office in the May primary on their segregation stand.

All candidates are against integration. The difference is of degree only.

At the latest Council rally in Montgomery, attended by some 1,500 reputable citizens, the group decided on militant policy.

Each member, and every Alabama citizen, was asked to write five persons in the North, particularly northern newspapers, to explain the Southern viewpoint on segregation.

Both of the two associations of Citizens Councils in Alabama are fighting Gov. James E. Folsom, who rode into office two years ago as a champion of the underprivileged. They say his approach to segregation is too weak.

Folsom's position, and the reaction of his constitutents, was well illustrated when he addressed a conference of Alabama editors and publishers to ask for a bi-racial commission to ease tensions.

"Anyone with any sense knows white and Negro children will not go to school together in Alabama anytime," he said in his booming voice.

A storm of applause drowned out his final phrase: ". . . in the near future."

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Feeling Is High

AWARE of the depth of feeling over the segregation issue, Folsom says he couldn't be elected dogcatcher in Alabama today. He is campaigning for national Democratic executive committeeman. It is a sensitive post if the South hopes to win a reprieve in school integration, and block civil rights legislation, through pressure at the national convention.

His opponent is Charles W. McKay, a 35-year-old legislator from Sylacauga, who is making his first statewide campaign.

McKay is hitting hard on the segregation issue. But he is no rabble-rouser. He has the "moderate" approach which is the fashion among Alabama's white leaders.

"I hold no animosity for members of the Negro race," he said.

"It is to the economic welfare and advantage of Alabama that all of our citizens, white or colored, be trained and educated.

"But I insist that our traditional and customary segregation standards be maintained."

The quiet determination of McKay and other Alabama leaders would indicate this state will be a long time changing its ways.

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Aid Is Cited

AT THE ALABAMA Education Assn. meeting in Birmingham, Dr. Austin Meadows, superintendent of education, pointed out that the state is proud of contributions to Negro education.

State funds have provided scholarships to 1,457 Negro college students outside the state and two Negro colleges are fully accredited, he said.

"The nine Supreme Court judges are leading us to dissolution in this state," he told the teachers. He called for a four-point program to maintain segregation in the schools.

The fourth and most important showed that the lesson of the Montgomery bus boycott has sunk home and there may be more of the same by both sides. Dr. Meadows recommended "mass peaceful resistance by white citizens to win this battle."

NORTH RACE TENSION DISCLOSED BY EDITOR

Commercial Appeal

Montgomery Leader's Work Turns Tables

Thur. 4-5-56

REPLY BY SOUTHERNER

Memphis Tenn.

By BERT COLLIER

The Commercial Appeal-Chicago Daily News Service. Copyright, 1956

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 4. —Once again this city has become the capital of a civil war. This time the weapon is the pen, mightier than swords or atom bombs. Victory most likely will go to the South.

P. 27

Grover C. Hall Jr., editor-in-chief of The Montgomery Advertiser, has set out to prove that repression of Negro minorities is not strictly a Southern blight.

He has succeeded beyond his hopes.

Strife Spotlighted

So far Mr. Hall has spotlighted racial strife and tension in New York, Chicago, and Detroit and there is much more to come.

"I am simply trying to demonstrate the evident but sorrowful fact that race disharmony follows wherever the Negro settles in significant numbers."

Mr. Hall's idea developed when the world's press descended on his city to report the disturbing and continuing boycott of the bus company by Negroes. It was an economic protest against a social custom — segregated seating—that is without parallel in this country.

There were more than 100 regular and special writers, TV and radio commentators in this usually quiet city. They came from England, France, Germany, Japan, Canada and Australia, as well as from most large American cities.

Outlook Changes

Ralph Hammond, press secretary for Alabama's Gov. James Folsom, says the whole outlook of the visiting press changed during progress of the story.

"Many of the reporters came with a specific assignment—to castigate Alabama for mishandling the race problem," said **Mr. Hammond.**

"The longer they stayed, the better insight they had into local attitudes and beliefs. Their writings became more objective, their stories temperate and understanding. It has been the first opportunity to get the Southern point of view before such a widespread audience."

Mr. Hall was both pleased and annoyed by developments. He agreed the bus boycott was a big news story. But he felt that important stories on race tensions remained untold in the home towns of newspapers covering the Montgomery situation so thoroughly. He decided to turn the tables and go after them.

Born 128 Years Ago

The Advertiser was just the paper to take up cudgels for the South. Born 128 years ago, in time to support Andrew Jackson for President, it lambasted the North through the pre-Civil War debates and covered Jefferson Davis' inauguration, which occurred in shouting distance of its office.

The paper is fond of referring to Montgomery as "the first, the best and the next capital of the Confederacy."

Mr. Hall chose New York for his first target. In an open letter to James A. Wechsler, editor of The New York Post, he charged that race tension existed in that area which newspapers, "with some notable exceptions, merely hams and failed to redeem the peck at, often approaching it like derelictions" of its Northern colleagues. Mr. Hall proposed to go a chicken gasping with the pip." to New York and in co-operation with The Post, root out and report race tension.

But the Southern press, says Mr. Hall, has "squatted on its

Evelyn Cunningham

Negroes Still Have Fun Despite Tough Breaks

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 8-25-56 P. 1

One of the things I like about those "cullud" people is that they have so much fun. With all the oppression, discrimination, segregation, etc., they still always laugh and enjoy themselves. They don't have much to speak of. Not much money, not many material things. They don't get many breaks. They get pushed around. But they keep laughing.

They can do more on a shoe string than anybody else can do with a shoe lace factory.

Evelyn Cunningham

They can get Cadillacs when most people can't get Fords. And, if the man starts bugging them about overdue notes, they just laugh and laugh and keep driving.

Lately, they're doing a lot of traveling. They hear tales about how nice it is in Europe and how it's real democratic and how people over there treat a "cullud" man like a man. So, lots of them are taking off in droves by ship and plane. And they're finding out that what they say is true. Only nobody warns them that things like plumbing, hot water and ice cubes are in bad shape over there. Any,way, they have lots more fun over there than anybody else. And the foreigners like them better than most Americans, 'cause they get down with local customs faster than anyone else.

■

SO THE EYES of the State Department sees what's shaking and figures that these "cullud" people are better goodwill ambassadors than everybody, with or without portfolio. So they scheme to make things easier for these folk to get over there and spread the glad tidings.

So they set up a lot of jobs overseas, spruce up the Army and Navy posters and send over "cullud" musicians to spill some culture in the fatherland.

People all over Europe, Asia and Africa seem to dig the "cullud" American the most. It's said that the brother, not having anything in the first place, doesn't flaunt his worldly goods and his new-world superiority. He never even hints at how the good ole USA has everybody over there in hock because he knows how tactless it is to bring up a terrible subject like having things in hock.

■

AND OF COURSE he's not concerned with showing how superior he is in view of the fact that he's so darned glad to be even equal, if only for a short while.

Those "cullud" people are real interesting. As I said, they always seem to have so much fun. They laugh all the time. Sometimes I wonder though, whom they're laughing at. Ain't nobody laughing that much at themselves.

31a 1956

NEGRO (JOHN L. CLARK)

POLITICAL PICTURE

Courier Sat. 10-27-56
Pittsburgh Pa.
31-Negro P. 5

By JOHN L. CLARK

AS FAR AS the Northern Negro is concerned, the civil rights issue in the present election campaign, involves mostly the Supreme Court ruling against segregation in public schools.

And, Southern rulers and representatives in every classification have stated publicly and defiantly, that they will go to any extreme to continue separate schools for Negroes and whites.

It must be remembered that Negroes in the deep South are also separated from whites in transportation, hotel accommodations, recreation, entertainment, religious worship, where they may live and where they vote.

This invidious policy, adopted and defended by state laws, places the Negro in the category of a "thing" or at best a "chattel"—not a human being of God's creation.

WHERE THESE laws are in operation, there is no circumstance or condition, in which a Negro is regarded as the equal of a white man.

The Southerners' definition of rights for Negroes ignores provisions of the U. S. Constitution, interpretations of the highest court, the philosophy of all religions, rules of competitive contests and the immutable laws of nature.

This cruel, illogical and inhuman philosophy of the deep South can produce and justify contrasts hard to believe.

In the schools they would consider a nitwit from the backwoods too good to sit in the same classroom with a Negro genius.

The son of a white thug, moral pervert and ex-convict would be too good to sit with a black boy, born of respectable, successful parents and reared in a religious environment.

A COMMON white prostitute is too good to be a member of a P-TA with a Negro woman of culture, education and rigid morals.

A white mannerless and incorrigible student is too good to sit with Negro children of exemplary conduct and perfect examination tests.

A few years ago, when an epidemic of rabies hit a Georgia city, Negro dog owners were not permitted to enter through the same doors as whites to get their animals inoculated.

That information was carried in a local newspaper.

Down through the years Northern Democrats have been unable to do a single thing to eliminate the philosophy of the deep South, yet they "preach" that Northern Negroes **"belong to the Democratic party's family and should not vote for any other party."**

Capital Close-Up From Washington

Bystander P. 1

BY CONSTANCE DANIEL

Thurs. 3-8-56
Des Moines, Iowa

No More Messiahs

Washington, D. C.—When Mary McLeod Bethune died, last May, we wrote in this column—" magnificent character has left the American scene . . . a strong hub for the wheels of much progress. Few of any political faith failed to feel the force of her drive, in the Roosevelt-Truman era. She became a near-fabulous figure, with an emotional following seldom equalled by any leader of her times . . . She was probably the last of the Messiahs."

That was as much, and as little, as we felt that we had a right to say, for as a leader, she was neither a deep nor analytical thinker, and, consequently, could not be independent—a fact, which, generally speaking, she recognized. But, by virtue of constant and almost unlimited support from Administrations whose cause she promoted indefatigably, she was able to surround herself with experts and professionals in many fields, who pooled ideas and developed programs, which she forthwith "sold" with all her natural flair for the dramatic, her powerful personality, and the techniques of the thoroughly-trained evangelist that she was.

In all probability no one aspiring to a like role of leadership will ever have such intellectual and material resource. With all respect for what she helped to accomplish(and devout thankfullness that some well-intentioned ventures failed to click) it is to be hoped that Mrs. Bethune was, in fact, "the last of the Messiahs"—the symbol of an era ended. This, in spite of the fact that many who lean toward emotion rather than reason, in seeking a way out of their distress, would revive the torch-bearing era if they could, and substitute mass action, dictated and led by a spectacular personality, for carefully-considered planning and decision.

Thurs. 3-8-56

Walk Hard, Talk Loud

Des Moines, Iowa

Walking very hard and talking very loud, but minus the Bethune aura of sanctity, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, the current "spectacular personality," strode across the political stage, on Friday, February 24, with the usual distracting flourishes, thundering a "call" for a nation-wide work and school stoppage, by Negroes, on March 28, on which date "no Negro of any age would attend school or work, between 2 and 3 p. m.," in protest against the gestapo-like arrests of Negroes in the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott.

Congressman Powell staged his "call" outside a New York Baptist Ministers' Conference, at which members were discussing (1.) a suggestion that each church hold a day of prayer, and (2.) that each send a contribution of money, directly to the Montgomery committee.

But Mr. Powell's "call" was presented first, not to his fellow-pastors, in session, but outside the meeting to "30 or 40 newsmen who arrived, opportunely, out of a clear, blue sky," and met with Mr. Powell, who had just withdrawn from the meeting, in an adjoining room.

The Ministers Say "No."

The press promptly picked up the obvious implication—that the Conference was supporting the "call," with statements in the news services releases such as "Powell and a group of New York ministers called for the Nation's Negroes to stop work for one hour, the Wednesday before Easter."

Capital Close-Up From Washington

Bystander

BY CONSTANCE DANIEL

Des Moines Iowa

Negro Named Minority Counsel

Washington, D. C.—Another historical "first" was chalked up, last week, when the House Judiciary Committee's GOP minority named Samuel R. Pierce, Jr., of New York, presently Assistant to Undersecretary of Labor Arthur Larsen, to be Minority Counsel for the Committee, effective June 4.

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Behind the appointment were ranking minority members Kenneth B. Keating, (38th Dist., N. Y.), Hugh Scott, former Chairman, Republican National Committee, (6th Dist., Penna.), and William M. McCulloch, (4th Dist., Ohio). It is understood that it took some persuading to convince Committee Chairman Emmanuel Celler (D., N. Y.) considered a long-time liberal, that the appointment would be wise, in view of Southern attitudes.

Background for the New Post

The new appointee, whose wife is the former Barbara Wright, daughter of the late Dr. Louis T. Wright, of New York, has a brilliant law record, beginning with Cornell Law School from which he was graduated in 1949, while president of the Cornell Law School Association. He received his LL.M. in Taxation, from New York University Graduate School of Law, in 1952, and was editor of its Tax Law Review.

He has served as Ass't. District Att'y. for the County of New York (1949-53) and as Ass't. U. S. Att'y. Southern District New York (1953-55), has tried many cases, civil and criminal, argued appeals, and handled cases involving practically every field of law. During World War II, he was agent with the Army's Criminal Investigation Division Corps, was formerly a First Lieut. on the staff of the Judge Advocate General.

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During the past year, Mr. Pierce has served as U. S. Delegate to the Conference of Caribbean Cooperatives, at British Guiana, and on a panel symposium at the Military-Industrial Conference on Atomic Energy, held in Chicago, last February.

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He was a member of the New York State Campaign Headquarters staff, specifically assigned to work with Senator Ives, during the 1952 elections, and was an officer of the Young Republicans, in New York, and of the Regular Republican Club for the 12th Assembly District South (New York County.)

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This is a strategic "first" that should count for much.

Capital Close-Up From Washington

Bystander

BY CONSTANCE DANIEL

Thurs. 6-21-56
Des Moines Iowa

Williams, Stennis and the Capital's Schools

P. 1

Washington, D. C.—Our Federal City's best "dailies" appear to have been taken in by the recent "factual" requests for data on the desegregated District of Columbia schools, by two members of Congress from Mississippi—Senator John C. Stennis (University of Virginia Law School and Phi Beta Kappa), and John Bell Williams, the Congressman who represents the solid plantation wedge of the Fourth District, between the Mississippi and the Louisiana border.

A few weeks ago, Congressman Williams demanded and received from the District of Columbia's Chief of Police, what the Washington Post hailed, editorially, as "a starkly factual report detailing all racial incidents in and around District schools, which have been brought to the attention of the police during the last three and a half years."

While the Post (June 14) thinks the record of 34 reported "incidents" a "highly creditable one," it also lauds the report as providing "an authoritative answer" to anti-integrationists. On the contrary, it was immediately seized upon, as soon as it was published, as eye-opening proof for "white people in the District (and everywhere else) that integration is a fiasco." (Letter to the Washington Star, June 20.)

The "Williams' Report," prepared by a fair and competent police inspector, with whom we discussed it after publication, could not be an "authoritative answer" to anything, since it is merely, as requested, a chronological skeleton listing of all "racial incidents," from which contributing factors, such as provocation, are absent, i.e.,

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"December 2, 1954, Stuart Junior High, assault: a white girl, 16, slapped by unknown colored boy."

"March 9, 1955, Sousa Junior High, fight: between white boy, 16, and colored boy, 16, not serious." And:

"February 29, 1956, Truesdell School, white boy, 9, threatened with beating unless he agreed to pay money to two colored boys."

The above is the manner of the report, "recapitulated" at its end, in numbers of incidents by schools and school years. The same disorders, duly recorded by the press, happened right along in and around the old "white" and "Negro" segregated schools. Pupils pushing and hitting, i.e., "assaulting" each other, and fighting are regrettable and long a matter of public concern—but nothing new.

But a Washington Star story, without by-line, which presented the report in that paper (June 11), quoted Police Chief Murray as saying "let the facts speak for themselves," and stated, repertorially, "There has been an increase in the number of such cases reported since the District schools began their integration program two years ago." Congressman Williams promptly cited the reported "rise in racial incidents (and decline in school standards) as "a strong -argument against integration.."

In other words, if the pupils of the two races are separated by a fence, they will trade blows, extort money or otherwise misconduct themselves, within their separate racial groups, but remove the fence, and the same offenses become "racial incidents—a subject for Congressional investigation. As we said elsewhere, Congressman Williams was not seeking information and hence did not get it He got what he asked for—whittled down "evidence" taken out of context.

WASHINGTON

Norfolk, Va. Journal & Guide (P. 11) Sat. 4-14-56

No Action Taken On Civil Rights Bill

By Constance Daniel

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Civil rights went home for Easter. "No action" was the report last week on HR-627, the civil rights omnibus bill, to force it out of the House on which a discharge petition Committee on Judiciary—calling for the usual 218 signatures of members—was started more than two weeks ago by Congressman James Roosevelt (D) of Calfornia.

Mrs. Daniel

As we wrote this column, the office of Civil Rights co-chairman, Hugh Scott (R., Pa.) dejectedly reported that civil rights members were still hoping, but nothing was happening on the Administration's three-point CR program, on which the press was to have been briefed by the Attorney General on March 29. The program which was to have been discussed called for a CR Commission with subpoena power, and a CR Division operating directly under an Assistant Attorney General. HR-627, which was introduced by the perennial civil rights-er, Emmanuel Celler (D., N. Y.) replaces the old lynching-as-such provision, with a more comprehensive clause making injury, oppression, threatening or intimidation in the exercise of legal rights, a federal offense. Interstate transportation, primary voting, and abuses of person or property by local officials are also covered.

• • •

Certain Death

In fact, so much is covered (as the name "omnibus" implies) that it is more than likely either that the effort to dislodge the bill from committee ill fail, or that it will be turned loose to face certain death by filibuster, if it is allowed to reach the floor of the Senate.

HR-10027, the CR bill introduced March 19 by Rep. John D. Dingell (D., Mich.) is also marking time in House Judiciary. Like the projected Administration program, it calls for the establishment of a CR Division with enforcement powers, in the Department of Justice.

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Bourgeoise Noire

We regretted to see that our friend, Fred Morrow of the White House staff, had gone self-righteous and, apparently, attempted to berate the black middle class to which we gather, both Fred and The Guardsmen whom he was taking to task, belong. Fred's comments, as reported, sounded pretty much like E. Franklin Frazier's speech at the Alain Locke Memorial Conference, at Howard, last year.

That speech, which seemed to us to be more frustrated than analytical, is repeated in Dr. Frazier's latest volume, "Bourgeosie Noire," in which he engages in a rehash of previous nose-thumbing for the benefit of our French contemporaries. We understand that Esther Popel Shaw is reviewing this volume for the Journal of Negro Education now in proof stage. We'll be interested in seeing what she found, therein.

• • •

Segregation

The March issue of the Annals of the Academy of Political Science carries a lead article, "History of Segregation in the United States" by John Hope Franklin, Howard history professor, whose "Militant South" will probably be out by the time that he takes over the chair of history at Brooklyn College, New York, in the fall.

Southern disfranchisement, by whatever means effected, is already influencing the District of Columbia's efforts to regain Home Rule. With a high proportion of voting-age population, Negro residents from out-of-state will do more local voting than will whites, due to the fact that many, unable to vote, "back home," because of disfranchisement, make much less use of absentee ballots than do white residents.

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Federal Waste

In North Louisiana, we once saw a warehouse filled with rusting electric sewing machines, bought for sharecropper families far from any power line. The idea—to save the farm wife's time so that she could help in the fields.

In Georgia—speaking of subsidies—eggs, taxpayers bought at 12 cents a dozen, sold back to farmers for fertilizer at five cents a crate. (And we were paying 57 cents a dozen, here, at the time!)

Revival of the old "stamp plan" is the most sensible thing we've heard of in months, and months and months. Like Mr. Hoover's food conservation program, it will bear reuse.

Capital Close-Up From Washington

Bystander P. 1

BY CONSTANCE DANIEL

Des Moines, Iowa

Washington, D. C.—It will be difficult for the people of the States to avoid or disclaim responsibility, hereafter, for affairs in their Capital City, nor can this city's interests be safely regarded as matters outside the frame of reference for the rest of the country.

Thurs. 2-[illegible]-56

7-5-56

Perfunctory Interest Dangerous

The danger of perfunctory interest in your still near-voteless Capital City is the technique, rapidly developing among some members of the Congress, of sabotaging progressive action in the captive Federal City, controlled by District of Columbia Committee in the House and Senate, via "investigations," "surveys," rigged hearings, and similar devices, with the resulting distortions of fact held up to the voters "back home" in support of any action they choose to advocate or wish to legislate, affecting the Nation as a whole.

Lesson of the D. C. Primaries

The May 1 primary election (for political party delegates and officers, only), the first elections of any kind held here in three generations, revealed the extent of the selfish political controls exerted on the Federal area; the hard choice that must be made by District residents, between the right of full franchise outside the District—by absentee voting or by residence beyond the District limits, in nearby Maryland or Virginia—and fractional franchise here; the indifference of Congress to any exercise of citizenship in the District, as shown by its failure to provide sufficient funds to cover the necessary provisions for primary registration and elections; and, most marked of all, the cynical disregard of the Federal City other than as a pork barrel to be emptied and tossed aside, or a self-promotion springboard, to be used and kicked over.

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Thurs. 7-5-56

The Inquisitions are Aimed at You!

So now, the latest developments—Congressional inquisitions—have descended on your Captive Capital, hurting and hindering us, but aimed directly at you, the voters back in the States, who send these citizens from Far Corners and Wherever, to Capitol Hill.

Nannie Burroughs' Buildings

On July 8, Nannie Helen Burroughs, educator, national head of three million women Baptists, Foreign Mission stalwart, and editor and publisher of a 140-page monthly publication—circulation 85 thousand—is dedicating a fine, new brick dormitory at her Professional School for Women at Lincoln Heights, D. C. It will be the largest and most modern structure in the relatively small plant on the hill that she bought, "out in the country," nearly half a century ago. But her major building has been done in character, personalities, organization and influence, rather than in bricks.

Vaughn and Ferguson, local architects, are responsible for the plans, McKissick and McKissick, second generation Nashville builders, did the construction—their trademark job in the Federal City. Landscape gardener Anna French Locker, of Cincinnati, a Burroughs graduate, who is the widow of the late Ambassador to Liberia Jesse D. Locker, is beautifying the grounds.

Mordecai Johnson to Speak

Dr. Mordecai Wyatt Johnson, Howard University's president, and eminent Baptist orator, will be the principal speaker. Outstanding lay, educational, religious and political leaders of all faiths and parties will be present.

Governor Gordon and Ambassador Jones Here

Governor Walter A. Gordon, of the Virgin Islands, was here, last week, for the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Virgin Island Corporation, after attending the Governors' Conference at Atlantic City.

Ambassador Richard Jones, of Liberia, was also in the Capital for official consultations.

Haitian and Liberian Envoys Feted

Pan-American Airlines Vice President Sam Pryor and GOP Minorities Director Val Washington were hosts, last week, at a National Press Club cocktail party in honor of Ambassador Mauclair Zephirin of Haiti (he succeeded Jaques Leger, now Haitian Ambassador to the United Nations) and Ambassador George Padmore of Liberia, recently returned from Liberia and the International Rubber Study Group Conference, in Paris.

Among the guests were Ambassador Jones, Cabinet Secretary Maxwell M. Rabb, Congressman Adama Clayton Powell of New York, with his son, Adam Clayton III, and Col. William Ulman of International Telephone and Telegraph, who is currently advising Liberia's President Tubman on an international voice radio telegraph.

Perry Howard vs. Lily-Whites

GOP National Committeeman Perry Howard's quadrennial hassle with Mississippi's "Lily-Whites" is reverberating through the Capital louder than ever, this year, with a Republican Administration committed to integration policy, at the helm. We could not conceive of the administration seating a "lily-white" delegation from Missisippi, over National Committeeman Howard's truly Republican, racially-mixed delegation of nine Negro and six white delegates, with nine white and six Negro alternates. Any such concession, should it happen, would be a major setback to GOP advancement.

WASHINGTON

Integration Is Theme Here And Elsewhere

By Constance Daniel

WASHINGTON — Integration in nearby Virginia staggered, last week under the impact of a two to one referendum vote for a constitutional (mendment) convention in the Old Dominion, to prevent forced compliance with the Supreme Court school decision.

Meanwhile, integration in the best sense of the word, without fanfare, moves on apace, here and elsewhere. Washingtonians Bob McNeil and Larry Grimes, government photographers, here,

MRS. DANIEL

Georg(e) Olden, CBS art director, in New York, his sister, Sylvia Ward Olden II, voice-coaching at the Metropolitan Opera, her husband, Conductor Everett Lee, with New York's Civic Center Opera Company, Charlotte Molon Hubbard, program assistant at WTOP, in D. C., Joyce Wilson, Life Magazine researcher, who has gained many plaudits with her photo-feature on "The Little Boy Next Door," Kelly Miller, III, TV cartoonist in New York, Jane White on TV and teaching at Skidmore College, Dr. Jane Wright, cancer researching at Bellevue hospital, Archibald Parsons, head of the Herald-Tribune staff at United Nations, (his paper recently featured his half-page article on world affairs). Vertner Tandy and David Jones, in insurance on the Gold Coast, West Africa.

ENOUGH TO suggest that young Americans who happen to be Negro, are moving ahead—as people.

Civil Rights Bloc

The Adam Powell-Clarence Mitchell bloc met last week in the office of Representative Hugh Scott (R., Penna.) Nothing in particular happened. Another small follow-in meeting is scheduled —then a big, come-one, come-all affair, to which all Congressmen will be bidden. We have the feeling that our late friend, Walter (White) did it better, lone-wolfing

Municipal Judgeship SC 14

Many citizens are being named, renamed and unnamed, in the current hassle over a successor to retiring Municipal Judge Armond Scott.

CHARLES K. Brown, James (Pete) Tyson, Austin Fickling and the D. A.'s office, Barrington Parker and school board member Wesley Williams are the folks now playing musical chair (singular) around the forthcoming vacancy on the local bench.

Seemingly there is not enough support behind any hopeful to land him in the chair, when the music stops.

Employment Policy

Ross Clinchy, son of Everett Clinchy, former president of the Conference of Christians and Jews, began work recently, as executive secretary of the President's Committee on Employment Policy, superceding Gwendolyn Tice, who will now "handle complaints."

MR. CLINCHY will do the "educating" of big and little department personnel assigned to break up and prevent "jim-crowing" in government establishments. He will, he hopes, be able to tell these folk what to look for, and how to recognize it when they see it, such as the more obvious physical separation by lockers and arrangement of desks, and less-obvious but more potent devices: upgrading examinations given with no Negro employees notified; discriminatory job classifications, discriminatory assignment of duties within jobs, ad infinitum.

We hope, at this point that news of what is being done will begin to flow, and that the question of which action is newsworthy and which is not, will be left for the press

MRS. CHARLOTTE M. HUBBARD
Program Assistant

to decide for itself — that the days of "spoon-feeding" are at an end.

CR At Labor Merger

Boris Shiskin, AF of L. is staff director of the Committee on Civil Liberties, and CIO's George Weaver, his assistant, in the new AF of L-CIO set-up.

Rights And Tolerance

This writer was "raised" on civil rights — presented to us as a vital factor of life in a democracy, to study, to approach objectively, and to work for diligently and forthrightly — but not excitably. Violence has been accepted as part of the price of diligence. But the grandparent who was sandbagged on

GOERG(E) OLDEN
CBS Arts Director

his doorstep, in Providence, for fighting Jim-Crow schools — in Rhode Island— would not have thrown pepper, as Monroe Trotter did, much later, in Boston, because he would have recognized Booker W.hington's right to freedom of speech— to be heard—in Boston or elsewhere.

* * *

"CAUSE" OR political groups or individuals should also bear in mind that the well will not necessarily go dry if an individual stops pumping.

Much of our admiration for President Eisenhower is admiration for his forthrightness and for his tolerance. Certainly there is more than one intelligent position to take, nor should we expect those who have thought out positions that conflict with ours, to suddenly abandon their point of view and declare themselves wrong.

* * *

WE ARE OF the opinion that "righteous indignation" has its place along with other emotions that keep us forging ahead. But there are times, such as now, when we appear to be over-emoting and under-thinking, with tolerance lost in the shuffle.

New Honor For George

The Tuesday Evening Club of Washington is sponsoring a banquet for Public Utilities Chairman George E. C Hayes, at the Willard hotel Thursday, Feb. 16, at 7 o'clock.

Mrs. Madge Carey is president of the club, Garnet C. Wilkinson is chairman of the Citizens Committee, and Mrs. Isadora Letcher is chairman of the Banquet Committee.

The Nation's Capital

Washington Bar Ass'n Finally Ends Color Line

By CONSTANCE DANIEL

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Jim-Crow went down to defeat in a voice-vote, at the D. C. Bar Association, here last week, amidst shouts of "Naye" from die-hard segregationists — largely southern.

Mrs. Daniel

Three times within the past five years, Bar Association membership, predominantly in favor of desegregation, but lacking the necessary two-thirds vote, had attempted to level the color barrier by written referendum. Each time they failed, once by 18 votes and once by a frustrating three. This time it was determined to bring the issue on the floor at a regular meeting. To our knowledge, one member, at least, left a sick bed to help vote down the "wholly illogical position" in which the group was being held by "a vociferous minority."

"I've been called everything," said this member, "but I'm very happy over the outcome."

Association President Charles S. Rhyne, who presided over the near-sectional hassle, ruled that the voice-vote showed that two-thirds of the 600 present had voted "Yea." A member calling for a point of order was voted down—likewise a proposal for more written balloting.

* * *

RAYMOND R. Dickey, a long-time leader for desegregation, said "If colleagues are sufficently well-educated to be members of the bar, it is proper to admit them to membership in a professional society, where there should be no place for racial distinctions. This is no country club! We practice before the courts, here everyday, with men like Judge Cobb, Barrington Parker, George Hayes and many others. Also, as an integrated body we now can become a greater disciplinary force."

Member Edward Williams, speaking briefly to the point of delayed action, reminded his colleagues that the Bar Association of Sunflower County, Miss., (home of Senator Eastland), had admitted Negro lawyers to membership five years ago.

"Very Glad . . ."

Reaction among Negro members of the bar to the Association's elimination of race barriers, here in the Nation's Capital, was generally subdued. "I'm very glad that de-

segregation has taken place, and that the Bar Association has fallen in line, at last, with racial advancement all over country," said former Judge James A. Cobb.

Val Washington, Minorities Director at National GOP Headquarters, pointed out that Dickey and D. C. Commissioner Robert McLaughlin were leading pre-convention Eisenhower men. "It shows the changes that have taken place in thinking attitudes, here, in the last three years," he said.

Youth Helped

Dean George M. Johnson of the Howard University School of Law, and a member of the parent body, the American Bar Association, gave credit to untiring efforts of many within the Association for "this significant step, long overdue." He noted that the Student Bar Association, here, nominally under the jurisdiction of the segregating group, has, in fact, been integrated from its beginning, with youth in fluencing its elders to more enlightened action.

Hayes Sums Up

George E. C. Hayes, hard-working champion of integration, now chairman of the Public Utilities Commission, commented soberly:

"It is certainly fitting that the Bar Association has let down its color barrier—a little anomalous that of all organizations, it should have retained racial exclusion in its membership in view of the President's fiat and the Commissioners' actions."

Washington Votes

Ballots are still being counted and votes tallied, ten days after the close of the District's first voting in 82 years — primary voting for party committeemen and delegates, only. The Democratic contest, which was spirited, drew Presidential candidates Stevenson and Kefauver to the Capital, in support of convention delegates pledged to them. At this point it is clear that Stevenson ran far ahead of the Tennesseean.

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IN REPUBLICAN ranks, with the President unopposed, balloting centered around an insurgent named George Lamb, who was running as national committeeman and delegate against a self-satisfied, locally inactive, disinterested and self-perpetuating "Old Guard" slate, indignant at the temerity of being challenged. Lamb, apparently, has lost the vote, although he made heavy inroads in the status quo.

Undoubtedly he effectively raced the banner of home-rule, integration in all phases of life in the Federal City, and aided in arousing all elements of the city to the significance of the vote in your Capital.

We think that from here out, nothing will be taken for granted, again. There'll be no more sleeping at hte switch.

Capital Close-Up From Washington

BY CONSTANCE DANIEL

Washington, D. C.—On April 27, Gen. Mark Clark, president of "The Citadel," South Carolina's private West Point, told the Southern Regional Conference of State Governments, then meeting in Charleston, that he was opposed to the integration of white and Negro troops, from a military point of view.

Gen. Clark, the former Supreme Commander of UN Forces in the Far East, based his opinion, he said, on his experience with the 5th Army, in Italy during World War II. Obviously reviving the story of the 92nd Division, commanded by Major Gen. Edward Almond (now retired) which created much furore at the time the charges were made. Gen. Clark, according to press releases, declared, last week, that Negro soldiers could not be relied on, and bolted in the face of the enemy. "The worst disision I had was a Negro division," said Clark. The documented refutation of the results of troop integration, by Civilian Aide to the Secretary of Defense James C. Evans, (New York Post, April 30), is one of many which will be forthcoming.

Neither Swallow Makes a Summer

We hope that Gen. Clark will be able to find, on the shelves of The Citadel's library, "The Black Phalanx, a History of the Negro Soldiers of the United States in the Wars of 1775, 1812 and 1861 to 1865," by the late Joseph P. Wilson, veteran of the Second Regiment Louisiana Native Guard Volunteers, the 54th Massachusetts Volunteers, and first Negro member of the National Council of Administration of the Grand Army of the Republic, whose Department of Virginia, in 1882, designated him to write the history. The volume, entered in the office of the Librarian of Congress, in 1887, was published by the American Publishing Co., of Hartford, Conn., in 1890.

Camden and Guilford Courthouse

From this volume we comment on the project to raise Negro troops, during the Revolution—a project zealously pushed by Col. John Laurens of South Carolina, whose "services in Rhode Island had given him an opportunity to witness the conduct and worth of the Negro soldier,": "Statesmen, both South and North, as they talked about it, became free to express their approbation of the measure. They had witnessed the militia from Virginia and North Carolina at the battle of Camden, throw down their arms before the enemy; they had seen black and white troops under command of (British) Gen. Provost occupy Savannah." The same chapter cites Grimshaw's U. S. History to the effect that the battle of Guilford Court House, the following year, "the North Carolina militia . . . fled at the first fire," and the Second Maryland Regiment deserted.

As swallows, neither the 5th Army's 92nd Division in the Italian Campaign, nor the Virginia, Carolina and Maryland troops at Camden and Guilford Courthouse, 165 years earlier, make a summer, in terms of the courage of soldiers—Negro or Southern white.

Capital Close-Up From Washington

BY CONSTANCE DANIEL

The Chips Go Down at Chicago

Washington, D. C.—As we were saying before the balloting at Chicago, after the Stevenson primary losses in New Hampshire and the Mid-West, and before the Stevenson victories in California and the South, the 1956 Presidential contest will be between Eisenhower and Stevenson, both "charged" with being moderates.

This because political honesty on civil rights has come from no other candidates. The rest, and we persist in looking without blinders, has been sound, fury, furtive back-dooring and insincerity.

Early in February, this column began calling the turns on the candidates. Kefauver had just sparked a widely-announced switch of buttons by West Coast civil rightors more emotional than discerning, following a reported huddle with Negro delegates at a California nominating convention—and with the GOP meeting at the Cow Palace, some of the huddlers should be speaking up.

Kefauver's Washington office played up the button switch, but flatly repudiated the "huddle" reports, and could produce nothing to account for the switch, other than a pledge to support the Constitution and Supreme Court decision, without suggesting how. In Florida, Candidate Kefauver made a statement saying that both races seemed to have good schools!

Desegregation

Stevenson, more specific, said, publicly, that he was in favor of desegregation, but that this must be accomplished "without troops or bayonets." This would seem to be a superfluous statement, but because some of us have attempted to fight demagoguery with more demagoguery, it is not.

"Inactive Candidate" Harriman, said, at the time, that civil rights and school desegregation were "all in the hands of the courts." In July, Active Candidate Harriman, a good Governor of New York State—a vastly different deal from President of the United States—went down to Asheboro, North Carolina, where he addressed the Dinner of North Carolina Young Democrat Clubs (which has dry-run all its party's candidates.) There, he declared that "even to raise the question" of using troops to guarantee Negro rights in the South was "irresponsible" and **"the way of a dictator."**

Capital Close-Up From Washington

BY CONSTANCE DANIEL

BY CONSTANCE DANIEL

School Probe Hearings Pay Off

Washington, D. C.—We do not pretend to know why NAACP's Clarence Mitchell, director of the organization's National Legislative Bureau, here, went through the motions last week, of urging the President and leaders of the House of Representatives to stop the "integration" hearings on the District of Columbia public schools, now being conducted by the Davis |Gerber) Committee. We can only assume that, at best, it fas a bell-ringing expedition designed to attract atteneion to the hearings and to their implications of anti-integration propaganda on a nation-wide scale, against, as we have pointed out in this column, repeatedly, the backdrop of the National Capital and the halls of Congress.

Why the Gesture?

Not for a moment do we think that Mr. Mitchell believed that the hearings were going to stop, or even that the hearings should be stopped. And certainly there was neither rhyme nor reason in Mr. Mitchell, or other legally-trained officers of an organization dedicated to the struggle for constitutional rights calling on the Chief Executive to take action known to be unconstitutional. To attempt to justify this, as one local official did, in discussion with this writer, on the grounds that the call to stop the hearings "put everybody—Democrats and Republicans—on the spot," appears to be both fatuous and time-wasting.

What It Accomplished

Aside from being sensational and distracting, the demands made of the President and of the Congress accomplished little. But these demands will have raised a question as to the extent that liberal leadership has gone "wool hat" and has adopted Mr. Talmadge's techniques, on an "end justifies the means" rationale—a pretty weak plank to be marching on.

Workers Tiring of Antics

A growing number of working leaders are becoming heartily tired of Fourth of July displays, and would welcome an opportunity to put careful planning to work without the accompaniment of distracting, flash-in-the-pan, "follow-mee" action. The public—including the membership of such organization—which has a right to look for responsible utterances, not "baiting" from the spokesmen of our important organizations, has been getting from some spokesmen, utterances that reflect the competent hard work and enlightened thinking of workers less in the limelight. From others it has been getting demonstrations of the relatively recent "be tough" technique of matching shouts with shouts, and irrational action with equally irrational charges and demands, such as that to close down the D. C. school probe hearings on the grounds that they may provoke further violent incidents—while it must be obvious to all, that such calculated demands, in themselves, are far more emotion-laden and provocative than any evidence or testimony that the hearings could possibly produce.

The Hearings Back-Fire

While patently designed to embarrass integration arguments, and harass, on a national scale, all attempts to carry out the integration process, the hearings have actually back-fired gationists. Such as:
to the great discomfort of the segre-

With a race ratio of six Negroes to four white pupils in the public schools, here, teachers of integrated classes, called as witnesses by the Committee, insist:

1. That they are making progress with slow learners who have contributed to low-achievement levels.
2. That many slow learners are from segregated schools in the South. One principal, (white) cited Georgia, the Carolinas, Maryland and Virginia, as points of origin for many slow-learning Negro pupils.
3. (From the President of the D. C. Board of Education, that "If we had been a little more moderate we would have succeeded better . . . but we have made great advances—there is no question that we have succeeded in doing a great many things that will gradually work out."
4. A white principal favoring integration and administrating an integrated school, estimated that it would take ten years to eliminate all problems.
5. There was criticism of the well-known escalator system of promotion, now creating complications, which was bitterly criticized by frustrated teachers in the Negro schools, prior to integration—which underscored it.
6. Unfavorable reference to differing types of discipline previously experienced by Negro and white students. which was also discussed in the integration survey of D. C. schools, made a year or more ago by Sociologists Harry J. Walker of Howard University and Robert Bower of American University.
7. There was valuable testimony of leaders from community groups, on steps taken to pave the way for integration, here, through a Joint Committee on Education, composed of members of PTA's women's clubs, church clubs, and civic associations, through letter to the press, talks at forums, and week-end workshops directed by specialists in integration problems, for several years before the Supreme Court decision. "We were never hasty."

What Stands Out

The Davis Committee hearings have helped to highlight the fact that the community-at-large is now sharing the end results of separate but unequal opportunity. Nor need we be concerned about a "gag rule," providing we do not try to invoke one of our own!

It is now clear to all that the investigations are gratuitous; that after four generations of segregation, here, neither thesuccess nor failure of integration can be determined in two years ;that a good strat has been made—more difficult in some areas of the city than in others.

All that can be proved, at this point, and what has been proved by integration in the Federal City, and underscored by the evidence at the hearings, is—as Chairman of D. C. Commissioners Robert McLaughlin, has pointed out, publicly—the fact that, under segregation, "half of D. D.'s youngsters received substandard education. Nothing that the Davis or any other Congressional committee can do can change that fact.

Capital Close-Up From Washington

BY CONSTANCE DANIEL

Washington, D. C.—Last week we were talking with one of this Federal City's real "town elders," Charles Williams, who came here from Kansas as the protege of Congressman Charles Curtis, later Vice-President, to work in the Government Printing Office, before McKinley took office as President.

We looked him up to talk to him about his recollections of the "unsegregated" inaugural balls, held prior to the administration of the Great Segregationist, Woodrow Wilson. We remained to listen to his penetrating commone on nine decades of the interracial scene.

Alert and vigorous at 88, Mr. Williams was disturbed, that day, by the action of a Negro mother in his block who had ordered a white child seeking to play with hers to "Go away" because she exclaimed harshly, "I've got no use for white folks!"

"We have the same country, the same institutions, the same language—but separation has taught white Americans to sneer, and has left many Negroes, like this woman, with chips on their shoulders," he observed, adding, "Where you come in contact there is much less prejudice."

Texas, Kansas, Capper

Three years after "the War." Charles Williams was born in Texas, the eldest of nine children of a father who, as a slave, had vowed that "if he was never free, he would never marry." Fifteen years after freedom—rejected until the War's end by the Lone Star State—the elder Williams had married and migrated to Burlington, Kansas, with his family. Young Charles was then 10. By the time he was 12, he was already at work, there, as a printer's devil. Charles Curtis, later elected to the Congress from the 4th District, and publisher Arthur Capper, later U.S. Senator, had become friends of the family. There were discussions about "separation.'

"Separation Bad"—Capper

"Capper always said that in the long range, separation was bad—so he was against it," said Mr. Williams. His father, who had denied himself marriage as a slave, now refused to accept separate schools in Kansas to further the employment of Negro teachers. When a "vested interest" teaching post for his own daughter was held out as bait, he refused to let her accept it.

The younger Williams came to Washington to work in the Printing Office as a compositor, in 1896, when the Capital, except for its segregated schools, was relatively open, racewise. For 17 years after he arrived, it remained that way. Then, he related, came the Wilson regime; the orders separating white and Negro government employees—at their machines, at their desks, in the cafeterias, in the lockers, in the rest rooms. And outside government, the curt "We don't have n------ here any more," at the ticket window of his accustomed movie house; the "Negro baiters" on the street cars, taunting, "We're going to have Jim Crow cars here, soon!"

"I thought I was in the South!" Mr. Williams exclaimed.

All along he has worked hard, through the organized effort of civic groups, to help build a strong, unseparated community. He subscribes to and reads, eagerly, all the Capital's daily papers, and several week-

lies, and tunes in on all commentary programs on radio and TV.

Capital Close-Up From Washington

BY CONSTANCE DANIEL

Bystander P.1

Who Go to What Schools—and Why

Washington, D. C.—Professional segregationists like Georgia's Congressman James C. Davis and Senator Eastland of Sunflower County, Mississippi, have attempted, of late, to make a case against school integration by such devices as demanding information on the public schools attended by the children of public officials living in the National Capital, or, in the case of Mr. Eastland, by spectacularly withdrawing his own offsprng from a private school where a Negro child was enrolled.

Eastland Stunt Backlres

The Eastland stunt backfired in a big way, when it was reveavel that the small son of Capital noteworthies, Dr. and Mrs. Edward C. Mazique, active and well-known civic and interracial workers, had been recommended to the school by white parents of other Sidwell Friends' School children — parents from the Deep South—who welcomed this opportunity for normal interracial contact.

Selective Education

Enlightened Americans generally regard the support of free public schools as their duty and privilege. So long as they discharge this duty, the selection of a particular school for the education of their own children is also their privilege. The reasons for such choce may be multitude.

Bystander P.6

For instance. Our paternal grandmother, the child of free Negro parents in North Carolina, went to a white school mistress in a garret in Wilmington, with her forbidden books tucked under her small apron, and another child standing guard at the attic door, since the law in that State, "before the War,' forbade teaching Negroes to read or write. The family migrated West and then North, to free territory, and the next generation was educated in the public schools of Massachusetts.

Our maternal grandmother attended a convent school to avoid inferior segregated schools in Providence, Rhode Island. Our Newport, Rhode Island, grandfather, less fortunate, had no formal education, but acsuired culture by contact, and made money.

The taxes of this self-taught citizen helped to support both white and segregated schools in Providence. He worked hard to get rid of the segregated schools, and in the meantime sent all but two of his offspring to private school in Massachusetts. The last two children were sent to public school in Massachusetts, where by this time the family had established a second residence for this purpose. They entered the Providence public schools only when segregation was ended. Our mother's high school diploma bears an 1871 date, and she entered with the first class that admitted Negroes. The reasons for these choices are self-evident.

Many Negroes, Today, Choose Private Schools

Many Negroes, today, are sending their children to private schools — often at considerable sacrifice — because they want them to have the stimulus of the intellectual competition afforded, and a cultural environment found in very few public schools—segregated white, segregated black, or integrated. Wilbraham, Phillips-Exeter, Groton, Northfield and many other schools whose names have been synonymous with the best in selective education for generations, are among their choices, just as Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, Bowdoin, Radcliffe, Vassar, Williams or wherever may be chosen in preference to any other seat of higher education public or private.

Some parents, Negro as well as white, select private schools of their religious faith. In two families that we know rather well, several years of public schooling are followed by private schooling, so that the children will benefit by both experiences.

This, as we see it, is their business—a luxury, perhaps, or a necessity, according to the point of view.

Free Choice for All

By the same token, it is as impertinent to inquire into the personal educational choice or preference of any American family, or to attempt to attribute motives as to why such choice was made, whether the family is that of the President of the United States, the Vice-President, a senator, governor, mayor, city commissioner or plain John Q. Public of Main Street.

And About Supporting Public Schools

In 1811, Paul Cuffe, a Negro navigator and ship owner of Westport, Massachusetts, near New Bedford, was exploring the West African Coast, starting colonization on his own—and simultaneously supporting, out of his personal pocket, the township school at Westport—the town treasury being somewhat low at the time.

31a 1956 NEGRO (MRS. CONSTANCE DANIEL)

Norfolk, Va. Journal & Guide Sat. 4-21-56

WASHINGTON

Cole Attack Points To Need Of CR Bill

By Constance Daniel

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The vicious, unprovoked attack on Nat (King) Cole, in his native Alabama, last week, points up the urgency of the long-awaited administration civil rights bill, which reached Congress only a few days prior to the attack, together with strong letters of transmittal from Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., one to the vice-president as chairman of the Senate, and one to the speaker of the house. In the Senate, the letter was read by the clerk of the Senate, and referred to a committee. In the house, the letter was read and action immediately taken by Congressman Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania and Kenneth B. Keating of New York, both Republicans. The two Congressmen introduced the administration's proposed legislation in identical bills — HR 10340 and HR 10349. The air, hereabouts, is filled with the usual accusations as to why this legislation was introduced now. Mrs. Agnes Meyer, wife of Board Chairman Eugene Meyer of the Washington Post, called for a biracial White House Conference such as Congressman Adam Clayton Powell and other democrats have been demanding for some time.

Mrs. Daniel

Action Needed

Said Mrs. Meyer: "A White House conference should be called at once, of the most reputable white and Negro leaders who could be counted upon to seek pragmatic and rational approaches to justice." This column maintains, as it has throughout, that any selection by the White house, itself of "leaders who could be counted on," would bring down, forthwith, a bedlam of indiscriminate charges of "politicking," such as those leveled at White house education conference selections, and those already launched against critically-needed CR legislation.

The Congress, operation as a body responsible to the electorate, should act promptly on all CR legislation brought before it, from whatever source. If partisan bias is allowed to control its action, that will be evident. It cannot eat its cake and have it, too.

Envoy Acclaimed

Ambassador George A. Padmore, new Liberian envoy to the United States, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower at the White House on April 7. His advent, here was hailed as a new look in American-Liberian approachment. While his predecessor former Ambassador to the United States Clarence Simpson, now in London, certainly upheld the dignity of his country, an unfortunate tendency to be pompous irked many, here, in and out of diplomatic circles. At the time of his assignment to London, we learned "on good authority" that his successor would be dynamic and friendly, with an out-going personality better suited to the American scene.

The new Ambassador, who has been Liberia's Assistant Secretary of State for the past six years, is just past 41, and the youngest envoy ever sent here by his country. Not only does he measure up to advance reports, but his attractive wife, Mrs. Mai Wiles Padmore, mother of five Padmore boys aged two to sixteen, also reflects Liberia's "new look." She resigned her post as the first woman executive secretary to the president of Liberia— a position to which she worked up from that of clerk and was for many years principal assistant to the general manager of the Firestone Rubber Plantation, in addition to managing the extensive Padmore rubber holdings.

Mrs. Padmore is the daughter of Richard S. Wiles, speaker of the house in the Liberial legislature from 1934 to 1943, and a niece of the late Liberian Chief Justice Grimes. She is a graduae of the College of West Africa and of the Monrovia Community Commercial School.

Named Archdeacon

The Rev. John M. Burgess, Episcopal chaplain at Howard University since 1946, and a canon at the Washington Cathedral for the past five years, last week was named Archdeacon of the Diocese of Massachusetts. Announcement of the appointment has kept the churchman's lines busy, ever since, with messages from well-wishers.

Canon Burgess, a native of Grand Rapids, Mich., will hold the title of "Venerable" which accompanies the rank of archdeacon, one step below that of bishop. On taking office, June 15, he will direct the affairs of 13 missions in the Boston area, and the charitable activities of the Episcopal City Mission.

Active Leader

Before coming to Washington, Canon Burgess was in charge of parishes at his home in Grand Rapids and in Cincinnati. He is a 1930 alumnus of the University of Michigan, and in going to Boston will be returning to the familiar scenes of his religious training at the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, where he was graduated in 1934.

During his ten years in the national capital he has been active in the work of the Washington Diocese, serving as leader of the Canterbury Student Conference, chaplain and lecturer of the young people's conference of the Diocese, chairman of the Diocesan College Work Committee, member of the executive council of social relations department of missions of the Diocese, and in other capacities.

Mrs. Burgess is the former Miss Esther Taylor, a Canadian and former worker at St. Augustine's College, Raleigh. One of the two small Burgess daughters is enrolled at the Beauvoir school of Washington Cathedral — one of the first two Negro pupils there. The other is a pupil at Mott elementary school near the university.

Racial Policy

For nearly a year, now, we have been trying to get a conference with Bishop G Bromley Oxnam of the Methodist church in this area, with reference to the continued racial exclusion practiced from staff, to patients, at Methodist Sibley hospital, here, the last major hospital in the federal city to hold racial bars in place. Sibley has gone so far as to let a young Negro mother give birth in the snow, rather than admit her. Incidents almost as shocking have been reported within weeks.

Meanwhile Bishop Oxnam inaugurates a new head of Westminister (Maryland) Theological Seminary. Unaware, doubtless, that his voice was shattering a glass house, the new president, the Rev. Norman L. Trot, citing Westminister Seminary's open-door policy, said:

"In Washington, with 43.5 per cent of the pupulation Colored, it would be playing the ostrich to do other than recognize the Negro as an integral part of our thought and program.

GEORGE PADMORE
New Ambassador

Capital Close-Up From Washington

Bystander

BY CONSTANCE DANIEL

Thurs. 4-12-56

WENT HOME FOR EASTER

Des Moines, Iowa

Washington, D. C.—Civil Rights went home for Easter. "No action" was the report, last week, on HR-627, the civil rights omnibus bill, on which a discharge petition to force it out of the House Committee on Judiciary—calling for the usual 218 signatures of members—was started more than two weeks ago, by Congressman James Roosevelt (D.) of California.

As we went to press, the office of Civil Rights co-chairman Hugh Scott (R. Pa.) dejectedly reported that civil rights members were still hoping, but nothing was happening on the Administration's three-point CR program, on which the press was to have been briefed by the Attorney General on March 29. The program which was to have been discussed called for a CR Commission with subpoena power, and a CR Division operating directly under an assistant attorney general.

HR-627, which was introduced by the perennial civil rights-er Emmanuel Celler, (D., N. Y.) replaces the old lynching-as-such provision, with a more comprehensive clause making injury, oppression, threatening or intimidation in the exercise of legal rights, a Federal offense. Interstate transportation, primary voting, and abuses of person or property by local officials are also covered.

In fact, so much is covered (as the name "omnibus" implies) that it is more than likely either that the effort to dislodge the bill from committee will fail, or that it will be turned loose to face certain death by filibuster, if it is allowed to reach the floor of the Senate.

HR-10027, the CR bill introduced March 19 by Rep. John D. Dingell (D.,-Mich.) is also marking time in House Judiciary. Like the projected Administration program, it calls for the establishment of a CR Division with enforcement powers, in the Department of Justice.

Bystander

"Bourgeosie Noire"

More Nose-Thumbing

We regretted to see that our friend, Fred Morrow of the White House staff, had gone self-righteous and, apparently, attempted to berate the black middle class to which we gather, both Fred and The Guardsmen whom he was taking to task, belong. Fred's comments, as reported, sounded pretty much like E. Franklin Frazier's speech at the Alain Locke Memorial Conference, at Howard, last year. That speech, which seemed to us to be more frustrated than analytical, is repeated in Dr. Frazier's latest volume, "Bourgeosie Noire," in which he engages in a rehasr of previous nose-thumbing for the benefit of our French contemporaries. We understand that Esther Popel Shaw is reviewing this volume for the Journal of Negro Education now in proof stage. We'll be interested in seeing what she found, therein.

History of Segregation In The United States

The March issue of the Annals of the Academy of Political Science carries a lead article, "History of Segregation in the United States," by John Hope Franklin, Howard history professor, whose "Militant South" will probably be out by the time that he takes over the chair of History at Brooklyn College, N. Y., in the Fall.

Capital Close-Up From Washington

Bystander

BY CONSTANCE DANIEL

Des Moines, Iowa

Cole Attack Points Up CR Bill

Thurs. 4-19-56

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In the Senate, the letter was read by the Clerk of the Senate, and referred. In the House, the letter was read and action immediately taken by Congressmen Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania and Kenneth B. Keating of New York, both Republicans. The two Congressmen introduced the Administration's proposed legislation in identical bills, HR 10340 and HR 10349.

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Conference Should Be Called

Said Mrs. Meyer: "A White House Conference should be called at once of the most reputable white and Negro leaders who could be counted upon to seek pragmatic and rational approaches to justice." This column maintains, as it has throughout, that any selection by the White House, itself, of "leaders who could be counted on," would bring down, forthwith, a bedlam of indiscriminate charges of "politicking," such as those leveled at White House Education Conference selections, and those already launched against critically-needed CR legislation. The Congress, operating as a body responsible to the electorate, should act promptly on all CR legislation brought before it, from whatever source. If partisan bias is allowed to control its action, that will be evident. It cannot eat its cake and have it, too.

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Ambassador's Wife

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Capital Close-Up From Washington

Bystander

Thurs. 6-7-56

BY CONSTANCE DANIEL

Des Moines, Iowa

Thurgood Talks to Youth

We sat in, by T-V, on the Sunday following the Supreme Court Decision anniversary, as Thurgood Marshall, NAACP chief counsel, answered the straightforward, unloaded questions of youth, on NBC's "Youth Wants to Know," program.

The questioning young people, some Negro, more white, were all students from high schools in the Washington area. Some were from the Federal City's recently desegregated schools, others from still segregated schools in Maryland and Virginia. They were sent by their respective schools at the invitation of the program, on the basis of academic achievement — the cream of the high school crop.

What They wanted to Know

They wanted to know if the NAACP represented "the majority opinion of the Negroes of the United States;" to what extent it was interracial; whether, in view of the assertions of "many Southern whites" (question by a Negro girl) that they "are willing to go to the extreme of violence . . . to stop integration," the NAACP would "be willing to go to the extremes . . . to attain . . . integration."

Youth wanted to know about the "passive resistance crusade" in Montgomery; there were questions about the "Negro vote;" on a time-table for desegregation, and there were political questions.

Thurgood's Answers

Among Thurgood Marshall's answers we noted these, particularly: that "a large percentage of Negroes did follow the NAACP on the question of political aspirations," although total membership "around 400 thousand" could not be regarded as a "majority of the 15 or so million Negroes." Interracial from its beginnings in 1909, he found its actual "percentage of white people . . . small," with mixed state conferences, branches and executive staff providing interracial operation.

He maintained that there was no such thing as a "Negro vote." "Our organization is non-partisan for that reason;" that "the NAACP is against the boycott as a weapon to be universally used, because it is a double-edged sword. We think it is bad for anybody to use it." NAACP supported the Montgomery situation, important because "we had nothing to do with it . . . no organization has had anything to do with it. It was a grass-roots upheaval that came about . . . we didn't consider it a boycott.

WASHINGTON

Integration Is Theme Here And Elsewhere

By Constance Daniel

WASHINGTON — Integration in nearby Virginia staggered, last week under the impact of a two to one referendum vote for a constitutional (mendment) convention in the Old Dominion, to prevent forced compliance with the Supreme Court school decision.

Meanwhile, integration in the best sense of the word, without fanfare, moves on apace, here and elsewhere. Washingtonians Bob McNeil and Larry Grimes, government photographers, here, Georg(e) Olden, CBS art director, in New York, his sister, Sylvia Ward Olden II, voice-coaching at the Metropolitan Opera; her husband, Conductor Everett Lee, with New York's Civic Center Opera Company, Charlotte Moton Hubbard, program assistant at WTOP, in D. C., Joyce Wilson, Life Magazine researcher, who has gained many plaudits with her photo-feature on "The Little Boy Next Door," Kelly Miller, III, TV cartoonist in New York, Jane White on TV and teaching at Skidmore College, Dr. Jane Wright, cancer researching at Bellevue hospital, Archibald Parsons, head of the Herald-Tribune staff at United Nations, (his paper recently featured his half-page article on world affairs). Vertner Tandy and David Jones, in insurance on the Gold Coast, West Africa.

MRS. DANIEL

"ENOUGH TO suggest that young Americans who happen to be Negro, are moving ahead—as people.

Civil Rights Bloc

The Adam Powell-Clarence Mitchell bloc met last week in the office of Representative Hugh Scott (R., Penna.) Nothing in particular happened. Another small follow-in meeting is scheduled —then a big, come-one, come-all affair, to which all Congressmen will be bidden. We have the feeling that our late friend, Walter (White) did it better, long-wolfing.

Municipal Judgeship SC 14

Many citizens are being named, renamed and unnamed, in the current hassle over a successor to retiring Municipal Judge Armond Scott.

* * *

CHARLES K. Brown, James (Pete) Tyson, Austin Fickling and the D. A.'s office, Barrington Parker and school board member Wesley Williams are the folks now playing musical chair (singular) around the forthcoming vacancy on the local bench.

Seemingly there is not enough support behind any hopeful to land him in the chair, when the music stops.

Employment Policy

Ross Clinchy, son of Everett Clinchy, former president of the Conference of Christians and Jews, began work recently, as executive secretary of the President's Committee on Employment Policy, superceding Gwendolyn Tice, who will now "handle complaints."

MR. CLINCHY will do the "educating" of big and little department personnel assigned to break up and prevent "jim-crowing" in government establishments. He will, he hopes, be able to tell these folk what to look for, and how to recognize it when they see it, such as the more

MRS. CHARLOTTE M. HUBBARD
Program Assistant

obvious physical separation by lockers and arrangement of desks, and less-obvious but more potent devices: upgrading examinations given with no Negro employees notified; discriminatory job classifications, discriminatory assignment of duties within jobs, ad infinitum.

We hope, at this point that news of what is being done will begin to flow, and that the question of which action is newsworthy and which is not, will be left for the press to decide for itself — that the days of "spoon-feeding" are at an end.

CR At Labor Merger

Boris Shiskin, AF of L, is staff director of the Committee on Civil Liberties, and CIO's George Weaver, his assistant, in the new AF of L-CIO set-up.

Rights And Tolerance

This writer was "raised" on civil rights — presented to us as a vital factor of life in a democracy, to study, to approach objectively, and to work for diligently and forthrightly — but not excitably. Violence has been accepted as part of the price of diligence. But the grandparent who was sandbagged on

GOERG(E) OLDEN
CBS Arts Director

his doorstep, in Providence, for fighting Jim-Crow schools — in Rhode Island— would not have thrown pepper, as Monroe Trotter did, much later, in Boston, because he would have recognized Booker Washington's right to freedom of speech— to be heard—in Boston or elsewhere.

* * *

"CAUSE" OR political groups or individuals should also bear in mind that the well will not necessarily go dry if an individual stops pumping.

Much of our admiration for President Eisenhower is admiration for his forthrightness and for his tolerance. Certainly there is more than one intelligent position to take, nor should we expect those who have thought out positions that conflict with ours, to suddenly abandon their point of view and declare themselves wrong.

* * *

WE ARE OF the opinion that "righteous indignation" has its place along with other emotions that keep us forging ahead. But there are times, such as now, when we appear to be over-emoting and under-thinking, with tolerance lost in the shuffle.

New Honor For George

The Tuesday Evening Club of Washington is sponsoring a banquet for Public Utilities Chairman George E. C. Hayes, at the Willard hotel, Thursday, Feb. 16, at 7 o'clock.

Mrs. Madge Carey is president of the club, Garnet C. Wilkinson is chairman of the Citizens Committee, and Mrs. Isadora Letcher is chairman of the Banquet Committee.

WASHINGTON

Journal & Guide Sat. 1-28-56 P. 11 Norfolk, Va.

Race History Group Needs Your Help Now

By Constance Daniel

WASHINGTON, D. C. — We go to press saddened this week as we draw a line through the name of our friend, Will Alexander, who died recently at his home "New Hope Farm," near Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Will Alexander pioneered Southern interracial effort, as now conceived, with an informed courage possessed by few. The facts of his career are known to most who work in the field of de-segregation. The Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Rosenwald Fund, the Advisory Commission on Race Studies and Policies, the Social Science Research Council on Race Relations, the Farm Security Administration and the War Manpower Commission, all felt the imprint of his steadfast, forward guidance, given more often than not, in the face of constant opposition from foes and less-discerning friends of freedom.

MRS. DANIEL

* * *

WE WERE privileged to work with him and under him. Impatient only with superficiality, his advice to his writers, "Think deep. Write straight," was typically penetrating and direct. Thousands of both races found new hope and opportunity because he passed this way in years of transition. We salute his memory.

Presents Budget

Governor Walter A. Gordon of the Virgin Islands, appointed by President Eisenhower last fall during Congressional recess, was confirmed here by the Senate on Jan. 18 without dissent from either side of the aisle, and immediately went into budget hearings on Island needs.

* * *

BOTH THE Governor and Mrs. Gordon, who accompanied him, expressed delight in their association with their fellow-Americans of "The Virgins" — a feeling evidently mutual, as both enjoy a "fine press" in the Island papers, and are popular with Island correspondents.

In conversation with this writer, last week, the Governor declared, "Legislators and all have given me nothing but cooperation. They have been kindly from the start. I haven't a complaint."

* * *

AS HE EXPECTED when he took office, the Governor is facing many problems, and plans to call a special session on his return, on taxes, appropriations for waterfront development — reappropriation of paving contracts — and other matters. Transportation of water supply from Puerto Rico, this summer, is an item of urgency, said the Governor, since the Navy will not be able to continue this chore, and water supplied by the cisterns cannot meet the needs of permanent residents and the rapidly-expanding resort population. A report on a proposed distillation plant — still several years away in construction time, even if immediately approved — is expected in the next few weeks. Low-rent housing is a pressing need, said the Governor, but could not be made effective without ordinances to eliminate existing sub-standard housing.

With reference to possible changes in the pattern of

GOV. WALTER GORDON
Confirmed By Senate

Island government — more talked about here than there, if the papers reflect the views of the people — Governor Gordon expressed himself as in favor of encouraging all ambition toward the greatest possible degree of self-direction. He also said, "If we all work together, we can get a lot done under the present set-up, which ought to have a chance."

History Association

The late Carter Godwin Woodson's internationally-known and financially threadbare Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, needs help, now. What do we hear, out front, besides good wishes ("moral support" is the fancier name), in these days of manipulated "race" statistics, and committees established to obstruct and discredit integration?

DR. C. H. WESLEY
Heads Association

CARTER WOODSON, a frail scholar, went without personal needs to keep the Association going, while the academicians split hairs over whether there was any such thing as "Negro History." Meanwhile the annual Negro History Week spellbinders — along with some honest-to-goodness fact-finders — continue to address rapt audiences, and practically every major college or university in the land uses the Association's material — supplied almost at cost. Across the water, Oxford University keeps a ten-year subscription to all Association publications. The United States Information Service calls for it, frequently. Belgium, France, African countries, Japan and Russia use the material extensively.

Over the years a few hardy souls have volunteered their services to move the published, carefully documented information where it is needed, and to help raise the pathetically small operating minimum of $25 thousand a year. Community-wise, Los Angeles, New York, Houston, Texas, and Oklahoma City are doing a job. The Virginia and the North Carolina Teachers Association do yeoman work with notable success. The Prince Hall Masons have helped. (We're speaking, now, of dollar-support).

* * *

PRESIDENT Charles Wesley, at Wilberforce, who is also president of the Association, does what he can. Secretary-treasurer Albert N. D. Brooks works himself to death, and worries about the fate of the Association that is trying to change attitudes by education. (He is principal of a District of Columbia junior high school in "the Capital's most wicked precinct," which means a double-load of administrative problems. We know about the precinct. We used to live there, and covered it — and all others — as a reporter—likewise belonged to the school's PTA.)

Negro History Week will be coming up agaio, next month. The speakers will be speaking and the audiences will be thrilled. Who will help get that $25 thousand for the Association and its overworked "staff" to carry on next year's work?

Please Help!

Address your dollars and your questions to Albert N. D. Brooks, Secretary-Treasurer, Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1538 Ninth street, Northwest, Washington 1, D. C.

31a 1956 (Mrs.) Constance Daniel

The Nation's Capital

Journal + Guide

Misleading Reports On Integration In Capital

Norfolk Va.

Sat. 6-30-56

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Our Federal City's best "dailies" appear to have been taken in by the recent "factual" requests for data on the desegregated District of Columbia schools, by two members of Congress from Mississippi — Senator John C. Stennis (University of Virginia Law School and Phi Beta Kappa), and John Bell Williams, the Congressman who represents the solid plantation wedge of the Fourth District, between the Mississippi and the Louisiana border.

Mrs. Daniel

P. 9

A few weeks ago, Congressman Williams demanded and received from the District of Columbia's Chief of Police, what the Washington Post hailed, editorially, as "a starkly facual report detailing all racial incidents in and around District schools, which have been brought to the attention of the police during the last three and a half years."

While the Post (June 14) thinks the record of 34 reported "incidents" a "highly creditable one," it also lauds the report as providing "an authoritative answer" to anti-integrationists. On the contrary, it was immediately seized upon, as soon as it was published, as eye-opening proof for "white people in the District (and everywhere else) that integration is a fiasco." (Leter to the Washington Star, June 20).

Not Complete

The "Williams' Report," prepared by a fair and competent police inspector, with whom we discussed it after publication, could not be an "authoritative answer" to anything, since it is merely, as requested, a chronological skeleton listing of all "racial incidents," from which contributing factors, such as provocation, are absent. i.e.,

December 2, 1954, Stuart Junior High School, assault: a white girl, 16, slapped by unknown colored boy."

"March 9, 1955, Sousa Junior High, fight: between white boy, 16, and colored boy 16, not serious." And:

"February 29, 1956, Truesdell School, white boy, 9, threatened with beating unless he agreed to pay money to two colored boys."

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THE ABOVE is the manner of the report, "recapitulated" at its end, in numbers of incidents by schools and school years. The same disorders, duly recorded by the press, happened right along in and around the old "white" and "Negro" segregated schools. Pupils pushing and hitting, i.e., "assaulting" each other, and fighting are regrettable and long a matter of public concern—but nothing new.

Out Of Context

But a Washington Star story, without by-line, which presented the report in that paper (June 11), quoted Police Chief Murray as saying 'let the facts speak for themselves." and stated, repertorially, "There has been an increase in the number of such cases reported since the District schools began their integration progra mwto years ago." Congressman Williams promptly cited the reported "rise in racial incidents (and decline in school standards) as "a strong argument against integration."

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IN OTHER words, if the pupils of the two races are separated by a fence, they will trade blows, extort money or otherwise misconduct themselves, within their separate racial groups, but remove the fence, and the same offenses become "racial incidents — a subject for Congressional investigation. As we said elsewhere, Congressman Williams was not seeking information and hence did not get it. He got what he asked for—whittled down "evidence" taken out of context.

Stennis' Fine Hand

Now comes Senator Stennis, in his capacity as the Senate Appropriations Committee's chairman of the Subcommittee for D. C., requesting the Board of Education to produce within 30 days of school closing (time already half gone) a complete school census, as required by Title 31 Sec. 208 of the D. C. Code, or as much of this data as is already available. The requested data covers the age, grade, race, school attended and/or job and employer of all District of Columbia minors between the ages of 3 and 18.

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ACCORDING to staff member Harold Merrick of the Senator's subcommittee, this data is required by many States, but the District has produced nothing more than spot checks. Senate Appropriations Committee Report No. 2094 sets up the sum of 75 thousand dollars for the Board of Education "to carry out this mandate," says Mr. Merrick.

The Stennis Committee is hiring an outside expert to make its own comprehensive investigation and report. The Senator's letters (June 12 and 13) to the Superintendent of Schools and Chairman of the Education Board, respectively, particularly ask to know "the official attitude toward cooperation with anyone employed by the Senate Appropriations Committee to make the survey."

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WHETHER THE "Stennis" reports are used for constructive advancement in the desegregated system, suffering from the effects of generations of segregation, or are skillfully manipulated as anti-integration instruments remain to be seen. Already Senator Eastland has said at Memphis (June 17 to AP) that rebellious feelings "among Washington residents is making school integration in the Nation's Capital a "deplorable situation."

Segregationists In Congress Launch Public School Smear

Journal + Guide Sat. 7-21-56 P. 1

Norfolk, Va.

By CONSTANCE DANIEL

Probers Pick Crump's Ax-Man

WASHINGTON — On Saturday, July 7, Subcommittee Chairman James C. Davis, of Georgia, announced the appointment of William E. Gerber of Memphis, to the D. C. School Integration Probe post rejected by Supreme Court foe, Leander Perez, of Louisiana. Gerber, Russian-born immigrant who became chief lieutenant and axe-man for Memphis' corrupt Crump administration, ruled for over two decades over Shelby County, Tenn. (which includes Memphis), as its attorney general, and has been credited with out-Crumping his late boss.

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THE STORY in the Washington Daily News, for July 9, by the Memphis Press-Scimitar's Clark Porteous, a Nieman Fellow and veteran of 23 years on the Memphis press, spelled out Gerber as a "belligerent type prosecutor, usually successful and on some occasions so vindictive . . . that higher courts reversed his convictions," and as a political boss who played his politics so tough that even the Crump machine finally shelved him.

Journal + Guide

"ONE LONG NIGHTMARE"

Race leaders in Memphis support Porteous' story and refer to Gerber's 20-odd years as prosecuting attorney, there, as "one long nightmare for Negroes." They warn that the Davis Committee investigator is a "keen, conniving opportunist." who "played Crump's game and must be constantly watched."

P. 2

THEY CITE Gerber as the Memphis prosecutor who killed off a meeting called for Sleeping Car Porter chief A. Philip Randolph, in October, 1943, when Gerber called in twenty Negro leaders and warned that they "would be responsible," if "anything happened," and point out, that Memphis papers already are carrying the story that integration in the Federal City "has not been going too well" —hence the committees to investigate school integration.

THURGOOD TAKES A WALK

If we heard correctly, and we think that we did, Thurgood Marshall's committee-meeting walk-out at San Francisco, taken in protest over attempts to stretch the Rights organization into the field of social and economic programming, should be a warning bell to many earnest and sincere workers in the field of civil rights.

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IT IS OUR information that a resolution concerning housing was the point of conflict. If so, there have been many straws in the wind which started to blow at the housing "Press Conference" called at the Statler Hotel, here, a year ago, by Urban League's national director, Les Granger, a performance (we sat in), which did "Rights" advocates no credit and convinced few. There have been many straws since, including recent pro-

nouncements on housing by Mrs. Roosevelt.

But anyone who, thereby, expected Thurgood to "straddle" a policy issue, as an NAACP official just didn't know Thurgood. He is a fighter who inspires confidence because he always puts his brain before his brawn. We believe that he always will.

DEBT-FREE DEDICATION

The debt-free dedication, on July 8, of the new brick, glass-facade dormitory at Educator Nannie Helen Burroughs' Professional School for Women, at Lincoln Heights, marked a new day in building financing by private institutions of learning directed by Negroes.

THE BUILDING, designed and constructed by Negroes, was financed by the contributions of Negroes, and particularly by the Woman's Convention, Auxiliary of the National Baptist Convention, Inc., which was also responsible for the purchase of the Magruder McDonald mansion, now the Foreign Mission Retreat House, here. The valiant efforts of these women, and others, made it possible to dedicate the 52-room, 200 thousand dollar dormitory, with its modern furnishings and facilities, completely free of debt.

Hundreds of visitors witnessed the dormitory dedication which marked the opening of a new building program at the school launched by Miss Burroughs nearly half a century ago, when she bought the hillside farm on the Capital's outskirts, for six thousand dollars. The projected building program will include a chapel, a library and a science building.

DR. MORDECAI Wyatt Johnson, Howard University president, delivered the dedicatory address — called the debt-free dedication "an achievement of robust world significance." Miss Burroughs, punctual as always, presided. Congresswoman Frances Bolton, of Cleveland, was a platform guest. The school's superbly trained choir rendered familiar hymns with spirit and interest.

Capital Close-Up From Washington

Bystander
Thurs. 9-20-56
Des Moines Iowa

BY CONSTANCE DANIEL

"The North" and "The South"

Washington, D. C.—Commenting on the Sturgis, Kentucky, school desegregation disturbance, a well-intentioned feature writer in the Washington Star (Sunday, 9/9/56), made much of the fact that Sturgis is "just five miles from the Illinois State line," and has a Negro population of less than 10 percent.

While well written and in many ways informative, the comments are noteworthy as an exemple—in the references to the North and South—of the popular misconception of the significance of sectional boundaries, as well as for the writer's evident lack of familiarity with the civil rights background of the Border States.

True enough, Sturgis, practically on the Ohio River in Western Kentucky (that's Congressman Natcher of Bowling Green) is in Union County, which was predominantly pro-Union during "The War," but the area on both sides of the Ohio, as well as along the Mississippi, has been racially tense since Illinois, Ohio and Indiana were first formed from the Northwest Territory. The indenture system existing "before the War," in Southern Illinois and Indiana, has been called "tantamount to slavery as it was practiced in parts of the South."

Drastic Law

Less than a decade before hostilities broke out between the States, Illinois passed the drastic law of 1853, prohibiting the immigration of Negroes, and providing for the arrest and fining of any Negro who appeared in the State and remained for more than 10 days, and for his sale to any person who could pay the cost of his trial, if such Negro was unable to pay his fine of 50 dollars.

In the "Black Friday" riots at Portsmouth, Ohio, eighty Negroes were driven from the town at the request of some two hundred ("respectable" we suppose!) white citizens. In Cincinnati, fear of job competition among the laboring class, revived laws requiring free Negroes to carry certificates of their freedom and to give bond. Wilberforce was settled by 1200 Negro refugees from Cincinnati mob violence. There was a systematic effort "to kill off and drive out the Negroes who were becoming too well established, and giving offense to white men who desired to deal with them as Negroes were treated in the South." "In Southern Indiana and Illinois the same condition obtained," states historian Carter Woodson in his "Century of Negro Migration." The abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy was murdered by an Illinois mob. East St. Louis (Illinois) race riots are readily remembered. Springfield (Illinois) riots were the immediate motivation for the organization of the NAACP.

In other words, Sturgis, Kentucky, is just another town in a traditionally tense area—part of which is Southern Illinois . . . "The North" to the uninitiated.

One-Half of One Percent

Consciously or subconsciously, we, who should be better informed, seem somewhat less than analytical in presenting the facts of integration. For instance, while hailing the fact that 71 Texas school districts had integrated, we saw no "story" in either daily or weekly press which pointed out whether this integration had taken place in normally "friendly" sections of this huge, sprawling state of many moods, or in the "anything-can-happen" area of Negro density. Neither did we see mention of the percentage of Negro students to the total number involved in this integration. Praiseworthy as is the compliance shown, we think it is well to ponder the fact that 1500 Negro children out of 300,000 total, is ONE-HALF OF ONE PERCENT. In other words, DENSITY DOES AFFECT THE PATTERN. Later Texas figures reported in "Southern School News," show above 100 districts—for this fall—with 25 thousand Negro students out of a total of 525 thousand, or more than four and one-half percent, with East Texas—tough and thickly populated—announcing desegregation for 1957.

Wool-Hatting in Reverse . . .

which some of us justified on "what-else-can-you-do?" grounds, also affects the pattern. Well, we venture a guess that—minus the prancing, marching, extreverting and exhibitionism—the advent of Arthurine Lucey (Foster) at the University of Alabama, would have occasioned a minimum of belligerent opposition, since it would have provided no backdrop for such.

Kasper of New Jersey

Frederick John Kasper, who, before "Clinton, Tennessee' had showed up in Alaska to testify against the Alaskan Territorial mental health bill on the grounds that it was based on psychiatry, psychiatrists were Jews, and "this is not a Jewish nation," identified himself, there, as a resident of Merchantville, New Jersey, presently living in Washington. The lunatic fringe leader, now out on bail while appealing a sentence of a year in prison for violation of a Federal Court injunction against incitement, has announced his intention of setting up headquarters in Tennessee to carry on his defiance.

31a 1956 Negro (Constance Daniel)

WASHINGTON

Journal & Guide P. 11 Sat. 3-24-56 Norfolk, Va.

Moderation Not Complacency Urged

By Constance Daniel

By CONSTANCE DANIEL

WASHINGTON, D. C.— "It's all right to talk strongly, but talk strongly, intelligently."

"Don't expect things to happen overnight."

"The liberal South is emerging, we must help it to emerge. We can't do it by blasting."

". . . they can holler, scream, beg, but there's not a candidate who can get the Negro vote until he can produce something close to civil rights."

"I think we are keeping up this sensationalism because we have a bear by the tail, and don't know how to let go. If unchecked, it can destroy our influence."

"Tell those Democrats that if they keep a stinking albatross like Senator Eastland around their necks, they can kiss our votes goodbye."

"Caesar's wife must be above reproach. We lose when we resort to abuse. That is definitely 'sowing the wind.'"

MRS. DANIEL

All these diverse statements have been made, within a month—some publicly, some privately — by hardworking NAACP leaders and top officials. We think that variation is a healthy sign, but find a distinct difference between what one of the leaders quoted above, called "supportable and unsupportable emotion." Some time ago we said, in this column, that few who uttered the inflammatory spoken word were ready to accept responsibility for the consequences. Talmadging by any other name is as bad. We think that stereotyping and "blasting" should be left for the kind of leadership that wants run-sheep-run response, since they are not calculated to make people think sanely or act wisely, and are evidence of neither strength nor courage.

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Editorial

By way of comment on courage, we commend "Reporter Magazine's" March 8 editorial, "The Courage of Prudence" — which took courage to write.

Asked for comment on the 19-senator southern manifesto (senators from Tennessee, Oklahoma and Kentucky did not sign, and Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson was not asked to sign) President Eisenhower urged "moderation without complacency," and expressed the opinion that "extremists on either side are not going to help." We agree.

As in all debate, a common denominator of expression is needed.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

Belling The Cat

There is also much divergence of opinion as to whether "an investigative commission" should be authorized by Congress" to look into the desegregation problem and the entire field of racial rights," as President Eisenhower requested in his State of the Union message, or whether such a commission should be established by the Chief Executive.

This column, from the beginning has supported a Congressional authorized commission. Even before the rise in the emotional temperature, the handpicking of members by the Executive seemed to us to be undesirable. Without "ducking the issue" in any way, such an arrangement appeared like an open invitation to partisan feuding over personally-selected participants.

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Independent

Independent-minded members of the legal fraternity concede that a commission established by the Congress would be in a better position than an Executive-named commission to reach findings and produce constructive legislation — but that this would take longer.

Excluding political partisans who would like to "put the bee on the Boss," those preferring a bi-racial commission named by the President point to the time element — the speedier action possible in an emergency where speed "is of the essence" as against the probable time-lag, with answers long forthcoming, indicated by past experience with legislative-sponsored commissions.

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Protest Press

Last week, on March 17, the Negro "Protest Press" celebrated its 129th birthday —the anniversary of the day, in 1827, that the first issue of John B. Russwurm's "Freedom's Journal," the first paper published by Negroes in America, came off his press in New York City, with the words:

"We wish to conciliate all and to irritate none, yet we must be firm and unwavering in our principles and persevering in our efforts."

In the century and a quarter intervening, the Negro press has come to be more than a press of protest, but from the results of recent sessions at the Capital Press Club, here — with members representing just about everything published by Negroes in this country, the opinion seems to be that the function of this press is still, basically that of "protest"— including interpretation and presentation of all points of view—the latter a goal not always attained.

We think that we should be able to look ahead, beyond next week's headlines to better planning, more factual reporting, and an extension of the wholly admirable work of recent weeks by editors who have given a place on their pages to the points of view of editors of non-Negro papers, to an extent that has not been seen before.

Capital Close-Up From Washington

Bystander P. 1

BY CONSTANCE DANIEL

Des Moines, Iowa

Political Explosion at "Rights" Meet

Thurs. 3-15-56

Washington, D. C.—The NAACP-sponsored Assembly for Civil Rights, which closed here, last week, spotlighted the civil rights issue, produced a varied response among politicians, political observers, civic leaders, and all-and-sundry citizens, and left the town talking, which, we suppose, was the point.

End results of Assembly delegation visits to Capitol Hill, in terms of vote-support for civil rights legislation, remain to be seen. Seen, heard and widely remarked was an amazing display of partisan fireworks that lighted up the Interdepartmental Auditorium made available to the 80 percent Democratic gathering by the incumbent Republican Administration in spite of the protests of 40 Democrat members of the Congress.

UAW Lights the Fuse

Fireworks started when Abel Mazey of Detroit, United Auto Workers secretary-treasurer, prefaced his introduction of Congressman Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, a former chairman of the Republican National Committee, with an anti-Administration tirade, finally getting around to the Congressman, who opened a conspicuously moderate speech with a resume of Administration civil rights action. In the resume he mentioned that "practices of segregation in the armed services were completely eliminated, a process which had begun in and earlier administration, but the vast burden of which had been assumed by the present administration, in carrying to completion provisions for the elimination of all segregated areas. This involved the solution of

difficult problems in human relations concerned in the integration of such areas as the Norfolk, and Charleston, South Carolina, Naval Bases, which bases are the principal industries in these communities."

The Show Begins

One political columnist remarked with apparent surprise, the following day, that "For some reason Republicans had chosen not to make any real use of the assembly forum." Not so Democratic Chairman Paul Butler, who pounced on the Scott statement, shorn of its forthright acknowledgement to an "earlier administration," on armed services and other civil rights action, denouncing all Republican claims as "a fraud upon the American people.'

Columnist Fleeson

The same columnist, Doris Fleeson, who found Scott's statements "correct but thin," commented that "he made one unfortunate blooper in boasting that a few Negroes had been invited to President Eisenhower's famous stag dinners," adding that "to politically conscious Negroes this sort of thing represents condescension."

Facts not Boasts

Thanking everyone most kindly, this writer—an unworthy descendent of an American family that has been free, black and self-sufficient since before Valley Forge—feels able to speak without interpreters. We do not regard Representative Scott's listing of "the first invitations to stag dinners of Negroes in substantial numbers," as condescension, but simply as recognition that in the White House, the President of the American people represents all Americans — that all segments of the American people should be included in its functions. It was a simple statement that, as President, he had set his own house in order, including the appointments of a Negro Administrative Assistant in the Executive offices, and a Negro secretary in the office of the Assistant to the President.

This, we submit, was not "boasting" but an obvious statement of fact, the reverse of which was that, in spite of much civil rights vocalizing, this essentially logical and direct action had never been taken before.

WASHINGTON

'Honest' Ike Did A Courageous Act

By Constance Daniel

Journal & Guide Sat. 4-28-56 P. 11 Norfolk, Va.

By CONSTANCE DANIEL

WASHINGTON, D. C.— After the President's veto of the Cooley farm bill, loaded with long range implications of "Farmers in a Changing World," we can say "Honest" Ike, with heartfelt sincerity and thankfulness. For in an election year the President has stood fast on his position on the two principal issues which in large part will determine how the voting goes in November— civil rights and farming. On both he has refused to be stampeded into promises or actions which he was convinced were ill-advised. He has done so, not obstinately, but thoughtfully.

Mrs. Daniel

We are not "for Ike" because he leads "the Party of Lincoln." We know that the GOP is cluttered and impeded with "Party of Lincoln" babblers, and "Party of Eisenhower" lip-servers, who, as we have said elsewhere of the local GOP "machine" now meeting its first challenge in the District of Columbia, "neither follow the pattern, think the thoughts, nor speak the language." Both parties, regardless of catch phrases, have within them meaningful leadership, but it is once in a very long time when leadership in either major party (and we are concerned with the major parties) acts on the facts of national life, rather than on the facts of vote-getting, on a critical issue.

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Changing World

In civil rights we have the changing world of desegregation laws posing grave problems for "the North" as well as for "the South." In agriculture, we have the changing world of rapidly accelerated mechanization forcing new economic and social problems on urban as well as farming areas.

Sooner or later, as Walter Lippman has correctly pointed out, the social security principle will have to be applied to farming, to cancel the need for easing the shock of change with artificially supported prices for which we all pay, just as we all pay for the kind of action taken in the field of civil rights.

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Omnibus Bill

On April 18, the Civil Rights Omnibus Bill, HR-627, again before the House Subcommittee on Judiciary, was reconsidered by that body, which recommended it favorably, amended by Administration proposals for the creation of a bipartisan civil rights commission, and action authority for the Attorney General in civil rights threats

W. CARL MOULTRIE
Makes Protest

or violations. As approved and moved on to the full House Judiciary Committee, where it is expected to pass, the CR bill used the language of the Brownell proposals in spelling out the creation of a Civil Rights Division directly under an Assistant Attorney General in the Department of Justice, and in protection for voters in the exercise of the franchise. The Celler provisions for CR violation penalties, outlawing school and transporation segregation, and setting up a joint Senate-House CR Committee were incorporated.

The Eastland Committee in the Senate, which received the Brownell (Administration) proposals, last week, has voted to hold hearings on them, but has consigned them to its limbo with other proposed CR legislation, pending, it may safely be assumed, a build-up for a fight-to-the-finish filibuster on the floor of the Upper House.

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Pertinent

We jotted down these comments made by Miss Nannie Burroughs, a year ago, in casual conversation, because we thought that they were pithy, pertinent and timeless:

"Any national party must state its policy in race relations, unequivocally, and make local political organizations know that it means what it says. Such policy must be uncompromising, unbiased and without color.

"I will be a part of anything constructive, but I will not be a thing apart."

"The Negro vote is not in anybody's pocket. Anyone who tells you so is deluding you."

• • •

Up One Rung

The Resolutions Committee of the DAR, in national convention here, last week, refused to consider a resolution urged by southern state delegates in support of segregated schools.

"After our experience with Marian Anderson, we wouldn't think of doing anything along the line of opposition to the Supreme Court ruling. We don't want to get into that," said Resolutions Chairman, Mrs. Throckmorton of Des Moines, Iowa.

Neither, however, did "the Daughters," voice support of the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions. We'd say that the ladies are up one rung of the ladder on their hard climb toward progress.

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Makes Protest

For many weeks we have marked "Catfish Culture" for attention in this column. Last week, H. Carl Moultrie, Omega Psi Phi's national executive secretary, sent us a letter of protest which he had addressed to "American Motorist," Triple A's publication on an article on "Charleston," appearing in the April issue, referring to "the shuffling feet" of "the darkies" in Gershwin's Catfish Row.

Our own intended comment on the exportation of Catfish Row culture by an Amos and Andy-type troupe, rather than by the Ann Wiggins Brown-type representing in itself the reverse of the cultural coin can wait. Next week we'll present AAA's reply.

NEGRO (CONSTANCE DANIEL)

31a 1956

WASHINGTON

Journal + Guide Sat. 2-11-56

Ike And Congressman Powell's Amendment

By Constance Daniel

WASHINGTON, D. C. — President Eisenhower has made it clear, we think, that he favors the content of the Powell Amendment refusal of Federal funds for education to non-conforming areas and is for it, providing that it does not block passage of an Education Bill that would put schools where they are critically needed by educationally-starved Americans.

By way of comment we offer this bit of personal research re the recent South Carolina speech of the Senator from from Sunflower.

MRS. DANIEL

Senator James O. Eastland, of Ruleville, Mississippi — population 15 hundred — recently attacked the President of the United States and desegregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia, on the basis of lowered average scholastic performance in the District schools, resulting from the integration of Negro and white pupils.

Norfolk, Va.

THE FACT OF lower performance by Negro pupils in or from segregated areas is not debatable, and members of the teaching profession who are a part of this unhappy situation, should face the fact, forthrightly. But we are in disagreement with the Negro principal quoted by Senator Eastland as saying that sharing the experience of living together is more important to American cultural progress than scholastic standing, because educational integration is not a matter of "either, or," and there should be no assumption that the integration of educationally disadvantaged Negroes with educationally privileged whites will mean continuing "sacrifice of scholastic standing."

Not Reflective

The lower performance will disappear along with the disadvantage, since it reflects not "the intelligence level of the Negroes," as stated by Senator Eastland, himself a product of Mississippi, Alabama and Vanderbilt universities, but the Delta-plantation pattern of the Senator's Sunflower county, which is, by and large, the pattern of the segregated Deep South — a pattern which helps to drag down the national average of educational performance.

Sunflower County

Sunflower County is in the heart of the Delta country along the Mississippi. It has a population of 56,031, of which 31,159, or 68 percent, are Negro and 17,872 or 32 percent, are white. Roughly, 19,000 Negroes and 10,000 whites are voting age. The school-age census shows 17,035 Negro children, and 4,244 white children. The school enrollment shows that 8,256 Negro children (slightly under-half of those school-age) and 1,584 white children (just over one-third of those school-age), attend the county schools.

* * *

BUT EXPENDITURES for instruction, only, are 197,655 dollars a year, or $23 per child, for Negroes, and 146,905 dollars, or $93 per child for whites. This is the pattern of education in the Senator's "neck of the woods." It is the background from which he speaks.

CLARENCE SIMPSON
Envoy To London

We All Pay

Selective Service had to deal with the results of this pattern — which has, of course, no bearing on intelligence potentials. The whole country, including the District of Columbia, has suffered from it, with the migration of the disadvantaged into areas of relative economic and educational advantage.

* * *

THE OVERCROWDED and understaffed schools of the Federal City's old Division Two (Negro), were simply an extension and refinement of the Deep South pattern. Wherever we live, we all pay while the levelling-off is in process. There is no point in Pollyanna-ing the issue. So now, "as might have been expected," we have the "intelligence level" of Senator Eastland, demanding "stern resistance" to the Supreme Court decision, in terms of the "legal and moral right" of the South to perpetuate the pattern of Sunflower County.

Balks; Raps GOP

National Democratic Committee headquarters were unhappy, last week, over sharp criticism directed to Chairman Paul Butler, following an interview on civil rights legislation, with several members of the weekly press, here.

* * *

DEMOCRATIC Publicity Director Sam Brightman, interviewed by this writer, thought that Chairman Butler was made "to sound a little more negative than he was," in the subsequent releases.

Mr. Brightman said that the Chairman had conferred with "Senator Humphrey, labor leaders and other liberals," who were of the opinion that unless enough votes were assured to pass civil rights legislation, now, that it would be better to wait until the next Congress before making the attempt.

* * *

THE SPOKESMAN scoffed at what he termed "President Eisenhower's ridiculous proposal for a bi-partisan commission" to investigate reported violations of civil rights — as he put it, "to decide that Emmett Till is dead. Any time the Republicans want to keep their campaign pledges, they can," he asserted. The point that Chairman Butler was trying to make, he said, was that legislation is lacking for schools, hospitals, housing, and other needs particularly affecting minorities, but that civil rights violations could be handled under existing laws.

Ambassador Named

Liberian Ambassador Clarence L. Simpson, who has represented his country, here, since 1952, has been appointed Ambassador to Great Britain — oldest Liberian Embassy. He will report to London some time following the return of Queen Elizabeth II, from Nigeria.

To Labor Lost

Howard Jenkins, Jr., well-known member of the Howard University Law School faculty, took office last week, as Legislative Attorney in the Office of the Solicitor at the Labor Department.

* * *

A LAW AND liberal arts graduate of the University of Denver, he served, during the war, on the legal staffs of the OPA and War Labor Board, and has been an Associate Professor at the Howard Law School for the past ten years. Mr. Jenkins is one of the hard working group around Dean George M. Johnson, that has done yeoman work in the preparation of briefs and memoranda on cases coming before the U. S. Appellate Court and the Supreme Court.

The new appointee, now on leave from Howard, is a native of Denver. His wife, the former Miss Elaine Brown, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Russell S. Brown of Chicago, General Secretary of the AME Church, is also a graduate of the University of Denver, with a Master's degree from Ohio State. There are three Jenkins children. The senior Mrs. Howard Jenkins, and sister, Miss Doris Jenkins, are in Winston-Salem, N. C., where the latter is teaching.

WASHINGTON

About Appointment To The Local Bench

By Constance Daniel

Journal + Guide 2-4-56
p. 11

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Prolonged delay in appointing a successor to Judge Armond Scott, 20-year jurist, whose borrowed time of more than two years (courtesy of the Eisenhower Administration), ran out last July, is irking a good many citizens, here, besides the avowed candidates for the spot who have been mentioned several times in this column—Attorneys Barrington Parker, C. K. Brown, James Tyson and Wesley Williams.

MRS. DANIEL

Norfolk, Va.

Many reasons for the delay have been given, none of which add up to a judge on the bench. The candidate "most likely to succeed" in our book—having the most knowledge of District affairs, and the most active concern for and service to its people — is Washington-born Barrington Parker, vice-president of the Federation of Civic Associations, a sound and progressive worker who is also a member of the GOP State Committee for the District.

Does Hayes Want In?

Our crystal ball does not tell us what the Federation leader's chances are, but just as we were going to press, we thought that we caught a glimpse in it of Public Utilities Chairman George E. C. Hayes, looking back over his shoulder.

* * *

IT IS NO secret here, that George Hayes could, in all likelihood, have the place for the asking. If he wants it, everyone else may as well go home. It has been generally understood, however, that Hayes would be interested in nothing less than a Federal judgeship — certainly more his size.

The appointment of the present District Attorney to fill the post of the recently resigned Chief Appellate Judge, has raised more questions as to the handling of the Scott situation, since two years or more ago, the powers-that-be let it be known that J. Franklin Wilson, a seasoned and highly respected attorney and community leader, then principal candidate for Judge Scott's place, was "too old."

* * *

THE D. A., JUST named to the appellate bench, is two years older than Mr. Wilson was at the time of the turndown on the grounds of "age". Enthusiasm for the D. A.'s confirmation is lacking, partly because of the age double-talk, and partly because his impartiality in handling charges against Negro lawyers has been questioned.

"Face Up Or Fold"

Dr. Leo B. Marsh, of New York, first Negro president of the Association of Secretaries of YMCAs of North America, told a 103rd anniversary audience at the Twelfth Street "Y" here, last week, that YMCAs would have to face up to the fact of integration, or fold.

* * *

DURING HIS brief and forceful talk on "Dynamic Changes and a New World Climate", Dr. Marsh, who is also Program Secretary of the National Council of YMCAs, challenged the situation, here, pointed up by refusal of the Metropolitan "Y", located near the theatres, to house colored members of the Katherine Dunham Dance Troupe, who applied there for rooms during the week that the show played here.

LEON CALHOUN
Protests Pay Off

ATT'Y B. D. PARKER
Likely To Succeed

The program head called on the downtown "Y" leadership to sit down with representatives of the Twelfth Street "Y"—the first in the United States established for Negroes—and straighten out, saying that it was time for a completely integrated program in the National Capital. He advised Negro youth now going out of their way to use one of the country's 126 YMCAs established "for Negroes", to begin making use of the "Y" nearest to them, and cited the discussion of an integrated program for "Y"s at Richmond, at the height of the Gray Plan Convention action.

* * *

THE TWELFTH Street "Y" was founded by Anthony Bowen, ex-slave, a decade before Emancipation.

Challenged

Redevelopment action here was challenged, last week by Leo Calhoun, local civic leader, realtor and Republican stalwart, who has kept watch on it from its beginnings, five years ago, on behalf of low-income residents of the Southwest Washington waterfront area.

* * *

MR. CALHOUN, known for years as "The Mayor of Southwest Washington" made the headlines and editorial columns of all the Capital's dailies, by his charges that the Redevelopment Land Agency was pricing out the largely - Negro low-income groups, after making commitments to rehouse most, if not all, of those displaced by it.

Similar charges of development ousted families forced to shift for themselves in basements and rooming houses, developing new slums, were made earlier this year by Col. Campbell C. Johnson, then retiring as head of the Washington Housing Association, and denied by local news sources. The charges and denials were aired in this column, and Mr. Calhoun supported Col. Johnson's statements — or understatements, elsewhere.

* * *

THIS TIME, alerted by attacks, data-backed, from the Urban League as well as Mr. Calhoun, the papers are supporting both. The Urban League puts the probable 10-year displacement figure left in the wake of redevelopment, here, at 30 thousand families. Our own best information is that there has been no intention, at any time, of returning any of these people to what is being deliberately developed, as a prohibitively high-cost Gold Coast.

We think that unless there is unremitting watchfulness by Leon Calhouns in cities and towns throughout the country, our lowest income families, largely reflecting the "for white" Help Wanted ads — will be priced out of everything but some more ghettoes, built where and as the housing purveyors dictate.

31a 1956 NEGRO (CARL E. DeVANE)

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's Visit To North Carolina

Journal & Guide P.8
Sat. 12-8-56
Norfolk, Va.

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH, N. C. — The American Association of the United Nations, which has a chapter in Durham, gave to the "Bull" city a treat in the presentation of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Monday night Nov. 26th. Mrs. Roosevelt to many is America's first real stateslady. She held her own both in speech and press conference at Durham.

DeVane

Her evning speech was mostly on international affairs. She asserted that the Suez problem of today could be settled if the "oil interests" including the United States had let the United Nations settle the question in 1951 as to whether Israeli ships should pass through the canal. She was of the opinion that Israel was somewhat justified in attacking the Egyptians. However, she said that one could hardly justify the actions of France and Great Britain against Egypt.

* * *

SHE STATED further that she did not mean that these two great powers did not have legitimate interests in the canal, but none which were so great as to "flaunt" the United Nations. Mrs. Roosevelt said that the U. S. was in its own right to use its official diplomatic machinery toward peaceful solutions to world problems, but when no solutions come this way, then it was time to call on the United Nations.

* * *

"Father Complex"

During her press conference Mrs. Roosevelt confined her more lengthy answers to the 1956 election and politics. She attributed the Eisenhower victory on November 6 to the development of a "father complex" in American political psychology. She added that a great many people looked upon the President as a person who could take care of them. She said that Mr. Eisenhower was a great and trusted general in America's most crucial war.

* * *

FURTHER, she added that he had had next to perfect public relations since so many of his "hero worshippers" were leaders of the press and controllers of the channels of communications.

When asked about the Eisenhower liberalness, her reply was that she did not expect any substantial liberal program to be enacted by the second Eisenhower administration because she felt that even though the President was a very popular man that basically at heart he was not a liberal, but perhaps a lukewarm progressive.

A FINAL question on what she thought of the present administration's handling of the desegregation issue, brought forth the comment that she did not want to comment specifically, but would say that she did not want to thrust upon the people of the South her opinion. She pointed out, though, that "everybody knows where I stand."

About 700 attended the racially non-segregated evening forum.

* * *

Future For Youth

The youth of Raleigh have had two occasions recently to take inventory of themselves in light of what is ahead for them in a society headed towards integration. Sunday, Nov. 25, the men of St. Ambrose had their annual fall service at the 11 o'clock church session. Dr. Charles A. Ray, of North Carolina College, Durham, spoke to the congregation on behalf of the men's program.

* * *

HE CHALLENGED the men to do as St. Ambrose had done in his day and time by applying Christian principles to today's problems. The chief problem he analyzed was that of integration. Mr. Ray told the congregation that integration's success was as much the responsibility of the parent as it was the teacher and pupil. He said he felt that a minority trying to wrest its justifiable rights from a hostile majority had to be careful in its techniques and strategy.

He further stated that the court had stated the law, but not how to get the law enforced. And, we could not get this by disassociation with organizations like the NAACP and others who had fought a respectable fight. He pointed out how much we as a group were still behind the majority group, not because of our own neglect, but because others had taken advantage of us.

THE SECOND address aforementioned, was given by Ivan L. Willis, industrial relations specialist with International Harvester Company. The occasion was the Nov. 26 student assembly program at Shaw University. Mr. Willis was the fourth among the several public lecture series at the college this year.

The college audience was askd to do three things as college students while they were being trained for a life's work. First, to really learn themselves as individuals so they could help adjust themselves as they really are.

SECONDLY, try to find out what their goals in life really are, or to try to create some goals if they do not have any. Thirdly, find out what price they were willing to pay for success as people, and especially as Negroes, since unfortunately they in some instances might have to pay a little more than others because of color. But, the speaker warned they could no longer hide behind the excuse that they could not do certain things because they were Negroes. He said now, more and more, one was judged for a job on the basis of his competence.

The Tarheel Beat

Journal & Guide p. 9
Norfolk, Va.
Sat. 10-13-56

Federal Judge Examines Carolina School Scheme

RALEIGH, N. C. — Another phase of the North Carolina attempt to get around integrating its schools had a rough

DeVane

day recently in the U. S. Fourth Circuit Court of appeals. The case at bar is the "Old Forte" case where colored children have to travel around 28 miles to the nearest "colored" school when there are "white" schools within a few blocks. To add to the problem, Old Forte is in the western county of McDowell, in the mountains. During the winter months these children have to miss several days out of school since the roads are not safe for school bus travel. The case for the children was presented by the law firm of Taylor and Mitchell of Raleigh. The main thing argued before the Circuit Court was the state's school assignment law.

• • •

THIS LAW gives school board authorities arbitrary authority to assign pupils to schools including the power to assign them according "to the best interest" of the student. Atty. Mitchell pointed out, among other things, that a school board could give any type of artificial reason to assign a colored child to the same school to which they are now attending under the school assignment law.

Judge's Questions

The presiding judge at the trial, John J. Parker, made some pertinent questions which has caused some "sidewalk" lawyers to think he might outlaw some of the provisions of the law under question. This pertains to that section of the law which provides for a parent dissatisfied with the assignment of his child by the school board, to appeal first to the board, then to a superior court, and then to the state supreme court, before going to the federal courts.

• • •

IF THIS long routine of appellate procedure is stricken out by the federal courts, then a disgruntled parent could appeal from the school board to the federal courts.

Judge Parker tried to pull a fast one on Counsellor Mitchell by asking him that if the court saw fit to strike out the long procedure process, then would not this be just about what his clients were asking. Mr. Mitchell promptly responded that the answer was "no" and that, in his opinion, the children's parents should not even have to appeal the ruling of the school board.

• • •

AND THAT the school law portion dealing with assignment was just as much under protest since it could give school boards abusive power which they could use "100" ways to evade the law with arbitrary assignment powers.

Teachers' Jobs

The second in the series of about a dozen public affairs campus forums took place at the campus of Shaw University on Monday, Oct. 1. The speaker was Julian Thomas, director, Department of Industrial Relations of the National Urban League. The speaker gave a brief report on how the Urban League works and how it has broken down barriers in the employment field for colored.

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HE ALSO pointed out that that people in the northern and western states were beginning to wonder why more colored people did not try to compete for teaching jobs outside of the South. He called attention to the serious shortage of teachers in the Pacific Northwest, and the ease qualified Negro teachers had in getting jobs there.

A challenging concluding remark was to the effect that the Urban League was in the business primarily of selling the product of Negro skill, and that competence was the key word to success. He told the Shaw audience that no jobs for Negroes were sought by them simply for the sake of color. He said that identical education was what the Negro needed and demanded as a citizen of the United States.

$Million Deal

Raleigh has seen a private housing development that was started by whites mainly for Negro clients pass into colored ownership. A colored concern out of Durham has purchased the business for some over 1 million dollars. This column commends the Durham owner, but it seems a pity that no colored Raleigh firm started the concern. And, now, one wonders why some Raleigh business, or a combination of concerns, did not undertake purchasing the enterprise.

Tenant Tragedy

There is a lot behind the unfortunate shooting at a landlord by his tenant recently out in the southeastern part of Wake county. The white landlord sold a part of the tobacco for over two hundred dollars. When he returned home he took out one hundred and forty dollars and handed the balance to the tenant and his wife.

The tenant along with his wife went to the tenant house and returned to that of the landlord. The husband tenant (colored) came up near the house and his wife called the landlord out of his house.

• • •

BEFORE HE got to the tenant, the tenant opened blast at his landlord. The tenant then got into his car with his wife and drove away. The landlord was not hit because he ducked behind the hood of his parked car. This sad commentary is a part of the sorrowful story of slavery.

People who have had the advantages of not experiencing tenant farming and sharecropping, don't know how closely it resembles the pre-civil war plight of slaves. Many colored people have not had the privilege of economic emancipation. And, many landlords have not had the foresight, nor Christian fortitude to emancipate themselves out of the mind-sets of slave driver and plantation boss. Felonies of any sort are criminal.

• • •

SOME, EVEN though not justifiable, can be explained. Unless more attention is given to the impact of the integration ideal on industrial relations on the farm, such incidents as the one reported, are likely to increase.

A Deal Was Made In 1876: Are We Getting Another In '56?

Informer

Sat. 5-26-56

BY ARTHUR DeWITTY

It is most regrettable that so many supposedly intelligent Negroes who are politically inclined are so devoid of knowledge of history's major events and dates concerning the Negro people in the United States.

This is what accounts almost entirely for their failure to understand the meaning and purpose of Lyndon Johnson's victory over Allan Shivers and some of us will never understand because we are not going to put ourselves to that much trouble to try to find out.

Houston, Tex.

The Negro can win court victory, after court victory, the same as we did with Lincoln's Proclamation, and later the adoption of the Civil War Amendments, 13th, 14th and 15th. And again in 1876 and 1886, but unless we learn some political sense and back up these Court victories we will soon be without any tangible results from these victories. The reason being that BIG DEALS WILL BE MADE BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH, THE LOYAL DEMOCRATS AND THE CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATS.

Any average intelligent person would know that some big **deal** was made in Texas leading up **to** the Precinct Conventions on **May** 5th. Just look at this from 1944 up to 1956 the Negro has remained loyal to the Democratic party. Doesn't it appear then, that if a deal was to be made some Negro ought to have been called in on the discussions? Providing the deal was one for the general welfare of all democrats, but no, the loyal leaders got together with the Conservatives and traded off something. This is obvious because there was nothing but complete HARMONY at the Precinct conventions, it has been talked about much, but at whose expense did this harmony take place? (You guess)

Sat. 5-26-56

Who had the most to lose, the conservatives were playing for position because their leader, Allan Shivers, was not running for Governor and unless Price Daniels is elected the conservatives would have been through. The Liberals to begin with were in the best trading position, the pledge to the nonminees of the party, the fact that Shivers went Republican in 1952, plus all the corruption in Austin, so they needed only a little bait to throw to the Shivercrats who were on the verge of defeat any way. Therefore, they stopped being a divided party and immediately became the Southern Democratic party and got together on the Negro.

Houston, Tex.

The recent Supreme Court rulings made this an ideal situation, the South then set out to repeat history after the Civil War, from here in it is no longer a matter of loyal and conservatives, these two factions have reached an agreement over the Real and Personal rights of the Negroes in the South and will stand as one group at the national Convention.

What is their position going to be? It will no longer be segregation or discrimination.this will not sound good any longer and will not win popular support in honor, so, from here in it will be called by its new name: MODERATION, which means an act of keeping with in bounds on the equality of the Negro as a citizen. But the South through Lyndon Johnson and all other Southern Chairmen of the delegations will go to Chicago to get a "Watered down empty Civil Rights paragraph." They will be in a position to almost dictate a candidate of their choice, and you can bet it will not be Estes Kefauver, Stevenson or Harriman. there might even be a remote possibility of throwing the election into the House of Representatives. The South will bargain for some one sympathetic to the South on the race problem.

Here are the men backing Mr Johnson from the South. Harry Byrd, J Strom, Thurmond, Walter George Richard Russel and Lister Hill, you know these men's records. What do they stand for? Instead of the Northern faction of the democratic party telling the Southerners, who desire, to take a walk as they were told by Harry Truman, they aren't going to do that, but instead they want to play along with the South and Moderation for 90 more years of delay and confusion.

HERE ARE SOME HISTORICAL FACTS

During and immediately after slavery there was the Freedmen's Bureau, this was an official agency of the Federal government, Negroes made more progress during the life of this agency than any other period in history. But this was soon fought because it was doing so to clarify the nature of the "Negro Problem during these years. It was not actually a problem but rather the political issue over the nature of reconstruction, which was fought on strictly sectional lines.

The issue was finally settled in favor of the South in the great betrayal of 1876. It is impossible, here, to summarize the full sequence of events leading up to the so-called "COMPROMISE" of 1876; but the main facts are well known. Following the adoption of the Black Codes in the South, the Republicans enacted a radical reconstruction program in 1867. When confronted with this eminently realistic strategy, the South realized that, if the war were not to be resumed, a chance in tatics was imperative.

Thereafter, as Dr Paul Buck has said, "Reconcillation by acceptance became the future basis of action. In the political parlance of the day this change of front was styled the "New Departure" of the Democratic party. Capitalizing upon the war weariness of the nation, the campaign of reconciliation rapidly gained adherents in the North as witness the defection of the liberal Republicans in 1872. The North wanted to continue or resume trade with the South, they wanted to exploit the Southern market, therefore social peace was needed then as it is today. There was the big plantation production and the tremendous internal market ...... This could be a reality for the North if peace could be obtained at the price of the hard-won rights of the Negroes. this was but a slight concession to ask of the ruling class.

The signal of the new orientation in national affairs was the passage of the Amnesty Act of 1872, despite Sumner's warning that the nation should be just to **the Negro before it became generous with the rebels. Taking advantage of the split in the Northern alignment, the South pressed hard for the restoration of White Supremacy.**

The bargain of reconciliation was actually sealed in 1876 when the deadlock between Hayes and Tilden was finally broken. This election was thrown in the House and the price of Hayes' victory was withdrawal of federal troops from the South. There can be but slight doubt today that the basis of the deal where Hayes was elected was the surrender of the Negroes to freedom to the South. Here is the bargain, the North told the South that "you can disfranchise the Negroes by any means" which they, South, wished to employ, including force and fraud, but which somehow was to be reduced to a semblance of legality in time.

Once this was accomplished the North and South would stand together in its industrial policies. Hayes was committed to the restoration of White rule in the South, and this satisfied all concerned So, after April 5, 1877 the nation as such took a hands off policy in regard to the Negro.

So far as official attitudes were concerned, there was no Negro problem after 1876. The problem has been solved by surrendering the Negro to the tender mercies of his former master. This change in Northern sentiment and thinking is the real explanation of much that has happened since.

Shortly there was adoption of the Enforcement Acts, and the Civil Rights Act designed to give meaning to the 14th Amendment. But all of this went out the window. In 1872 the Spreme Court with an eye on the strategy of reconciliation, held that the 14th amendment despite its clear wording, despite the unmistakable contemporary evidence of Congressional intention, did not accomplish the purpose for which it was adopted.

And in 1883 the Supreme Court put the 14th amendment outside the reach of the court by striking down certain sections of the law. Mr Justice Harlan dissented, he said that the court acted upon purely political considerations and not, legal considerations. This decision in the Civil Rights case, for example, was green light to the South, it resulted in the passage by practically every Southern state of Jim Crow laws enforcing segregation which the Civil Rights statutes had prohibited.

Thus, racial segregation was no longer limited to suffrage, but quickly and efficiently, spreaded to residential segregation, discrimination in public conveyances, in public institutions, in schools, in employment, in places of amusement. The Supreme Court tied the hand of Congress as well and firmly established White Supremacy. This brought nothing but futility in so far as the Negro problem was concerned. If the nation could not act, if it was powerless to protect the Negro, just what in fact could be done, except to pray with the Southerner, and that is about all that has been done about the problem until of recent years.

But all this took place because of trading and making deals on the Negroes rights. Conventions are not held for the sheer fun of it, they are held to solidify opinion for trading at the national level, and that may well affect the welfare of all of us for many years to come. So we had better spend some time on studying the convention system, and what they are designed for.

Negroes must also realize that Mr Shivers' Tidelands issue was **not in the Constitution, he won** out on the Tidelands issue, but the Segregation ruling is something that was based in the constitution under the meaning of the 14th Amendment.

All these important events **were meant to give the Negro his full freedom. Emancipation proclamation, Civil Rights passage of 1886, The Enforcement Acts and the retention of federal troops in the South until at such time the people would realize that the government meant for the Negro to be indeed freed. But the big deal of 1876 called for the withdrawing of the troops and leaving it to the South.**

How is all of this tied with Precinct Conventions, County Conventions, State Conventions, national conventions, the Electorial college and the true significance of the national leaders trading on sectional basis. Unless we understand the importance of these trades we are going to miss the boat for at least another 25 years.

Those in charge of a delegation to a national convention can either cast the votes for the people or against them. Here is where the double cross takes place with high stakes.

The Tarheel Beat

Veil Of Secrecy Around The Governor's Proposals

Journal + Guide P. 9
Sat. 7-21-56

By CARL E. De VANE

Norfolk, Va.

RALEIGH, N. C.—The number one item in the tarheel news is still the "Hodges" school reconstruction proposals. At present there are around five "school" bills which the governor and his Advisory Committee on Education wish ot have the Special Session of the state legislature consider. They in essence are as follows:

DeVane

1. Two constitutional changes allowing tuition grants to the children who do not want to attend integrated schools; and another part allowing local communities to close public schools if attempts at integration made school conditions become "intolerable."

2. A bill setting a special election in September to vote on the constitutional change.

3. A bill implementing the tuition constitutional change.

4. A bill implementing the local option school closing part of the constitutional change.

5. A bill changing the compulsory school attendance law.

* * *

THESE FIVE measures have been kept secret to the public, but have been aired at "briefing" sessions at which no one was allowed to attend but the members of the legislature, the Advisory Committee members, and special aids to the Governor.

Four Sessions

These briefing sessions have been broken down in four sessions. One in the east at a private club of the chairman of the Advisory Committee. Another eastern session met near Kinston in a lodge surrounded by barbed wire. Another is to be held at Lexington in the western part of the state and a fourth in Waynesville farther west.

* * *

TWO GROUPS who have opposed the method of the Governor and his ideas in the proposals have had a chance to meet with his excellency and the Advisory Committee—The N. C. N. E. A., a professional educational association mostly of teachers, and the state PTA Council.

Press Session

A session is to be held soon with the state Press Association, will take place in Asheville. The state College Women's Council have adopted a statement against the proposals and have sent it to the press and to the Governor.

* * *

WHETHER OR NOT the proposals on constitutional change will take place in September or in November at the general election, will depend on an advisory opinion of the State Supreme Court. The Governor has asked the Court for such advice.

Bid Refused

Representative Dan Edwards from Durham refused an invitation to attend a briefing session because, as he put it, the method was bad and he did not agree with the procedures of the governor and his Advisory Committee.

SOME DEGREE of tension is evidenced by the governor in this escapade by remarks made recently to the effect that only "poorly" informed people opposed his plan, or those who were "casual idealist." Of course he intimated that those who favored integration would not like the plan. To date, no colored person, or persons have been consulted about the proposals.

Exclude Colored

No one connected with the NAACP, or the N. C. Council on Human Relations has been approached for comment by any of the state officials. The Republican candidate for the U. S. Senate has suggested some less drastic proposals. He has also exposed the secrecy surrounding the "Hodges" measures on school activities. So far as this columnist has been able to gather this gentleman, Mr. Joel Johnson from Four Oaks, has not been conulted.

* * *

THE LEXINGTON school board has pulled a fast one which perhaps they feel will keep things quiet for the next school term. Before the close of the school term this spring the board sent out assignment slips to each parent for him to suggest where he would like his child to attend school this fall. A date was set July 11 as the deadline for parents to appeal for changes in assignments.

Who Asked?

A recent statement to the public that no one had asked for changes contrary to segregated lines was released recently. The release made specific reference to the fact that no colored person had asked for his child to be changed to a non-segregated school. One would imagine that within a few days a statement will be made by the board, the Governor, or the Patriots that the colored people of Lexington are "voluntarily" attending segregated schools.

* * *

FROM THIS will probably be the further deduction that colored people are satisfied to attend "their" schools. The pro-segregationists will also say that this is exhibit 1-A that colored poeple are satisfied and if left alone prefer to stay to themselves.

Court Test?

It is highly unlikely that Lexington will get away with not having to finally comply with the law. The court placed a responsibility on the school authorities to begin making plans to assign pupils to racially non-segregated schools. As soon as someone in Lexington, or some other place that tries the Lexington scheme, takes the plan into court to test its validity, the better the situaion will be.

* * *

A PARENT cannot assign the constitutional rights of a child away. This Lexington scheme is a conspiracy to circumvent the spirit of the desegregation ruling. Parents should be alert so that they will not become accessories by default to ill intent of the scheming school board members on the state or local level.

The Tarheel Beat

School Legislation Now Proposed By Governor

Journal + Guide
Norfolk, Va.
Sat. 7-14-56

By CARL E. De VANE

RALEIGH, N. C. — In response to several requests, this column will say a word or two about the technicalities involved in the school legislation now proposed by the Governor, drafted by the Attorney General, and supposedly to be rubber-stamped by the legislature comes July 23 next

DeVane

Article IX of the present Constitution says among other things that ". . . The General Assembly . . . shall provide by taxation and otherwise for a general and uniform system of public school, wherein tuition shall be free of charge to all children of the State . . ." Under this provision the state is required to furnish public school education to all its children within the compulsory school attendance age." Therefore, to get some of the ideas over that the governor and his Advisory Committee on Education are advocating, the state Constitution must be amended.

* * *

AMENDMENTS to the state Constitution must be proposed by the state legislature by a three-fifths vote of both houses and then the proposal must be referred to the people in the next general election and approved by a majority of the people voting in that election in order to be added as a new part of the state constitution.

* * *

Two Proposals

Thus, one can see why the governor has the Attorney General preparing two different proposals to the state's constitution. One will enable a locality to abandon its public schools, if the integration situation becomes "intolerable." The other will enable the General Assembly to enact laws granting tuition grants to any parent who wanted to use public funds to help educate his children, but at the same time did not want his child to attend an inte-

grated school.

* * *

WHETHER OR NOT three-fifths of the legislators of this state will vote these proposals or not, no one now can tell. Or, just how the majority of the voters will decide on the referendum, one dare not guess. There is a chance, though, to get a sample of public opinion in the state about which so much is written and about which so many people are puzzled.

* * *

N. C. Reputation

It is said North Carolina is the "southern" most northern state and the "northern" most southern state. For some time the state has been living on a reputation of respectability. It was tested in the Smith-Graham campaign and the worst element held the majority at the polls.

* * *

AT THIS TIME of our second test relative to our reputation, we can show whether or not we have been laboring under a false impression of ourselves. We can furthermore redeem ourselves from the depths of shame to which we slipped in the race-baited senatorial campaign a few weeks ago.

One thing certain there are some very influential people speaking out against the proposals. It is a pity that we are not sure whether or not we have men of such caliber, foresight, and unsegregated character in our state legislature.

* * *

Speak Out

Paul Green, the symphonic playright, has consistently spoken out against the "interposition" proposals. Another more recent criticism has come from an outstanding lawyer in Winston-Salem, the Hon Irving E. Carlyle. Mr. Carlyle is a former past president of the North Carolina Bar Association.

In his speech at a forum at the University in Chapel Hill on July 2, two days before Independence Day, he condemned the report of the Governor's Advisory Committee for saying that the committee was of the unanimous opinion that the people of North Carolina will not support "mixed" schools.

* * *

MR. CARLYLE asserted that it was also a misnomer to say that people would not support what a number of them may not like. He also said that even if a majority of the people did not favor integrated schools, it did not automatically follow that a majority would abandon the schools altogether rather than obey the ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court.

* * *

Keep The Schools!

A PTA group, several church groups and conventions, and several faculty groups, including all three units of the Greater University, have not come out in favor of the decision, but have all adopted strong resolutions favoring continuing public schools in the state.

* * *

OUR STATE Superintendent of Public Instruction has by implication indicated that he is behind the major portion of the recommendations made by the Advisory Committee on Education. That is—he apparently is behind the proposals. For the idea for the proposals came from the Advisory Commitee's report.

He told reporters that he would not comment further, but would say something when the time came, and would leave the program formulation up to the Governor and the Legislature.

The Tarheel Beat

"Caleb, My Son" Author Writes A Tragic Myth

Journal + Guide P. 9
Norfolk Va.

RALEIGH, N. C. — The literary critics state and national are giving forth during these past few days versions of a book: Caleb My Son, written by Miss Lucy Daniels and published by J. P. Lippincott Co. The outhor is the daughter of Jonathan Daniel and grand-daughter of the late Josephus Daniels. Josephus and Jonathan are respective editors of the Raleigh News and Observer. One of the better reviews of the book was given by the publisher of the Journal and Guide in the August 11, 1956 issue of this publication. The story of the book is centered around a respectable middle class colored family in the South. One of the children of the family, a son, becomes disgusted with segregation and becomes a "leader" against it. He also gets involved romantically with a scarlet lettered white woman. The father of the son becomes so enraged over the way his son has "disgraced" his family that he murders him.

DeVane

* * *

SPACE WILL not allow one's full reaction to this book. However, a few observations are as follows: First, it is hard to believe that Miss Daniels is really telling the truth when she says she wrote the book "neither as support nor criticism of any cause." If that was her motive then why did not she make the characters all colored or all white?

Old Stereotype

Second, even though she pleads innocent of any inclinations to become a part of the contemporary social controversy in the south, the plot and climax fit into the stereotype of the segregation pattern. The formula of the pattern is "Negro stay in your place." "There is trouble for those who don't," "Any white woman who associates with a colored man is common."

* * *

SEVERAL historical and sociological novels involving the "race" issue have been written in the past. Not many have been writen with a psychological theme. One widely circulated in the past was Richard Wrght's Native Son.

Caleb My Son can be accurately clasified as a psychological novel. But, by default, it is more psychopathic than norman emotional response. The author of Caleb My Son is a product of psychological suppression, distortion and sexological propanganda.

Feeling Not There

She cannot write the feeling of a Negro father about whom she knows so little. She cannot picture the accurate role of a Negro "leader" unless she had had in community and school experiences first hand contacts with colored males who are leaders, or have leadership qualities. So, what else could one expect but that the only outlet for adolescent curiosity was the sterotype and emotional inaccuracy found in the book.

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THE DICTION, choice of words, and style of the book are good. Maybe one day such natural ability will not be applied to a tragic myth, but to the happy lives of a few interracial couples outside the south living under the protection of holy matrimony. Or, even to the many extra legal amicable associates here in the south between the men of the majority group and the women of the minority group.

Patient Parents

A few days ago a press release came from the state superintendent of public instruction which pointed out among many other things that the public schools in North Carolina opened without any overt incidences caused by school integration. Our state is blessed by not having any riots. This is due no doubt to the complacency of the colored parents, not to any degree of goodness in our state above that of Tennessee or Texas.

* * *

PARENTS IN North Carolina, and even the colored people in general in North Carolina, are less plaintiff conscious that in most other southern or border states. There are two cases, however, pending in federal courts in the state below the college level. One is in McDowell County and the other in Montgomery County.

Third Case

A third case is perhaps in court direction at Bryson City in Swain County. Four or five students in Bryson City tried to enroll in a school other than the one they had been assigned. The school they tried to enter has never enrolled any colored students Down in Cumberland County one parent, or two made a slight effort to enter a nearer school, for permits to send their children there. They were told by some white parents on the outside of the school that they would have to appeal to the superintendent for a new assignment. No violence was reported, but some few white parents "made" after the man with the children and he started running and got back into his car and fled with the few children.

* * *

SHERIFF GUY of Cumberland County reported the incident as told by him by some white parents. Just what would have happened had the colored man not run is anybody's guess. Maybe his fleetness of foot saved the "good" reputation of North Carolina.

The Nearer School

One parent in Chapel Hill has stated publically and to the school authorities that he intends to enroll his children in 1957 in the nearer school. This for him where he lives will be the school there which has never had a colored child in attendance.

Since the superintendent of schools in Greensboro has openly stated that the "hour of segregation" has struck, perhaps the city schools there will start some type of desegregation program comes September 1957.

* * *

BISHOP WILLIAM C. Martin, of Texas, adressing the Methodist World Council at Lake Junaluska, stated that racial discrimination was the number one blot on America. He admonished ministers to take courage and manifest a stand against it.

He advised against silence by the church when one-third of the nation was not getting a square deal in equality and opportunity. He criticized the Mansfield, Texas and Clinton, Tenn., riots against integration.

31a 1956

Negro (DeVane)

The Tarheel Beat

Two Courageous Girls Face Trying Days Ahead

RALEIGH, N. C.—The two colored students who entered the Woman's College Division of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro will have quite a bit to keep in mind as a part of their experiences in college days. The opening address to the students by the College Chancellor was to the effect that the two girls were ther not by invitation, nor by even cordiality on the part of some of the students and some staff members. But, they were there by court order which, some people bitterly opposed. The only note of optimism in the address was that the girls would have to make their own way by merit. Mr. Pierson intimated in his speech that some things on the campus, even though open to them, might not be feasable to them for participation.

DeVane

THE CHANCELLOR'S words, for the most part, were ideas of the past. Few of us doubt that any "trouble" will come about on the campus because of two colored girls. The courage of the two girls is remarkable. No doubt they know by now that the welcome of the Chancellor does not represent the College, but merely that of the person who spoke.

Promoting Ideas

Dr. Pierson has not confined his duties to the chancellorship of the Women's College, but to promoting ideas of American jurisprudence. He, of course, falls in that category who does not like the ruling out of jim-crow in public schools. One of his contentions is that the court reversed itself on "well established law." To this it can be successfully argued that the "separate but equal doctrine" was not well established. And, that this is not the first time the U. S. Supreme, and other courts in the American system, reversed itself.

ACTUALLY, the court did not reverse itself. The effects of the decision brought about a change in the status of colored people under the law. But, since the legal question put before the court was presented for the first time, then the court had a right, not to follow precedent, but to set a precedent which it has done on numerous occasons.

Incidentally, the decision setting up the "separate but equal doctrine" did not cite a precedent. Mr. Pierson also claims that one of the virtues coming out of the "separate but equal doctrine" was "social peace" in the Souh. Here he never was so wrong. Segregation has never been peaceful. Since the passage of the first jim-crow law there has been tension, riots, and fear among he whies of an uprising among the colored people against the system.

* * *

THAT IS ONE of the reasons Negroes were disfranchised. It is also the reason for the springing up of the Ku Klux Klan and lynchings. Dr. Pierson is only Acting Chancellor at Woman's College. He will not be there perhaps too long.

Skeptical Views

Dr. W. H. Plemons, president of Appalachian State Teachers college, has given some skeptical views about the Pearsall Plan. His remarks came in an address before the Western District, NCEA meeting. His first major comment was that the state constitutional guarantee of a universal state wide school system had been tampered with and as such did not exist any more.

* * *

HE ALSO said that even though people now did have the legal tools with which to close a school, professional educators had an obligation to use ther influence in trying to see to it that no public schools were actually closed. He further asserted that if and when local option did come to the matter of closing down a school, there should not be any questions left unanswered as to what the outcome would be. This gentleman is a state teachers college president.

Seabrook Tradition

Down Fayetteville way some philosophical words have come from the outgoing president of State Teachers College as well as from the new college head there. Dr. Seabrook introduced his successor as a Christian, a gentleman and a scholar. The new president in his opening address spoke of the "Seabrook" tradition on the campus and in the community.

* * *

THE NEW president concluded with the comment that a college was founded for the purpose of balancing education so that a person who was really educated would be competent, cooperative, and a good citizen.

Unique Meeting

October 9 will find a rather unique meeting taking place in Raleigh at the Colored State School for the Blind and Deaf. On this occasion the colored personnel in public administrative positions will have a conference. A long list of people are to be represented to take inventory over the public services supervised by colored officials.

* * *

IN A WAY this meeting is a paradox. So many of these persons, in fact, all of them are capable of heading integrated services of the state yet their authority is limited to serving "your" people. More of these meetings are needed. But, the colored citizenry of the state who are tax payers and voters should see to it that the employment of these efficient people is not just limited to "colored" jobs.

We should be alert so when some of these factors of our state government are merged that the colored administrators go along with the iob.

The Tarheel Beat

'Pearsall Plan' Getting Quick Test In US Court

RALEIGH, N. C.—Now that the Pearsall Plan is history let us see about some of its ramifications. First, only about a third of the total number of registered voters in the state came out to vote. Secondly out of the approximately seven hundred thousand who voted, pretty close to two hundred thousand voted against it. No one can truthfully say that the vote was unanimous for the plan. A big question still remains. What is in the minds of the nearly two-thirds of the registered voters who did not come out to vote? Also, what about the people who did not bother to register for or against it. In the area of public opinion, these two factors must be reckoned with in any analysis of the situation.

DeVane

Those who did not vote who registered and those who did not bother about registering to vote one way or the other are among those who have children to be educated regardless of the "Plan."

* * *

Quick Challenge

Hardly before the ink got dry on the "Pearsall Plan" it has found its way in court. The plaintiffs in the Montgomery County case have filed in the federal district court a plea to amend their complaint to include two measures relative to the recently adopted school "safety" valve law.

One is to restrain school authorities from enforcing the Pearsall Plan because it is deemed to be unconstitutional. Another is a mandamus petition asking that state school officials begin immediately to fulfill the mandate of the court and make plans to desegregate the schools.

* * *

IN PRESS conference the Governor stated that it seemed to him that the plaintiffs were grabbing at a straw. He also stated that he did not anticipate any action against the plan as soon as this. Another answer to a question along this line was to the effect that the state had no plan at present to use if the Pearsall Plan was declared to be unconstitutional.

* * *

Carolina's Honor

Mr. Hodges was elected chairman of the Southern Governor's. Conference at its recent meeting in White Sulphur Springs, W. Va. This is a signal honor and one which could bring a lot of prestige to the state. In fact, it might mean the inviting of the Governors to the Tarheel state for the next Southern Governor's conference. We have a number of things which would be of interest to the executives of southern states, even our yet to be integrated public schools.

* * *

Scholarships

Recent releases show that about two dozen colored students will be studying in the three units of the greater University system this school term. It might be well in this connection for those closely associated with these students, as well as the student themselves, to study the scholarship and fellowship offerings at these schools.

* * *

FOR INSTANCE, there is

The Tarheel Beat

Carolina NAACP Seeking Greater Group Support

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH, N. C.—The new look in the NAACP in North Carolina as aired at the 13th State Conference held in Winston-Salem Oct. 19-21. One thing which was emphasized at the conference from an administrative point of view was the necessity of greater support to NAACP by groups. This will not only give individuals protection from personal attacks, if individual membership is discovered by the opposition, but it is a way to give the organizational power of the NAACP greater strength at the grass roots with a broader base. The public relations policy of NAACP has already changed, and one can expect to see more of it in North Carolina.

DeVane

The theme of the mass meeting session on Sunday, Oct. 21, was ably presented by Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeastern regional director. Among other things, Mrs. Hurley stated that a "new Negro" was on the scene who was not afraid of intimidation, violence, and economic pressure. This new person, she added, overlooked the hardships involved in the fight for freedom, for he knew that freedom involved things of high moral values whose price sometimes involved extreme sacrifices.

Pray For Freedom

Mrs. Hurley labeled the present situation as one similar to emancipation. Her advice was to pray as we fight for freedom. The speaker further added that the murder, intimidation, and brutal treatment of Negroes did not scare them, but reinforced their determination to achieve the goals which would ultimately place all Americans in a position where they would not have to suffer these hardships.

* * *

MRS. HURLEY finally added that Christianity was on trial. The prejudiced whites had a Christian test to decide between just treatment of their fellowman and the ways of the White Citizens Councils. The Negro, on the other hand, had to make a decision between hating those who unjustly treated him, and being able to pray for wrongdoers and saying "Father forgive them for they know not what they do."

Pearsall Plan

A spicy post-mortem discussion took place in the College Union at North Carolina State College in Raleigh on the Pearsall Plan recently. State Senator Lunsford Crew, a member of the Advisory Committee on Education, took the side favoring the "Plan". He added nothing new to the argument justifying the proposals. His speech followed the mythological fear that one Negro would be so dangerous to the peace in any school that the situation would be intolerable. If such would happen, he added, without the safety valve, schools might be closed with no alternative.

During the questions which followed, Senator Crew stated that Negroes had made unheralded progress under segregation. He forgot the logic of his statement. If colored people had made such progress in segregated schools, what would they have done under a desegregated system?

Senator Evasive

Mr. Crew was evasive on the question as to why no colored people were on the second Advisory Committee. He said his personal belief was that perhaps the Governor felt that once any colored person was put on the committee, he would be so pestered by the "out of state NAACP" that the colored member might not be objective in his thinking. One wonders at this point whether or not the white members were "pestered" or aided and abetted by the Patriots.

Dr. Maggs, the constitutional lawyer, was the one who debated the issue with the senator. Dr. Maggs holds the chair of constitutional law at Duke University. He presented some careful research to refute the argument that the court had no foundation for the desegregation decision. He quoted the cases and the pages in the decision listing the cases the court cited in its decision. Dr. Maggs also pointed out that the personnel of the court in 1896 in justifying segregation was only following the policy of the majority party, which had a majority on the court, in dealing with the 'race' issue in the South as a result of "bargain" to get Rutherford B. Hayes elected as president.

White or Negro?

Concord, N. C. comes into the limelight on two counts. One is the final ruling of a Superior Court there that a man, who had married two colored women and a third white wife, had to be a Negro because he had at one time lived and acted like one. The jurists admitted that his ruling was not scientific. If by marrying a colored woman he thereby became colored, then why did he not become "white" by marrying a white woman. Incidentally, there is nothing about the outward appearance of the victim which had any resemblance to Negroid features.

Secondly, it is reported in the press that the "Klan" is planning a "robed" and an "unmasked" meeting very soon in the Concord area.

over one million dollars at the Chapel Hill unit available for student loans. Special arrangements are made for those who plan to teach. Since there is a teacher shortage, the University has earmarked a fund of $130,000 — The Jessie Knight Dozier Loan Fund—for loans to future teachers at an interest rate of two per cent.

Students who are not seniors in high school with ambitions to attend the University should be reminded that an entrance examination must be taken to enter the unit at Chapel Hill. The estimated cost for an undergraduate at the Chapel Hill Division is around one thousand dollars for a school term. Detail information about the loan fund can be obtained from the Student Loan Fund, Hanes Hall, UNC, Chapel Hill, N. C.

* * *

CHAIRMAN D. Hiden Ramsey of the State Board of Higher Education reveals that the book collection in the greater university library system is below par. He claims that the appropriation committee handling funds for such purposes skimped too much and thereby was impairing our academic standing.

With the cost of education being what it is and with the state officials still trying to maintain two school systems, there is little wonder that we are falling down in some instances. North Carolina has one of the lowest per capita incomes of any state in the union.

NORTH CAROLINA

Journal & Guide

By Carl E. De Vane

Sat. 2-11-56

Wake Farm Meet A Success

RALEIGH, N. C. — Farm leaders of Wake County met January 31 at Shaw University under the auspices of the Wake County Extension Service, and under the direction of W. C. Davenport, Extension Agent.

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Assisting him were Mrs. Natalie P. Wimberly, C. L. Boone, and Mrs. Mary Graham. These other institute personnel members were from the N. C. State College Extension Service in Raleigh.

Mr. DeVane

The session was opened by a panel on frozen foods. Another session was centered around the operation of the new Wake Farmers Produce Market. A final morning session was dedicated to clothing storage.

Norfolk, Va.

AFTERNOON sessions were started by a technical discussion on tobacco, another one on the Rural Church followed. A summary of the institute was given by J. M. Perry, president of the Wake County Older Youth Council.

Bill Of Rights

Further events on the farm front call to mind the excellent record so far of the Junior Senator from our state —W. Kerr Scott. The Progressive Farmer comes out with a ten point "Bill of Rights" for farmers as follows:

1. The farmer is entitled to just as good wages for his labor as others get.

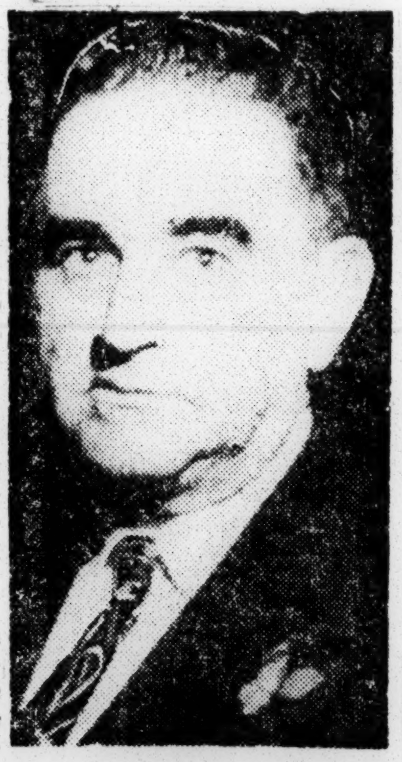
2. He is entitled to just as good returns on his capital as others recive.

3. He is entitled to just as good living conditions for himself and his family as others enjoy.

4. His children are entitled to just as good educational advantages as other children enjoy.

5. He is entitled to just as much liberty of action in organizing for selling his products and for regulating production to meet market demands as other classes exercise.

6. He is entitled to just as efficient and adaptable service from the country's banking and financial institutions as other classes get.



W. KERR SCOTT
Record Recalled

7. He is entitled to taxation, tariff, and transportation service, which will deal with agriculture just as fairly as with any other business.

8. He is entitled to equal recognition with other classes in the make-up of all governmental bodies, boards, commissions, legislatures, etc.

9. He is entitled to a civilization and culture including an educational system, literature, art, drama, and others which will accommodate him in his environment the same as they do in urban life.

10. He is entitled to be somebody among the many bodies of America.

Want Public Schools

TWO IMPORTANT organizations within the past have endorsed the retention of public schools in our state. One was the N. C. Press Conference association.

This organization merely adopted a resolution stating that it was of primary importance to keep a public school system in North Carolina.

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THE OTHER WAS a resolution adopted by the North Carolina Council of Churches. The Churchmen went a step beyond by insisting that N C. school officials not only do what they could to keep the schools intact, but proceed with deliberate speed to integrate.

Blast Mrs. Ike

The N. C. Patriots, Inc., a pro-segregation organization, has announced a press release condemning Mrs. Eisenhower for praising the little white girl who left New York State to enter an integrated secondary school operated by the Methodist Church in Asheville. The First Lady was accused of deviating from the role of a good wife to fool around in something she did not know anything about. This organization was quick to point out that the Eisenhower grandchildren were going to private segregated schools.

ITS MEMBERS however, did not mention the fact that these children were paying for the schooling out of their pockets, and not out of tax funds.

Promoted

Dr. I Beverly Lake, the former assistant attorney general of our state, has been promoted to be an honorary colonel in the Mississippi Militia.

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HIS APPOINTMENT was made by the present Governor. This "honor" is supposed to be in recognition of the so called brilliant "private" school idea that is supposed to have been originated by Dr. Lake.

The latest quip from the Governor's office is that if we plan well and be patient may N. C. will settle the issue and still retain its "basic traditions."

Convicted

Six men of color were convicted for trespassing on a public golf course in Greensboro recently. The course is leased to a private concern which discriminates on a color bases in its clientele. The judge in sentencing them did so with what he thought was a gem of a discourse in jurisprudence.

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HE SAID IN ALL his studies he had no place found any sanction for a breach of the peace. He implied that the defendants had usurped the law and had violated the criminal law which recognizes personal rights and privileges.

There was no excitement during the demonstrated trespass. The convicted sextet have filed notice of appeal.

The Tarheel Beat

More Negro Candidates Seeking Public Offices

Journal + Guide P. 9

Sat. 5-12-56

By CARL E. De VANE

Norfolk, Va.

RALEIGH, N. C. — As we get closer to primary time one can see more Negro candidates filing as nominees for various public offices. The latest to come to our attention is that of Dr. J. A. Tinsley of Weldon. He is seeking the nomination as a commissioner for Halifax county. This is the first time since 1895 that any colored candidates have sought public office in Halifax county. Incidentally, this is the same year that the segregation case Plessy vs. Ferguson was decided by the U. S. Supreme Court setting up the "separate but equal" doctrine.

Mr. DeVane

Evidently the N. C. Restaurant Association must be trying to anticipate the command of the NAACP. In a recent dispatch of the general counsel for the organization, a public release was sent out advising the organization on what member units could do if a Negro presented himself to be served in a public restaurant owned and operated by whites for whites.

The lawyer, a former governor's son, advised his clients that they could tell the curious customer that he could not be served. He also stated that they could then ask him out and if he did not leave then he could be charged with trespass. The advise also went on to state that some people might not want to press charges since they might be called on to testify. This lawyer stated that if they were called on to bring the charges, or to testify on the charge against the defendant they should do so in the exercise of their duties as good citizens.

* * *

Not Illegal

This advise on the restaurant situation did not include the fact that under our state law it is not illegal for a restaurant, or any other type of public eating place, to serve colored people if they so desired.

On second thought there are three easily discernible things colored people can do. First, stay out of non-colored public eating places. Secondly, make it a habit to assume that they will serve you and go in for service. But, leave when you are told they will not serve you. Small groups of Negroes could pester them a lot like this. Thirdly, go in and stick around until you are charged with trespass, and then go to court. The management would get tired of losing time in court testifying when they could be on the job and making money. Of course several people would have to follow up in this scheme, and the people involved would have to be sure they had the amount of money involved in the court cost and fine in case they were convicted. A fourth possible attack would also be to get large mixed groups to go in places together and really mean to spend forty or fifty dollars and then walk out if the Negroes in the party are refused service.

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For Integration

If resolutions will help the cause of integration, then we are two steps closer here in the "Ole North State." The State Baptist Student Union adopted a proposal that all

The Tarheel Beat

Developments Good And Bad On Segregation Issue

RALEIGH, N. C.—The National Association of Social Science Teachers, which has just closed its session at A and T. College, offered its participants a good chance to exchange ideas on the social science horizon. In the section on economics and history three very noteworthy papers were read. One dealt with the influence of automation on employment and the effects of the accelerated program in industrialization on minority groups. Another one dealt with the changing economic status of the Negro in the United States. A third dealt with a historical analysis of the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott. This running account was done by one of the teachers at the Alabama State Teachers College.

Mr. DeVane

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THE NARRATOR held his audience spellbound in the way he presented the information. A book is to come out soon on the boycott entitled: Montgomery — The Walking City.

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Racial Barriers

Evidently registrars in the eastern part of the state are malicious in their anxiety to keep colored people from registering, or they themselves don't know what the requirements are to become a voter in our state. The requirements to vote in North Carolina are not too difficult. One must be a citizen of the nation and state.

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HE MUST BE 21 years of age. One can be required to read and write any section of the state constitution. He has to live in the state for one year, and in his voting precinct for one month prior to his next election date. Finally one must register.

Yet in the eastern part of the state people meeting all these standards were asked to interpret certain sections of the state constitution, others were required to do the same thing to certain sections of the federal constitution. Some were asked to answer such questions as: What is more powerful, the militia or legislature? Such questions can be answered in various ways depending on what the questioner had in mind, or what the person answering thought the questioner had in mind.

But the main point at bar is that there is no legal grounds to ask such questions.

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THE STATE constitution does not require it, nor are there any state statutes which require these academic questions to be asked anyone presenting himself to be registered in the process of getting in the position to vote. Complaints have been filed against the registrars.

Of course they have answered that they were not discriminating. Just what the people will do has not been learned as we go to press. There is no record that the white people presenting themselves to register are required to interpret these extra-legal questions.

Duke Coeds Act

The ideological side to integration had a fairly decent treatment in sections of the state in the past few days. The women at the girls' division of the Duke University system adopted a courageous resolution. Duke is a Methodist school, and this resolution came right after the national Methodist convention in Minneapolis went on record as favoring integration in the circles of Methodism.

The Duke co-eds in a vote of 465 to 192, resolved that they believed that all people had a right to equal educational opportunities. They also stated that in their opinion such a right should not be limited by race or religious restrictions.

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ANOTHER UNIQUE portion of the resolution went on to say that current tensions, misunderstandings, and misconceptions about the nation and the South could not be solved under the pattern of segregation. These girls pointed out that their action was not hasty, but well thought out and planned in the absence of any pressure.

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The Bishop's Stand

Perhaps the most unusual pronouncement on the integration issue came from Bishop Edwin A. Penick. At its 140th Diocesan Convention, the North Carolina Episcopal Diocese heard the Bishop include in his annual message a statement that his position on the integration mater might fairly well be called that of a gradualist."

Bishop Penick's integration remarks did however put him on record as favoring the principle of integration, yet as he thought on the matter it should not be tried speedily.

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IN STATING his position in favor of integration Bishop Penick did so within his conception of the Christian and ethical commitments of the American system. He included in his comments a statement that one must obey the law as Paul had admonished: "Let every person be subject to the governing authority."

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Sentiments Echoed

The Bishop co-adjutor, Richard Baker, echoed the same sentiment as that of Penick. Father Baker stated that an immediate change over was impossible, but that the goal of integration should be attempted step by step. Bishop Penick recommended a bi-racial board to study the matter of integration in the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina. The idea of the board was adopted by the convention.

* * *

BOTH BISHOPS were not without opposition. On the floor there were a few loud "noes" against a vote of commendation on the speeches. The only recorded dissent was given by Rev. James T. Dees who said he was not in favor of the Bishops' stands because they commit one ultimately to integration. Rev. Mr. Dees also issued a statement to the press that he felt that the overwhelming majority of the people in the church were contrary in their feelings to those of the two Bishops.

Rev. Mr. Dees is from Statesville in the western part of the state. No Rector from the eastern part of the state made any open statements against the expressions of the Bishops.

Baptist colleges in the state should adopt a non-racial admission policy. The conference felt that internal affairs of the college should be run by the trustee boards and not by the convention. However they urged all the trustees to change the lily-white admissions policies of Baptist higher educational institutions.

A second resolution came from the Faculty Senate of N. C. State College in Raleigh. This statement was to the effect that abandoning public schools in the South and North Carolina would be tragic. The item was distributed to the Governor and other top educational officials in the state.

* * *

Methodist Move

By now most readers have had a chance to see or hear about the resolution adopted in Minneapolis by the Methodists to the effect that "racial segregation by any method or practice" is wrong. The testimony of E. L. Jones after the resolution was passed was quite significant.

Mr. Jones is from Charlotte, N. C. He said he came to the conference feeling that he would not budge one inch in his opposition to the pre-conference announcement that an integration resolution would be presented. He stated, though, that he had had a change of mind which he felt might have been the work of the Divine.

* * *

White Only

The State Advisory Budget Commission has been going the rounds over the state and examining the financial conditions and fiscal machinery of various state institutions. No colored people are on the commission. The Women's Prison has just gotten a new assistant director — white, of course. Way over half of the women there are colored, yet there are no colored people in any responsible supervisory positions. As a mater of fact around five-eighths of the state's prison population is colored. But, no colored people have any employment with this system above that of custodial work.

The Governor hinted recently about our trying the Wisconsin Prison Plan. This system has a program wherein a person, serving a prison sentence after having been convicted of a misdemeanor, can go home periodically, some as regular as a weekend. If North Carolina adopted this program, it would give the colored prisoners a chance to get away occasionally from many of the prejudiced prison foremen.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Journal + Guide
P. 4

Allen University To Mark 89th Anniversary

By Leola De Witt

COLUMBIA — Allen university will celebrate Founder's Day during the week Feb. 23-28, noting its 86th year. Two bishops (AME) will be the principal speakers, Bishop I. H. Bonner of Birmingham, Ala., and Bishop W. Reid Wilkes of Atlanta and Little Rock.

Highlights of the celebration include a musical festival featuring Youth choirs from every section of the state, the Faculty Hour when the annual faculty play will be presented, and a big rally to raise $10,000 to rebuild the gymnasium to be dedicated to the memory of the late Joseph Henry.

KKK Charter Refused

Sat. 2-11-56

At least South Carolina is washing its hands of the Ku Klux Klan, as it was recently announced that State Secretary of State O. Frank Thornton denied a charter to a Georgia Klan group. It was decided that the group "is not qualified to be authorized to do business in this state."

Norfolk, Va.

KKK constitution calls for a robe and hood, which is vs. South Carolina law; also S. C. law prohibits the burning of crosses except on private property whereby the owner has granted written permission.

Meanwhile after reports in Greenville on a possible Klan demonstration, law enforcement agents have been on the lookout for possible lawbreakers. It was reported that a raid would be staged on a county prison in search of Negro men that had been involved in disorderly conduct charges with white men, but nothing developed.

Education

A bill was introduced in the General Assembly this week providing for a general referendum on the question of whether the state favors a sales tax hike from 3 to 4 percent. Revenue would be used to increase teachers salaries.

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UNANIMOUS endorsement of the proposed bill was received from the Executive Committee of the South Carolina Education association (white): so far we know nothing of the approval of the Palmetto Education association (colored).

No Attempt to Appeal

There will be no attempt on the part of the Atty. Gen. T. C. Callison to appeal the Clarendon county school case. He contends that South Carolina as a state has been kept out of the school segregation issue before the Supreme Court, and that the Clarendon county case, one of the five cases which resulted in the court's decision, applies only to the Clarendon county school district.

* * *

HE ALSO ASSERTS that further action of the federal courts would be necessary to extend the decree to other school districts and counties of South Carolina.

Racemania?

Race haters are turning the General Assembly into a boiling pot of madness as it seems that each solon is trying to outdo the other in proposing some of the most bizarre measures possible in preventing any type of progress where there is "mixing" of the races. It is questionable as to whether or not these officers of our state government are throwing in bids for reelection or just trying to see who will turn out to be the biggest hater.

* * *

IN ADDITION to some of every type of anti-integration proposals imagineable, one representative came up with a proposal to slap economic sanctions against business firms that are dropping segregation barriers in the entertainment field.

In short, the bill first calls for a committee to study all advertising media to which South Carolina is exposed, then compile a list of firms sponsoring interracial programs on TV, radio, and other media. This list of firms would be blackballed in the goods and services area by the state department, agencies and institutions.

* * *

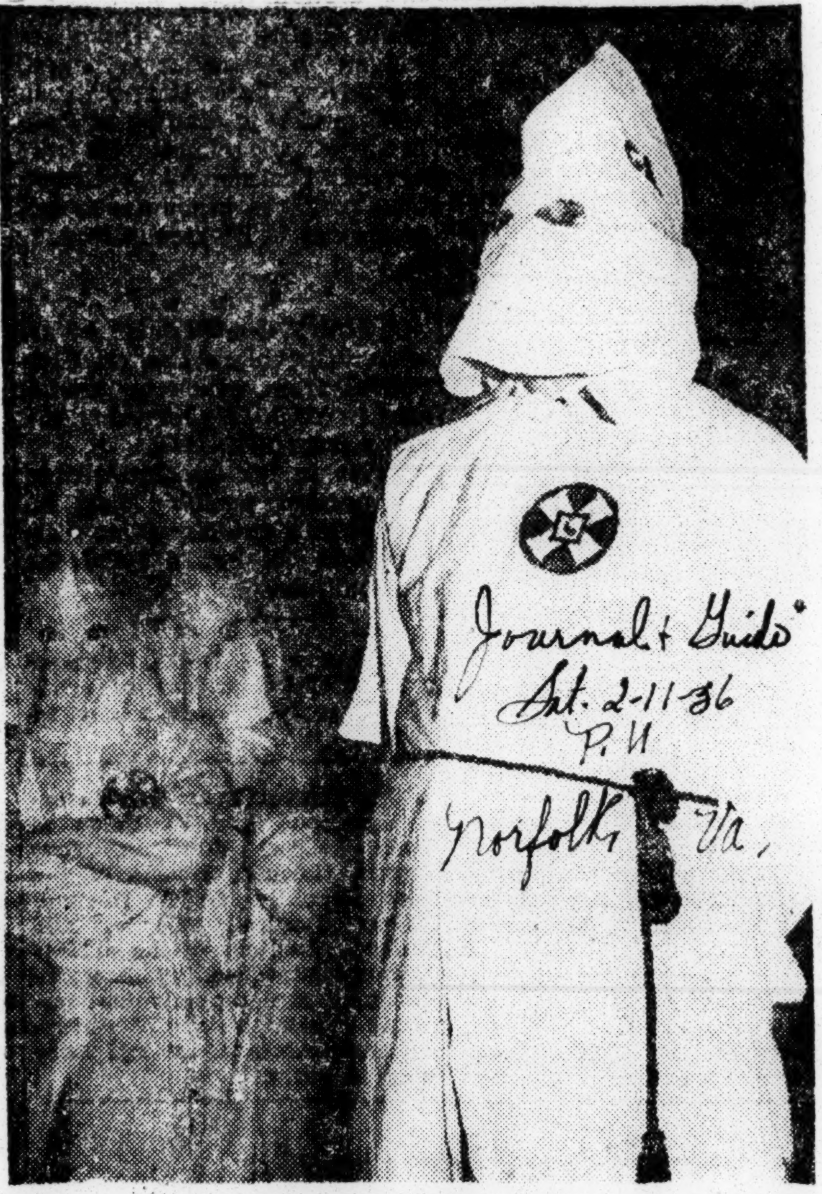
THE BILL is aimed at conadded to their party lines and have refused the company cerns that donate miney to or propaganda for groups or organizations working for an integrated society. The representative introducing the bill says the interracial programs are "sabotaging the efforts we're making in the segregation battle."

More Madness

They've got it bad in Orangeburg also. Recent reports have been confirmed by the Orangeburg Telephone Exchange that several white residents in the county have objected to Negroes being permission to string wire over their property to the home of the colored residents.

* * *

THE MANAGER OF the company says that telephone subscribers are treated impartially and loose their identity when they leave the office as there is no reference to race on the company records.



Journal + Guide
Sat. 2-11-56
P. 4
Norfolk, Va.

KU KLUX KLANSMEN
Their Return Vetoed

Briefs

AMVETS of Benedict and Allen Colleges, Post No. 19 have received their charter. The chapter was organized in October of last year and are seeking to promote interest in veterans' activities and to keep veterans informed of their rights under congressional legislation.

* * *

PLANS FOR A Lower Lee County High schools are being drawn and property has been purchased. Cost: approximately $375,000.

$10,000 in improvements are to be made to the Lakeview high school of the Brookland-Cayce schools.

Federated CLUBS

KENYA AFRICAN LEADER, MBIYU, TELLS KENYA'S SIDE OF STORY

Mbiyu Koinange, delegate in the United Kingdom of Kenya African Union and president of Kenya's Teachers college, publishes a hand book entitled, "The People of Kenya Speak For Themselves".

Mrs. Dodson

A copy of this book can be had from Kenya's Publication fund, 600 Woodward ave., Room 500, Detroit, 26, Michigan. Next to Kenyatta he is the most influential of the Kikuku leaders. Excerpts from his book.

"I was at school in the U. S., at Hampton Institute, Ohio Wesleyan, and Columbia university, from 1927-1936. I found that on the whole, the American people I met, were very anxious to help me so that I could help my own people, themselves unable to go to Africa to help the people there. While I was being supported by the American people in this way, everything I did there had a meaning to it because of their fundamental encouragement that they were preparing me for this assistance to my own people.

However, today, the emancipation of the Kenya people must be mainly the works of the Africans themselves. And what they see is that a few thousand settlers can call on 'HOME' to support them in maintaining a way of life in Africa which has organized such hate, suspicion and misery and a growing further and further apart of themselves from other citizens in the British family of nations. Does that "HOME" also belong to Africans when all Africans call for mercy fall on deaf ears and slammed doors, when "HOME" generates means for repression but never for PEACE And UNITY?

While the requests of the Europeans have been consistently conceded, the representations of the African community have been consistently ignored. This has led the ordinary African to believe that only if he had a government of his own and not otherwise, can he benefit and advance his country. Africans can only wonder when those who have consistently advocated Christian morals harbour hatred and mistrust against those they have set out to advance. And they feel that even if all of them are killed, nevertheless, the bones of the dead would still be shouting for their land and for justice, civil liberties and their acceptance into the nations of the world.

Talk of Mau Mau atrocities is designed to obscure the issue of the liquidation of Africans and win sympathy for the settlers as representatives of civilization. I have not wanted to introduce atrocities because for every atrocity that it has been proved the African insurrectionists committed, I can match a score committed by the settlers, the army, the police, and the Home Guard. The army sets up score boards to chalk 'KILLS' of Africans. To the extent that some Africans have reverted to outmoded tribal customs, the responsibility belongs to those who have denied them the opportunities of progress and given them a picture of the civilization of Europe composed of greed, selfishness and inhuman brutality.

What do Kenya Africans want? There is a lot of talk about MAU MAU. But in August 1953, General Dedan Kimathi, the chief of the African fighting forces made public proposals for PEACE, which appeared in a letter published in the East African Standard. I ask the readers of this pamphlet to compare these proposals with those remedies now being practiced and judge whether they are a reasonable foundation of lawful co-operation.

ONLY PEACE — Now, it is only PEACE we want to maintain for the reason we are people like others, we will find food as always but it is for PEACE alone, for we can not live without food. Being a member of the Defense Council of the whole of Africa, Kenya Branch, and also being the president of all the branches, I ask the Government (Great Britain) to remove the police and the KAR (Kenya African Rifles) in all areas, if PEACE and CO-OPERATION for all is wanted, and at once the fighting will stop.

I am explaining clearly that there is no Mau Mau, but the poor man is the Mau Mau and if so, it is only Mau Mau which can finish Mau Mau and not booms and other weapons. European settlers should be stopped from hunting in the forests and immediately racial co-operation will be seen as needed. But the old East Africa under foreign domination and domestic slavery is dead.

Federated CLUBS

By REBECCA S. DODSON

DOES DEMOCRACY NEED ANOTHER CIVIL WAR?

The entire world has been shocked. The work of the organized club women of United States has suffered a great set-back. Free speech has been questioned as never before in a Democracy. The Constitution of the United States is about to be attacked along with the Supreme Court. The thirteen southern states are getting ready to wage a second Civil War for State Rights.

Mrs. Dodson

At the close of the First World War in the state of Georgia, a number of Negro men were lynched near Quitman, Ga. One of the wives of one of the men spoke in defense of her husband, and she, too, was lynched for expressing herself. Her unborn infant was ripped from her body. Its brains were dashed against a tree. It was a dastardly act.

Much publicity was given the deed in the United States and in Europe. Nothing was done about it. The law and the white citizens in authority condoned the deed by their silence.

Another atrocious murder has been committed by two United States ex-soldiers—Milam and Bryant in Money, Miss. A 14 year old Negro boy of Chicago, while visiting relatives in Mississippi was admittedly kidnapped, beaten, slain and his body dumped in the river—EMMETT TILL.

This case has had a world of publicity and public aid. The two men admitted the kidnapping and according to an article in "Look" magazine of January 24, 1956, the killing has also been admitted by the two men. Since the decision of the Supreme Court concerning non-segregation in public schools of the United States a number of downright murders have been committed in Mississippi.

I have been closely watching the press of the country and I have but words of thanks for the fine publicity given the cases. I am also very proud of the NAACP and its wonderful defense. I am most proud of my paper, The Chicago Defender and the part it has played and I am sure that the soul of Robert S. Abbott, over in the next world, is proud of his nephew and his paper.

The article in "Look Magazine" was worthwhile but I am sorry that the editor of the article found it necessary to play up the chastity of a white woman being endangered by a "wolf whistle" and a "sex pass" from a half-witted 14 year old boy. I judge the editor must have talked with the murderers or someone close to them else he would not have so definitely accused them of the murder. The conversation between them and "Bobo" gave no basis for killing the boy.

I have lived many years and come in contact with perhaps a thousand youths, many of whom were 18 and 19 years old and older but I cannot conceive of a 14 year old accosting a woman, a white woman, a strange woman in her own home with her sister in-law right in the next room, and if you would put yourself in Bobo's position I do not believe you could see yourself doing it either.

The kidnapping and the killing was the work of brutes, trained in war to KILL, but the trial was a disgrace to democracy, and all Mississippi is to blame. Think, of not one Negro citizen in the whole county being able to sit on the jury. What has Perry Howard, National Committeeman for Mississippi been doing all of these years?

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Mrs. Dodson for State Rights.

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of part played by the legislator Eastland. Think of the whole legislative situation of Mississippi? Is Mississippi ready for citizenship?

If the Federal government continues to shut its eyes and ears to the plea of the down trodden whites and Negroes of Mississippi, it had just as well call its representatives home from foreign countries. Thank God! The world is cognizant of the condition of the Negroes of the United States and the Indians also. Thank God! That the mills of the gods grind slowly but they grind exceedingly fine.

I am a columnist for women (the mental emancipation of women) and of a consequence children, and I say to my sisters in Mississippi — Hold up your heads. Today, no southern white man can reach the presidency of the United States because of the ignorance, illiteracy, prejudice, envy and malice that abound in the South.

Don't run. Stand your ground. Support the NAACP. Cut down representation in Congress. Move into the cities. Let the whites plow their own fields. Learn how to do skilled labor. Stand true to each other. Believe in God.

Federated CLUBS

Defender

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mrs. LaUrsa Snelson Hedrick, of the Illinois Youth Commission and former headquarters secretary, National Association of Colored Women's clubs, in her series of articles as guest columnist for Mrs. Rebecca Stiles Dodson, discusses her experiences abroad. Mrs. Dodson is still confined in Provident hospital.

Chicago Ill.

By LaURSA SNELSON HEDRICK

MY THRILLING EXPERIENCE WHILE VISITING IN LONDON

From the time I was a very small girl and we played the game "London Bridge is Falling Down" in the school yard, I had held a secret ambition that someday when I grew up I should visit London, the largest city in the world. And now that the time was actually drawing near, I was greatly thrilled.

V. 13

On our arrival at Waterloo Station, we found the city to be all that we had expected and even more. The wide, busy streets . . . the heavy traffic . . . the large double decker buses, with female conductors . . . the small English cars and taxis . . . the crowds of people visiting from all parts of the world.

We could at once see that London was the greatest cosmopolitan city in the world. Everyone carried a map or a guide, and it was useless to ask questions — because seemingly everyone was visiting. Why?

It was the year of the great British Festival when thousands of people from all parts of the globe were pouring into the city to see the exhibits and displays of progress made throughout the British Empire.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

To see beautiful Buckingham Palace, the city home of Queen Elizabeth II and her family . . . to watch the changing of the Royal horse guards . . . a visit to the stables to see the King's horses that actually receive far better care and attention than many people of the world do, and to inspect His majesty's state, coaches.

A tour with a well experienced guide, who made no charge, but accepted a pound in English money for his personal attention, through the Mall with its great natural beauty of flowers and landscape. . . into the section where the various homes of royalty were pointed out . . . including the house where Edward, the Duke of Windsor abdicated the English throne, and to see the very window that Wally Simpson peeped through on the memorable night . . . on to the Bank of England, familiarly called the "Old Lady of Threadneedle Street" standing at the point of seven of London's busiest streets . . . across to the right stands the Royal Exchange . . . over to Fleet Street to the section of the city dedicated to famous newspaper men . . . into the little eat shop where we had the famous "chips and steak" typical English style . . . passing on to the famous St. Paul's Cathedral . . .to actually have the opportunity to walk across "London Bridge" . . . to see the great Tower of London where the crown jewels are kept.

I can never forget the Sunday morning church and Holy Communion services held at Westminister Abbey, known as "a poem in stone," the resting place of many of Britain's illustrious dead —where "outside there is the hurry and bustle of the present, inside the calm and quiet of the past."

We saw the life size stature of William Wilberforce, the distinguished gentleman for whom my alma mater, Wilberforce, was named. The visit to Mme. Tusseauds' wax works home of the Wax Figures of famous people of the world, including a statue of Joe Louis along with those of Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt and many movie actors and actresses, who looked so life like that we actually spoke to one, and were alarmed when it did not answer.

We saw Trafalgar Square and walked through Picadilly Circus, the district of the city dedicated to the cinema and stage shows . . . to stand on the sidewalk directly in front of No. 10 Downing Street, the residence of the Prime Minister . . . to gaze on the magnificent House of Parliament . . . to take a ride down the Thames . . . to hear "Big Ben" strike . . . to ride through Bond and Regent streets and Kensington Road and Hyde Park gave me a real thrill.

A visit with the leaders of the AHE Connection attending the Ecumenical Conference to the church of John and Charles Wesley . . . enjoying the many delicious dinners in the dining rooms of famous hotels and clubs, to say nothing of the great shows and cinemas . . . all will long be remembered, but most of all, the afternoon "teas" for which England is famous.

Americans

Informer P. 7
Sat. 3-3-56
Houston, Tex.
1a

Let's Restore Democracy To America

By W. E. B. DuBOIS
Courtesy THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN

TO YOUR TENTS, AMERICANS! We have gone far enough into this morass of fear, war hate, lying and crime. We face a crisis and our first great duty is here and now.

For the first time being, never mind the Soviet Union; forget China; ignore Germany!

Come back home and look at America.

Come back to the problem of American Negroes which we have muddled over for 300 years.

- In 1655 Spain laid plans for bringing to America 3,000 black men from Africa each year. The colonizers ignored Las Casas who worked for the abolition of slavery in Spanish America, and knighted John Hawkins in his slave ship, called the "Jesus."
- In 1755, new, free America held 300,000 black folk, nearly a fourth of the total population, in human slavery; we ignored Milton, Baxter and Burke and refused to stop the African slave trade.
- In 1855, the Supreme Court was about to declare that, fro mthe birth of the nation, Negroes had no rights which a white man was bound to respect; and the South was ready to risk Civil War to make slave territory of the whole United States.

There followed a century of war, violence and Color Caste, until the nation ashamed, started back toward Democracy. Lynching reached climax and declined; Negroes were disfranchised and then began to vote and hold office; Negro education increased, but not as fast as it should increase. Then, in 1954, the Supreme Court declared race segregation in public education was unconstitutional because it retarded education.

In 1955, murder, violence and economic repression began to increase, especially in Mississippi, and also widely throughout that part of the nation which once fought for human slavery and long refused to obey the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Southern governors and United States senators threatened to nullify the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court.

What are we going to do about it? There is but one right path: the restoration of democracy in the United States.

WE ARE TOLD that we can do nothing: that South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, as well as many parts of other Southern states, are superior to the people of the U S: and that as the Justice Dept of the U S has just said, when a 14-year-old black boy is murdered in Mississippi, and no one is punished, the nation is powerless.

Is that true?

We have argued at length on the power of the Federal government and of the states. It is the considered opinion of the nation that the state and the locality should be responsible for local government, while the Federal government deals with the larger over-all matters which cannot be of simply local concern. But this means that the democracy which **the Federal government, by virtue of Article 4, Section 4 of the Constitution, must guarantee each state, must be enforced in each state; that the people of the locality must have a voice in their own government and choose their own officials.**

In that county of Mississippi where the boy Till was murdered, the majority of the population have no right to vote. They have no voice in the legislature or city councils. They sit on no juries. They do not share in the election of Sheriff H C Strider, in whose hands the enforcement of the law lies.

Till was murdered in the Third Congressional District of Mississippi; in that district live 412,547 persons of whom in 1950, 308,752 were colored. There were 270,000 persons of voting age in this district. Yet Frank E Smith, the U S Congressman, was chosen in 1950 in an election where 7,058 voted. Compare this with the Third Congressional District of New York with a population of 317,414 persons in 1950, here in the election which chose L W Hall, 164,341 persons voted. In Mississippi most Negroes and many whites did not vote.

If the Negroes of the county where Till was murdered had the right to vote, his murderers would be punished. If we are trying to recognize state rights and refusing to impose Federal enforcement of local law and order on states, counties and towns, then democratic government must prevail in these states, and the government must not be solely in the hands of local landlords and merchants, while labor is largely held in peonage.

THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT to the Constitution of the United States says:

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State. (The 19th Amendment in 1920 barred denial of the right to vote on account of sex.—Ed.)

What right have representatives from Mississippi to sit in Congress and legislate for the nation, so long as democracy is denied most of her citizens?

The failure of national democracy in one state means its failure in the nation.

The South has refused to make the Negro really free despite the 13th Amendment; despite the 14th Amendment, the South has disfranchised most Negroes and still counts them as the basis of its representation in Congress. So that for years the South (which is the most poverty-stricken, most ignorant and most diseased part of the United States) has in Congress at least three times the political power of the North and West.

In spite of this, in the face of this, we boast to the world of our democracy. We stand ready to teach democracy to the world.

DOES THE WORLD BELIEVE US? If it does, then we cruelly deceive it as to what democracy can accomplish if it has a real chance.

If the world does not believe our boasting, then we are wasting our strength in war, murder and destruction, crying for a democracy which we do not ourselves possess.

To your tents, Americans!

Set your own house in order before you try to rule the world, or to buy its submission with five billion dollars in foreign subsidies.

The Negro In America Today

By W. E. B. DuBOIS

Courtesy The National Guardsman

THERE IS CURIOUS and puzzling contradiction in current reports on the status of the Negro in the United States. It is said on the one hand that his progress is marvellous and his present status so encouraging in law and custom as an American, with all the rights enjoyed by other Americans.

In support of this view are cited the increasing number of Negro voters and office-holders; the recent decisions of the Supreme Court against segregation; and a general disposition in the nation to recognize the Negro as a citizen.

Contradicting this view is the fact that Negro suffrage is progressing but slowly and the Negro vote is still practically suppressed in many states; that in the South the Negro fills almost no public office; and that murder, lawlessness, economic oppression and injustice in the courts are still the lot of millions of Negroes; that segregation in schools still remains in most of the South, and complete nullification of the Supreme Court decision is bitterly advocated.

NO NATIONAL SURVEY: The solution of this contradiction lies in the fact that it is true that the emergence of American Negroes from slavery in 1863 to partial freedom 90 years later is remarkable and hopeful. But it is equally true that American Negroes are not free compared with the working classes of the Western world or of the Soviet Union and China; that white color caste in some groups and places, especially in the North and West, has largely disappeared, yet in general it still prevails widely in the South; and it is true that as a group the Negro is poor, ignorant and sick, despite his struggles. He has difficulty in getting work and his wage is invariably substandard. In considerable portions of the United States, it is no exaggeration to say that a Negro still gets less consideration than a dog.

Just what the total situation is, reduced to actual facts and figures, nobody knows exactly and everybody guesses broadly. The United States as a nation has doggedly refused to conduct or encourage a scientific and complete study of the Negro population, because it feared to face the facts, whether favorable or discouraging. The national census deliberately hides the total picture. Twice Atlanta University has proposed and begun such a study: in 1896 to 1914, and again in 1941-44. In neither case could adequate support and cooperation be secured.

SECURITY IN ISOLATION: Many individual and group studies have been made, culminating in the Gunnar Myrdal report in 1944; nevertheless, today, no one can say with accuracy how far and how fast the Negro is escaping color caste. This is to the shame of American social science. Faced with an unusual opportunity for a laboratory test of human development; with a great group, so segregated by color and social conditions as to be easily made the object of observation and measurement, the opportunity has been deliberately and continuously neglected.

Negroes themselves do not know their condition. They live in widely differing localities and social environments. Wherever they live and under whatever circumstances, they make desperate effort, by protective isolation and careful compliance with public opinion, to achieve security and comfort.

A Negro in Atlanta sends his children to separate schools, attends a separate church, lives largely in sections of the city separate from whites. He pursues limited and largely separate occupations, and is paid lower wages for the same kind of work than whites get. He buys at stores, but is careful to frequent those stores where he knows his patronage is wanted, and where he will be fairly treated. Even in these he will not attempt to eat lunch or try on shoes or hats. He does not frequent parks or theaters except in very special circumstances. In fact, he lives in a world largely Negro; but there he is unmolested and may have a comfortable and successful life. If asked, he declares that he meets little or no race friction, which is true.

NEGROES IN THE NORTH: The city group of Negroes is recruited increasingly by influx from the rural districts. This migration is so large and continuous that while 77% of the Negro population was rural in 1900, in 1950 only 38% were in the country districts. This brings new city problems of crime and delinquency. In the rural communities and the small towns in the lower South, six million Negroes are still near slavery in many districts. They are running away to cities at the rate of tens of thousands a year. Discrimination in housing, North and South, by law and covenant, has been widespread and still prevails despite court decisions.

In the North, Negroes are mainly in the large cities. There the limitations are fewer, but they exist. In New York their chances to earn a living have increased since World War II but still are limited; there are certain jobs for which they do not apply; in the jobs they hold they can seldom expect high pay or promotion. The mass of ordinary workers keep largely to themselves; they do not in any large numbers go to downtown theaters, restaurants or places of amusement; they seldom go to a white church; they join few public organizations. They live largely in a colored world.

SOCIAL BARRIERS HOLD: The well-to-do Negroes move more freely, but not widely; they can enter the more expensive hotels; they can be served at most restaurants but they are not always welcome and realize it; they are invariably refused at summer resorts, at recreation centers and usually at automobile camps; and are not too welcome at many public assemblies. Not a single Negro in New York City has ever become a member of a recognized social club, despite the fact that Negroes have often gained high political position and many have wealth and culture.

They have recently gained high political office—a federal judge; three colonial governors; Congressmen and ministers to foreign lands; state senators; City Councilman, city judges, Borough President in New York City, etc. Still, in most cases, they are careful not to appear at social functions where their presence might be unwelcome. There have been several instructors in the universities and a few professors, but not many.

Negroes have advanced in art, especially music; less in literature; considerably in science and the professions, although in the latter case they are largely confined to practice among Negroes.

NEXT WEEK: Economic classes among Negroes.

31a 1956 NEGRO (MRS. ALICE A. DUNNIGAN)

Author Calls Negro America's Most Underdeveloped Resource

BY ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON. (ANP) — "The total number of Negro high school students graduating annually could be more than doubled in this period of critical manpower shortages if the education of Negroes were raised to the same level of white students outside the South," recently proclaimed Eli Ginzberg in his book, "The Negro Potential."

The book which records the findings of the Conservation of Human Resources Project at Columbia university, pointed out that the 15 million Negroes who constitute the nation's largest minority group is "the most undeveloped human resource of the country."

The number of Negro high school graduates currently, according to this study, is 65,000, a total which could be increased through educational equality to 158,000 annually.

There is little chance of bringing about educational equality without steady progress toward integration, thinks Dr. Ginzberg, director of the Columbia University project.

The Negro has made "spectacular gains" in his economic position during the past 15 years, according to the study, but complacency over progress is unwarranted. Despite the broadening of opportunities, they are still sharply limited.

The Negro is not able to keep pace with the opening of new opportunities because of his inherited handicaps and disadvantaged position. Many changes must come, not only within the schools, but in the Negro community itself in terms of family life and child upbringing, if the Negroes are to be adequately prepared to take advantage of their new opportunities.

"The best hope for the Negro's speedy and complete integration into American society lies in the continuation of a strong and virile economy in which his labor is needed and his skills and capabilities are rewarded, the report concluded.

"A cloud on the horizon" is the countermovement in the South sparked by the Supreme Court's decision and dedicated to showing up the whole segregation system," stated Dr. Ginzberg and his assistants.

They pointed out that it is difficult to estimate the strength of the countermovement, but they believe, nevertheless, that pressures from every side, "will induce the South to steer away from a self-destructive recalcitrance."

Women the backbone of equality fight

WASHINGTON (ANP) — Through the efforts of women, the fight for equality is being won, recently declared Mrs. Alice A. Dunnigan, Washington correspondent for the Associated Negro Press.

Speaking to more than 300 persons attending the annual ladies' night banquet of the Association of Oldest Inhabitants, Monday night, Mrs. Dunnigan urged the group to "keep fighting until we've won complete victory of euqality in this land of ours."

The newspaper woman spoke of the American colored woman from the time of enslavement to her present rise of equality. She noted the slow progress, citing the odds of color, sex and condition of servitude, which had to be overcome.

But, she added, women are still in the forefront in this fight for equality and justice.

Mr. Dunnigan recalled the fight spearheaded by the late Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, which resulted in the abolition of segregation in eating places and amusement places in the District of Columbia.

Speaking of school integration, she reminded her audience of the long, hard fight waged by Miss Ada Sipuel for admittance into the law school at the University of Oklahoma. It was this victory which led to abolition of segregation in institutions of higher learning, and paved the way for the later Supreme Court decision on school integration.

She mentioned the fight which Miss Autherine Lucy staged for admission to the University of Alabama.

SHE SPOKE of Miss Sarah Keys' fight for integration in interstate travel, a suit which resulted in a favorable Interstate Commerce Commission ruling.

She spoke of the bus boycott in Alabama as a movement based upon Mrs. Rosa Parks' fight for equal rights and justice under the law. Finally she pointed to the recent Supreme Court ruling on desegregation on buses in intra state travel as a decision based upon a complaint raised by Mrs. Sarah Mae Fleming against the bus company in Columbia, S.C.

Mrs. Dunnigan was introduced by Miss Francis Williams, legislative assistant to Senator Herbert Lehman of New York.

Orchids were presented to both Mrs. Dunnigan and Miss Williams. Mrs. Velma G. Williams, former member of the D. C. Board of Education, and Mrs. Anna J. Steen, were also recipients of orchids. Both Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Steen were honored for their work in civic affairs and their continued effort to improve conditions of their race.

William D. Nixon, president of the Oldest Inhabitants, directed the dinner, which was held in Monumental Hall.

Negro Congressmen In Three Different Views On Powell Amendment

By ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON.—(ANP) — The three Negro members of Congress apparently took as many different positions on the Powell anti-segregation amendment to the school construction bill, which will probably be introduced in the House of Representatives the first of this week.

The six-hour debate alloted to the School Construction measure was completed Friday afternoon. The introduction and discussions of amendments to this legislation began Monday but a vote is not expected until the latter part of the week.

The bill proposes to allocate $1.6 billion dollars of federal funds to be used in the construction of many needed classrooms throughout the nation.

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.), proposes an amendment which states that no federal money will go to construct schools in districts which have not integrated, are not integrating, or have definitely stated that they will not integrate.

Such an amendment, he said, "only restrains the federal government from being a partner to the crime of defiance of law and order."

Powell did not make his position clear on whether he would support school construction bill without the necessary safeguards against segregation as offered in his amendment. It was the consensus of opinion, however, that he will oppose the bill if his amendment is defeated.

Dawson Against Bill

Congressman William L. Dawson (D., Ill.), on the other hand, said he did not favor the Powel Amendment. He stated definitely that he would not vote for it, and made it crystal clear that he is in favor of federal aid to education "without strings."

"I would not deny educational opportunities to any child," he declared. "And I will not vote for any amendment which I think would have an adverse reaction to a federal aid bill."

He pointed out that many people who opposed aid to education would support the Powell Amendment as a means to kill the bill. "But it doesn't make any sense to me to support an amendment which will kill a bill."

He realized that he would be criticized for taking this position, "but I always vote my convictions," he said.

"Education for children is just as fundamental as maintaining an army," continued Dawson.

The nation needs school buildings and he will support legislation to get those buildings because he knew that in the end colored children would be occupying them, said Dawson.

He pointed out that he did not believe in doing a great deal of talk. He could make a tremendous speech on this bill, but he only uses words when it is necessary to accomplish an objective.

He has made fewer speeches on the Floor of the House of Representatives than almost any other man, he recalled. But he has lost few battles. "But," he added quickly, "I'm not interested in winning battles, I am interested in principles."

He does not think we should stir up too much hysteria at this time. We are living in an age of reasoning. He believes that through reasoning we can accomplish a great deal in this era.

Diggs, Supports Rider

Congressman Charles C. Diggs (D., Mich.), who sat patiently on the House Floor throughout the two-day debate, merely remarked that he favors the Powell Amendment. He also favors Federal Aid for School Construction.

He will vote for the Powell amendment, but he will also vote for the bill with or without the Powell amendment.

Diggs represents a district largely dominated by labor, and it was learned that labor, since the merger of the AFL with the CIO, has gone on record as opposing the Powell Amendment.

The race question got into the discussion on school construction early in the debate on Thursday. It was introduced by Rep. William M. Colmer (D., Miss.), the first speaker in opposition to the bill. Colmer said the subject of segregation will perhaps be the biggest fight in this piece of legislation.

"I don't think it's material whether that (Powell) Amendment is adopted or not, the people of those states who are determined to maintain segregated schools are going to be passed by when it comes to distributing the funds," said Colmer.

"Make no mistake about it, the people of those (southern) states are going to have segregated schools as long as they have public schools."

Must Get Loans At Higher Rates

Defender Sat. 5-12-56

Chicago Ill.

By ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Out of the approximately six-million mortgaged homes in the United States, about 14.7 per cent are insured by Veterans Administration loans. P. 6

Of the VA loans in the South, only a few more than four percent has been granted colored GI's, while white veterans have received more than 14 per cent.

These figures recently were released by Mickey Lavine, national chairman of the American Veterans Committee, after making a two-week tour in five Southern states.

Lavine found that in Mississippi there have been some VA home loans for Negro veterans, but the percentage in relation to white veterans is much more out of proportion than it is for the whole South.

INSISTENCE HELPS

"Most Negroe veterans in Mississippi who have obtained housing loans under the GI Bill have been veterans of substance who would have been able to obtain commercial loans, but were insistent enough to secure VA loans," stated the AVC chairman.

Leaders interviewed in Washington and Sunflower counties of Mississippi, stated that not more than 15 of the hundreds of Negro veterans in these counties had been able to obtain home loans.

In Alabama, the AVC official reports that some loans had been given to Negro veterans, but in each case securing the loan was difficult. In Montgomery, for example, an attempt was made to build a group of homes for Negro veterans under the GI Bill.

The claim was made that the homes did not meet certain specifications. The VA would not guarantee the loans. Finally the houses were completed through FHA financing at a much greater cost to the veterans.

One of the most effective methods for the Negro veteran to make progress in the housing situation would be through establishment of Negro savings and loan associations which would be willing to make loans to veterans, observed Lavine.

BIRMINGHAM PICTURE

In Birmingham, Ala., where the leading institutions now make conventional loans at six per cent for 7-12 years to Negroes, efforts by Negroes to establish a Negro savings and loan association have been seriously hindered by the activities of white savings and loan associations in Jefferson County.

The Federal Home Loan Bank Board has now a request, from Negroes in Birmingham, for the right to establish a Negro association. Until such an association is established, the Negro veteran will continue to have his rights delaed, according to the surveyover.

A bright spot in this gloomy picture is the accomplishments in housing in Atlanta, said Lavine, where a splendid job of slum clearance has been done to bene-Negroes.

However, even in Atlanta, which is typical of the areas which he toured, it is difficult for a Negro Veteran to get a loan. The conventional loan pays the banker up to seven or eight per cent, in the first year, an additional service commission of from three to five per cent.

There is evidence that the Negro veteran is being forced to take these unconventional, and extremely expensive interest rates because of his inability to obtain the GI loans.

DOWN PAYMENT MORE

Thus in Atlanta, in the purchase of a $15,000 home, the white veteran is required to put down a three per cent cash payment, under the GI Bill provisions, while the Negro, forced into the commercial market has to put down $2,000, or 15 per cent, for the same home.

One of the outstanding jobs done for the Negro in housing in the Atlanta area was the erection in 1950, of the High Point Apartments. This project is "dedicated to the sacredness of the individual and his family."

Many Negro veterans live in this project, but it was not done through the benefits due him under the GI Bill.

The project was made possible through the combined efforts of the FHA, the Atlanta Urban League, Southern Regional Conference, and philanthropist Morris Abrams.

Views and Interviews

News P.1

By HAL FISHER

Thurs. 5-31-56

Tuskegee, Ala.

Several weeks ago our front page carried a news story out of New York to the effect that Hunter L. Johnson, former editor of the Tuskegee News, had written and was having published a book, "The Natural Government of Mankind." We had no other address for ex-Editor Johnson except Tulsa, Okla., but we mailed him a copy of that issue and in return, received a letter from him. We then wrote him to ask for what facts he had on the history of the paper and a few days ago received from him a lengthy and most interesting reply. Believing that our readers will be interested in some facts about The News of more than half a century ago, we reprint below a portion of Mr. Johnson's letter.

"Please accept my thanks for your letter of May 19, with its enclosure of sample copy each of The Tuskegee News and The Herald, all of which have given me a very severe but pleasant attack of nostalgia, and I am glad to have this epistolary acquaintance with the editor of the paper which has always meant so much to me in memory.

"I regretted to learn about the deaths of my old friends, Ernest Thompson and C. W. Hare, and was glad to know that the latter's son is a Tuskegee lawyer. I looked him up in the national legal directory, which reports him as some kind of Judge. However, at my age, I have learned that most of my friends have moved out to the cemeteries.

"My knowledge of the history of The Tuskegee News is something like as below stated. I was admitted to the bar at Troy in April, 1902, (while my father, Rev. Henry T. Johnson, was pastor of the Methodist Church at Tuskegee) and soon after that went to Tuskegee and Washington as private secretary of Congressman Charles W. Thompson, of Tuskegee, father of Ernest Thompson, who was the owner and editor of The Tuskegee News. While I was in that secretarial position, Congressman Thompson died in Washington, and we brought his remains back to Tuskegee for burial.

"That left me as a young lawyer, without a law practice; and almost immediately Ernest Thompson sold me on credit The Tuskegee News, which he had bought from C. W. Hare, the previous editor. I ran the paper with fair success for maybe a year, when Will P. Cobb got to loafing in my office, fascinated with my work, and wanting to buy into the paper with me. He proposed that his mother would lend us the money to pay off my note to Ernest Thompson, and that Will and I would own the paper half and half; and than transsaction was consummated, and Johnson and Cobb became the proprietors and editors of The News. Will and I both learned that a small business, which will pay one man, will not always pay two men.

"In about October, 1904, I was offered the position of private secretary to Honorable Osceola Kyle, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Canal Zone, which, with Will Cobb's consent, I accepted and sold The Tuskegee News to Will P. Cobb, at a discount, giving my note to his mother for the discount, which I later paid with my savings in Panama, where in the meanwhile Judge Kyle resigned and I haden become clerk of the Second Judicial Circuit Court of the Canal Zone. Later, Mr. Cobb, being desirous of completing a law course in the State University at Tuscaloosa, sold The Tuskegee News back to C. W. Hare at a loss to himself."

* * *

Hail to Jimmy Bridges, top student among all boys at Tuskegee High School, who has maintained an all-"A" scholastic standing for the past two years. In addition, he has been active in athletics and other student affairs, besides being selected to attend annual Boy's State being held this week at the University of Alabama. He is the son of Mr. and Mrs. J. E Bridges.

Views and Interviews

News P.1

Thurs. 7-5-56

By HAL FISHER

Tuskegee, Ala.

There's been little or no public discussion about it yet, but Tuskegee voters are going to the polls in a couple of months to elect a slate of city officials for the next four years. And there will be a slight difference from elections of former years. Under an act of the Legislature which applies to cities of our population group, the candidates for member of the City Council will be required to run for a particular position. The City Council has already numbered the various positions and candidates will be required to file for one particular office. Up to now there has been no talk about candidates . . . not even whether those now in office will seek new terms, although this may be probably taken for granted. Mayor Phil Lightfoot and members of the City Council have been carrying on an ambitious city improvement program and likely all will want to remain in office until they complete their plans. So far as is known at this time, they may even go back into office without opposition.

* * *

"We have a remodeling and renovation program under way at the Legion Home that will offer a number of impovements," said Jim Thomas, post commander. "One important change will provide a large assembly hall by removal of a partition between two smaller rooms. Another is the installation of new light fixtures. The Auxiliary is making plans to take over use of part of the building for their activities in the near future."

* * *

Just a reminder that the original pictures of the children being used in our "Citizens of Tomorrow" series may be obtained by parents by calling at this office. Some mothers have been by to get the pictures but quite a few we still have. The originals may be had as soon as the picture appears in the paper.

* * *

Our story last week about Dr. L. C. Lewis and the drug store did not make quite clear that the business is now owned and operated by his son-in-law, Talmadge Flowers, and J. B. Crenshaw. They purchased the business some time ago and currently have under way a remodeling project that will add substantially to the floor space of the store.

* * *

"I noticed where a recent church convention devoted considerable discussion to the matter of getting people to attend more regularly," said our banker friend on the corner. "Strangely enough, right close by was another story about a cattlemen's convention. Their chief topic of discussion was better feed. They didn't seem to have any attendance problem."

Views and Interviews

By HAL FISHER

Tuskegee, Ala.

Cost of traffic engineering in various nearby large cities are not readily available to us but if we were to make a guess we would select Montgomery as probably the one spending the most money per capita for traffic regulation. Our selection of Montgomery is dictated by the many evidences of piddling regulations one finds in Montgomery . . . so many, in fact, that one is forced to the conclusion that Montgomery's traffic engineer, when he cannot think up a new regulation with merit, fabricates one just to keep busy. The result is the worst traffic muddle of any city we have visited recently. Within the past month we have visited in Birmingham, Atlanta and Mobile, as well as Montgomery. And of all these cities, it seems certain that Mobile's problem is the worst because of its narrow streets. Yet of the four cities, Mobile traffic is better handled than any. Of necessity, most of Mobile's narrow downtown streets have one-way traffic but they are designated with some semblance of reason and not in the haphazard manner Montgomery goes about the same job. Here in Tuskegee our traffic problem has been eased considerably by the changes made

about the square but some of the gains are nullified by the practice of double parking around the square. Double parking in itself need not be an inconvenience to anyone, and, in fact, has some things to commend it. But the one thing that should always be enforced is that a driver be at hand at all times to move the double-parked car. If this rule is enforced, no one could or would complain about double parking.

Thurs. 8-9-56

"I get around over the country a good bit and see a lot of weekly newspapers but I do not see many that are as good as Tuskegee's papers," said S. D. Hammond, printing equipment salesman. "I did not know that Tuskegee had a Negro newspaper and am surprised to see one as good as The Herald. The Tuskegee News, of course, has long been recognized as an excellent paper."

* * *

In all the years Macon County has been participating in the Maid of Cotton contest the county has never sent a more beautiful or lovelier daughter than Miss Janice Walters, who was selected for this year's honor Tuesday afternoon. When she goes to Birmingham in October for the state contest we will all be expecting to hear the glad news that she has been chosen to represent Alabama in the national contest to be held at Memphis.

* * *

KWIK KWOTES—

"Sometimes it seems that when a bride says 'I do' she's looking around to see if she could do better!" — Herb Shriner.

"The only boss who ever got all his work done by Friday was Robinson Crusoe." — Art Moger.

"The average man is proof that the average woman can take a joke." — Lock Haven (Ua.) Express.

"Heredity is when a teen-age boy winds up with his mother's big brown eyes and his father's long yellow convertible."—Sammy Kaye.

* * *

Have you heard about the two whales that met unexpectedly far in the desert? Not much to it except what one whale said to the other. Silly, but what would you expect him to say if not "Long time no sea."

Views and Interviews

News

Tuskegee, Ala.

By HAL FISHER

Thurs 8-2-56

Alabama will get its first National Military Park under a bill signed by President Eisenhower last week which recognizes the historic significance of Horseshoe Bend, on the Tallapoosa River, where Gen. Andrew Jackson and a rag-tag army made up mostly of Tennesseeans defeated the Creek Indians and thus opened up a vast area to colonization by white people. It has been widely asserted and certainly is no exaggeration that "a continent changed hands" with the battle of Horseshoe Bend. As the crow flies, the historic site is only about 50 miles from Tuskegee but it is doubtful if more than a handful of local persons have ever visited the battleground. As a matter of fact, until only a few years ago such a visit involved a considerable walk through fields and woods. Such indifference to a scene of such historical importance is hard to understand. The battle, one of the most momentous ever fought on this continent, saw Andrew Jackson break forever the power of the proud Creek Indians. The arena was where the Tallapoosa River forms a sort of horseshoe, a few miles from Dadeville, in Tallapoosa County. There, on March 27, 1814, behind a rampart of logs, the flower of the Creek nation fought to the bitter end against a superior American army, strengthened by Indians who sided with the white man against their own race. The Horseshoe Bend Battle Park Association has been instrumental in laying the groundwork and preparing a great deal of material to substantiate the historical importance of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.

* * *

"I am glad that a movement has been started to dispose of the Tuskegee Country Club property and thus return it to productive use," said J. G. Thomas. "It has certainly been proven that Tuskegee will not or cannot support a country club and it is shere wastefulness to let the property lie idle. I understand a number of persons are interested in purchasing the property and now seems the time to sell if the stockholders approve."

* * *

AUGUST IN HISTORY—

Aug. 1, 1790—First U. S. census turned up 3,939,217 population in 16 states and the Ohio territory.

Aug. 4, 1916—U. S. buys St. Croix, St. Thomas and St. John Islands in West Indies from Denmark for $25,000,000.

Aug. 11, 1914—First patent on animated cartoon for movies, entitled "The Dachshund."

Aug. 16, 1896—Gold was discovered in the Klondike.

Aug. 27, 1776—Americans lost Battle of Long Island "in desperate valor;" Washington made safe withdrawal to Manhattan under cover of night.

* * *

KWIK KWOTES—

"Lowering the taxes gets the votes—and some Congressmen figure they need the votes more than the country needs the taxes."—Herb Shriner.

"Funny how an actress gets a role in a full-length movie because she looks good in shorts."—Frank Cerutti.

"The secret of writing is to learn the big words—and then learn not to use them."

—H. G. Hutcheson.

See- 14n

Editorial By Hal Fisher
$375,000 Grant to
Tuskegee Institute ....
last minute decision
on account of early
hospital pay-day
......merchants half-day
Tuesdays.

Views and Interviews

News P.1

By Hal Fisher

Tuskegee, Ala.

A few day ago we had the pleasure of a long chat with the Rev. J. P. Daughtry, former resident of Macon County and now, at nearly 80 years of age, a retired Methodist minister. The Rev. Mr. Daughtry reminisced at some length about the "old days" at Tuskegee and some of the things he said impressed us being rather significant illustrations of the long history of good race relations that have prevailed in this community. The Rev. Mr. Daughtry was a good friend of Dr. Booker T. Washington and Dr. George Washington Carver He was an especially close friend of Dr. Carver and he related many incidents of their long friendship.

Thurs. 3-1-56

"I consider Dr. Carver had one of the greatest minds and the most versatile talents of any person I have ever known," said the Rev. Mr. Daughtry. "He was also the most devout Christian I have ever known and a thoroughly good citizen."

The Rev. Mr. Daughtry told of the last time he saw Dr. Carver before his death. The illness that claimed his life had laid a heavy hand on him and he was extremely feeble. But Dr. Carver greeted his old friend cordially and they had a long talk.

During the course of the conversation, the Rev. Mr. Daughtry mentioned a poem he had written and Dr. Carver asked that it be read to him. When the Rev. Mr. Daughtry had finished, he saw that tears had come to the eyes of Dr. Carver. Feebly with one hand, he raised the other palm upward and asked that Mr. Daughtry place his hand in it.

"I did so and at the same time tears came to my own eyes for I knew I would never see him alive again," said Mr. Daughtry. "In a few days he had passed away and I had lost my good and true friend."

* * *

Those who saw President Eisenhower on television Wednesday night could not help but be impressed at how well he looked and the vigor with which he spoke. He looks fit and strong enough to make the race he has decided upon and the whole nation hopes that his devotion to duty will not affect his health in the years to come.

* * *

"I am very happy to salute the members of the Macon County 4-H Clubs and their leaders as National 4-H Club Week approaches," said E. W. Wadworth, Tuskegee school principal. "The work of this fine organization and the excellent leadership of Bill Forehand, Miss Prater and Jack Bolling has helped in many ways to complement the program of Tuskegee schools."

Views and Interviews

News

Tuskegee, Ala.

By Hal Fisher

Thurs. 5-24-56

Merchants who may be worrying about declining trade and who cannot quite make up their mind about the cause should be able to get the picture clarified somewhat by reading some excerpts from a recent editorial in The Dillon (Mont.) Examiner.

Excerpts from the editorial follow:

P.1

"Right now there is much talk in Dillon on the 'trade at home' theme.

"Usually the talker has in mind the shoppers who go to other centers to do their shopping. We venture to guess that the total spent by such shoppers in a year's time is a very small fraction of the quarter of a million dollars—or a vastly greater sum—that goes out in Postal and Express money orders and in checks to the catalog houses. It is like worrying over a leaky faucet while another runs full blast and unnoticed.

"Why do the mail-order houses go on reaping this golden harvest?

"They ADVERTISE—they minutely describe the smallest and cheapest articles. They appeal to the Thrift Instinct inherent in everyone.

"They don't rely on the buyer's remembering they are in business. Who doesn't know that there is a Sears Roebuck, a Montgomery Ward, a Spiegel? And between their voluminous Fall and Spring catalogs there is a liberal sprinkling of good sized 'special sale' catalogs to keep the customers interested and active.

"They tell the people what they have, and how much it costs—and if it's a sale they show the 'tremendous' price slashes. And the money rolls in — from Beaverhead county along with the rest of the country.

"We've heard merchants point out that buyers can do better right here at home—sometimes buying identical items—without carrying charges, and the other fringe costs that add to the mail-order items. But they only tell US. They don't tell the customers again, and Again, and AGAIN!

"We sell advertising space. People read the paper—yeh, the ads, too. If your ad is timely, if the merchandise is good, and if the price is right—it doesn't have to be slashed—you'll get some of those mail-order customers. But don't expect to run one announcement ad and then wait for the stampede. We can promise you—it won't happen, any more than if Montgomery-Roebuck ran only one announcement saying they are still taking orders.

"But you can share in some of those local dollars that now go to mail-order accounts if you tell the people this week, and next week, and next week, and next month what you have to offer."

* * *

"The Extension personnel of Macon County appreciates the cooperation they have had from 4-H club members and men and women toward obtaining Macon County's quota of supplies for the 4-H Club Friend-Ship for Korea," said Miss Mary Thompson, home agent. "There are a few things that we are still short of such as carpenter and garden tools and knitting kits. If there is anyone who would like to contribute and who has not been called on, we would really appreciate any contribution they find it possible to make."

Views and Interviews

News P.1

By Hal Fisher

Thurs. 6-21-56

Tuskegee, Ala.

Likely because we all notice the persons who move away more than we notice who move here, it has been a commonplace expression about town that Tuskegee's white population is declining sharply. But it takes just a little reflection, without even the formality of a population count, to realize that this is not true. You need only to think of the residential areas that have been opened up since the war to know beyond a doubt that the population has shown a substantial increase. Out on East Main there have been at least six or eight new home built since the war and further out in Grandview there are about that many more. Just recently Frank Oslin has built five or six new homes in East End and all were quickly snapped up. Then there is the Wallace subdivision, the new homes on Brewer Street and around the lake front and scattered around town a good many more. All in all, there have been perhaps more than 50 new homes built here since the end of the war and still it is virtually impossible to find a house for rent anywhere in town. So one does not need to "count noses" to realize that there has been an increase in population, although the exact amount cannott be known without a census.

* * *

"I ran across a clipping in an old copy of The Tuskegee News about the earthquake we had

here many years ago," said Berry "Rip" Shelton. "I recall the incident very well as I happened to be at the Methodist Church with my mother when the quake struck. Of course, everyone was very much excited, though very little damage was done. I'll bring the clipping by for you to see the first chance I get."

* * *

A casual glance to the right of this column will reveal that we are starting this week publication of the children's pictures made by a representative of the Woltz Studios a few weeks ago. These will be published under the general title of "Citizens of Tomorrow" since that is exactly what these youngsters will be. In this series there may be published for the first time a future mayor of Tuskegee, perhaps one or more membrs of th City Council and without a doubt several presidents of the P.-T.A. and various civic, social and church organizations. Maybe, even, we will carry during the next few weeks a picture of an Alabama governor of years to come or a Congressman or military leader or some other outstanding citizen. At any rate, they are all fine youngsters and it is too bad that more parents did not avail themselves of the invitation to have their children included. The series wil continue for the next 12 weeks.

* * *

And speaking of these pictures, they show as well as anything that has happened recently the pulling power of The Tuskegee News and The Herald. One advertisement and two stories inviting children in to have their pictures made appeared in each paper. As a result, a total of 154 children were brought in to the photographer on the two days he spent here. In addition, any number of parents called to ask for appointments on other days since they could not come the two designated days. People read their hometown newspapers.

* * *

WHAT'S NEW — Doctors in hospitals can now be paged silently—to the vast benefit of patients—instead of over a raucous public-address system. Industry has dveloped a tiny pocketclipped personal loudspeaker—wireless paging system based on "transistorized" radio receivers.

Washington week-ender—

News

Alabama should know . . .

Sat. 8-4-56

B'ham, Ala.

31a P.1

BY JAMES FREE
News Washington correspondent

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4— Southerners must not be misled into thinking that campaign platforms are the really crucial element in the 1956 elections, so far as their battle to preserve state's rights is concerned.

What matters most in this regard is Democratic control of the Senate. The Senate is the last citadel of Southern power on the national scene.

JAMES FREE

Events of recent years show that the South cannot count on help from the Executive Branch of the government in civil rights matters, regardless of which party is in power. Certainly the Supreme Court offers little hope. And rules of the House of Representatives are such that the Southern minority, at best, can only delay the passage of a civil rights bill when the non-South majority turns on the heat.

The big Southern weapons in the Senate are unlimited debate (that can be closed only by a vote of at least 64 senators), and the power of Democratic committee chairman from the South.

Hill sat on FEPC

JUDICIARY COMMITTEE Chairman James O. Eastland of Mississippi bottled up a number of civil rights bills in the 84th Congress, as newspaper readers know. Less noted was the fact that Chairman Lister Hill of Alabama maneuvered so quietly that a dynamite FEPC bill never came up for action of any kind by his labor and public welfare committee.

31a 1956

NEGRO (WILLIAM GORDON)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

World P 6
B'ham, Ala.
Tues 5-15-56

By WILLIAM GORDON

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

What They Want Us To Learn . . .

"Sit down", he said, "I can give you only fifteen minutes." But when I left his office, we had talked for almost an hour. And I left with this feeling in mind. Aside from a feeling of fear and superstition, there existed a strong determination to limit everything — education, employment — everything that would keep us in a servile position.

This top official of one of the South's recently organized Citizens' Council was cordial in his expressions. He was courteous, polite, the same as the average business person, the salesman wanting to sell you a life insurance policy or someone wanting to crack the walls of the so-called Negro market. He was a typical example. But this was not what disturbed me.

When we talked about "first come, first serve," his answer was that: "We have presented this proposition. This is what we think is good for them, the Negro. "We want your people to advance. We want them to elevate themselves pay their share in the economy of the South. It is not our intention as an organization, he said, to restrict, suppress or limit opportunity to your people."

For a moment, I had begun to see things differently from what I had heard.

But the question that Negroes don't carry their load of the tax "burden aroused me," caused me to be critical of his conclusions. The fact that Negroes pay, and often over-pay their load through rents, property, sales tax and other dubious methods, isn't often clear to the average person. But this is the practice, and has been in effect for generations.

"The Negro is getting more than his share," the official said, and in doing so, he admitted that on the basis of income, Negroes simply cannot pay anymore than they are doing already.

With this view being advanced, I asked what is being done in his state to integrate Negroes into industry on the basis of skills? What, in effect is being done to let the Negro carry his own responsibility of the community in terms of voting, and overall job opportunities?

The question brought a long pause, but no answer. So we shifted from race to character, ability and general skills, but even here no answer came in terms of how we fit into the total scheme of American life.

I did get this feeling:

We all, as far as this man, and many others are concerned, fall into a special category, the servant class. There may be professionals among us, business men too. But these will be allowed to rise only within the sphere of the Negro environs. The chance to compete in the open market for all things American, was never intended by some for us to have.

This being true, there should be no surprise as to why Negro schools in the South have lacked the proper facilities, the freedom of operation and the thoroughness in programming in order to equip the average youngster for a competitive society. Equal educational opportunity is a word, not a reality, it never intended to be more.

The pattern has been one of restriction, to curb and limit us in growth and thinking. Consequently, so many of us are thrown upon society without the proper tools to function. We become wards of a system, not at all our own creation. There are those who speak for us, tell us what they want us to have, north and South. They limit us to what they want us to learn.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
P. 4

By WILLIAM GORDON

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

Sun. 5-20-56

Southerners Have Played A Part . . .

Searching through the shelves of a big eastern university library a couple of years back, I ran across a book whose title slips me for the moment. What still stands out in mind is the story the author attempteted to tell about the old South.

The book was written immediately following the Civil War, and there were tales of bloodshed, horror, lynchings of the most brutal type, and down right murder of innocent people. It took nerve to read it, but out of its pages flowed not only the blood of innocent people, but a revelation of the kind of mentality one faced in a region badly sick from the war.

Naturally, that part concerning Negroes concerned me most. And I can still see through these pages, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan. By reading the book, one could almost feel the bite of frost in the fields, the moonlit nights of winter and fear and hysteria that gripped the area in those days of social change.

The stories came to life again when I sat a few days ago and listened to the talk of an outstanding educator, born during this period. There was even some personal experience about these incidents, and one can imagine what was told him by his parents.

But history of the South has not been all horror and bloodshed, discrimination and segregation, but also some love and affection, decency and understanding. He gave testimony to this when he spoke of Negro education.

"There were women," he said, white women, "some of them with Southern background, who in the face of insults tried to bring education to Negroes." There were also women from the North, the east who came here, not for the money involved, but for what they could contribute toward humanity.

There were Southerners, many of them, who shared the views of northerners in their fight against ignorance. There were many whites, even during the days of the Klan, who knew that to enslave the Negro, meant enslavement for whites also. There are many more today, and the list continues to increase.

But the most revealing thing is what those early educators faced when they went out to teach Negroes.

One passage in this book says, there were women, some of them young who, the moment they revealed their intentions, were completely ostracized from white society. The humilities, the insults and indignities they suffered were without parallel. Yet they stuck in the fight.

Then there were other Southerners, the famous Supreme Court Justice Harlan, who knew, even in his day that racial segregation and the bigotry that follows, are of line with democratic principles.

One must not overlook Thomas Jefferson, who worked and fought to release his native South from the chains of a slave system.

And even today, as the educator pointed out there were three Supreme Court Justices whose views were foremost in denouncing racial segregation in the segregation cases. Among these was Justice Black of Alabama, whose heritage from the black belt of the state he represents, has not tainted his views on the value and worth of the human being.

One could go on and talk about other Southerners, who know that the day is long past when men should be judged on the basis of color. There are many who know that the present climate of change, is universal in scope — that men and women, all over the world are looking to that day when they can share in an atmosphere of complete freedom. If there is a greater emphasis on color today in terms of a criteria, it involves more than a billion people of the darker races. These, and Negroes in the South have one thing in common: They want freedom. And the Southerners will play a large part in seeing that they get it.

REVIEWING
Daily World
THE NEWS
Thur. 6-3-56

By WILLIAM GORDON

31a—

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

There's A Natural Advantage . P4

The story came out of the conflict of World War II, where death and destruction ran without parallel. But somehow, no matter how inhumane war can be for both sides, human elements always emerge over the inhuman.

It is part of history that the Negro has fought in every war, contributed a large share of the suffering, and helped to pay for the American ideals in his own blood, and tears, even to the point of giving his life.

Although, he has helped to fight a ruthless enemy in each war, he has been among the first to realize that human beings exist on both sides of the firing line. Perhaps, this accounts for the story of the German soldier.

"What I think of the Negro?", he said. "I remember the day we surrendered. The streets were lined with people, many of them without proper clothing, some were hungry and many starving."

"It was an American Negro soldier who reached into a bag he was carrying and gave an orange to my hungry wife and baby, who had been without food for a long time. This is what I think of the Negro."

The soldier tried to talk further, but apparently grief stricken, perhaps tears choked off the rest of his speech. Such stories are many.

An Austrian had this to say only a few days ago:

"I like what your people did while the occupation forces were in my country. Negro soldiers, like other Americans could get plenty of food, candies and other items vastly lacking in Austria. They seemed to delight in giving to our people. They didn't wait for a crowd to gather to give, they gave without fanfare and publicity."

This must have gone a long way among people who had been faced with negative propaganda about Negroes. People in Europe were most amazed when they learned that Negroes were also real human beings. More than this, they learned that they were friendly, unboastful and broad in their thinking.

This can be traced to a natural advantage, an attribute which has brought us a long way, and one that will take us far into the future.

Presently, thousands of Negro youngsters are finishing the colleges and universities throughout the country. These graduates have a natural advantage, in that, by heritage, there is a basic element of friendliness. This quality, supported by the necessary skills and training, will put the Negro far ahead in terms of job opportunities. It's encouraging to note how much today, as against the past, that big firms, corporations are in search of people who know how to do the job. Color is being relegated to the rear. Big executives know that the finished product is no more sensitive to black than it is white or yellow, that what really counts is substance, not pigmentation.

But even more than this, the Negro can be of tremendous help to himself, and above all, his country in these times of crisis. In the area of international affairs, he can put his basic advantages of friendliness and understanding to work among peoples of the world who look to us as the leader.

Attitudes and feelings will play a large part in shaping the world for tomorrow. The way we respect the other fellow's point of view, the degree to which we consider his role as a human being, and the extent we recognize that freedom and equality are paramount in the thinking of all men, will go a long way in determining our own freedom here at home.

Whether we will admit it or not, the destiny of the free world lies in how we treat the millions of darker people throughout Asia and Africa. This will determine in what direction they will eventually go politically. In terms of the Christian concept: "What you do to the least of them, you do it also to me."

REVIEWING
World P. 6 Tues. 5-29-56
THE NEWS
B'ham, Ala.

By WILLIAM GORDON

31a—

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

Elements Of "Brute Force" . . .

There are many circumstances which tend to breed criminal elements, and the majority of them are man-made and not biologically inherent.

This often comes to mind when one thinks of the old mob practices of the South, when men were taken out, hung to a tree and subsequently burned while others looked on in fun. Even the law, if there was such a thing in those days, joined in with the fun of the day. One would get the feeling that today, in the middle stages of the twentieth century, people would be getting away from mob tactics, brutality and the evils that follow.

But newspaper accounts present an opposite view, especially when we see where one has been beaten, brutally, almost to the point of death by certain elements of the "law." And usually, this is done after the person has been arrested and well in custody of the police officers. This points to something quite out of line with modern reasoning.

It was encouraging a few years ago when reports revealed that the old mob tactics had vanished. There were some incidents, but most of them had been relegated to a minor area of law enforcement.

Some make the remark that the U. S. is about fifty years behind England in government and law enforcement. I don't know how valid this is but I do know that in England, police officers don't carry firearms. A night stick or "billet" is their usual weapon of defense.

But there is something far more significant, at the disposal of the English police officer — the element of respect. This, it seems, far exceeds the gun or the six shooter and lends credit to a kind of society which has reached maturity.

The English boasts of less criminals, less incidents of the crime, and more respect for those who try to enforce the law. The same can't be said of some elements here, although some people have worked hard to make it so.

Some think it's in our educational system, background, and up-bringing which prohibits us getting the highest calibre of law enforcement people. Others think it's the hang-over from the slave system, mob rule which causes men to beat and brutalize others, even after they have arrested and subdued them.

We would like to think of mob rule as a thing of the past. We would like to link it with barbarism, methods of the dictators, gansterism and other elements which retard social growth and progress, rather than modern-day tactics of law enforcement.

But when people are beaten even before the eyes of others, the incident is difficult to hide. Not only do we fail to hide it from ourselves, we fail to hide it from people both here and abroad.

Americans traveling in Asia and in Europe encounter utter embarrassment stemming from our habits and customs. People in Europe and Asia just can't visualize why we still brutalize, kill and lynch at the flicker of our emotions. "Why?", they ask, "in America of all places, do people still have to kill, lynch and mob when they have a law to deal soberly with criminal elements."

It has become common knowledge, almost around the world, that even our vast sums of natural resources, rich heritage and numerous advantages that other nations don't have, that in some sections, we are unable to govern ourselves.

They say we give guns to our policemen, and yet they beat and kill when it is unnecessary. We send them to schools and they still beat and kill.

"What is wrong with people," they ask, "who have so much and yet use so little reason in their dealing with fellow human beings. It must be an element of brute force," they conclude.

31a 1956

NEGRO (WILLIAM GORDON)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

BY WILLIAM GORDON

Managing Editor
Atlanta Daily World

"Voting With Saint Peter"...

It was the end of a long drive which brought us to a small frame house, sitting in full view of the area.

We entered, and were greeted by an alert man, seemingly in his early forties.

"We had exhausted every possible means, before we finally had to go to court," he said. "It has been a long fight, as far back as 1948 when Negroes tried to register in this county. There were restrictions, every conceivable type, to keep us off the voting list. But today, we are thankful that this does not exist any longer. We took them to court and that ended the barrier."

But there had been other reprisals which followed the victory for voting. The fact that this man had lived in the county all of his life, had little bearing on some of the people who made and ran the law. He had been threatened, and in some instances, asked to leave town because he insisted on voting in his county.

"The most frightful moment of my life," he said, "came one evening while shopping down town. I was approached by several white men who warned that I must stay away from the polls, that if I insisted on voting, I would be doing so with St. Peter."

He said when he reported the incident to law officials, they only laughed and made no attempt to search for the men who threatened him.

But this man's plight was only one of many, still prevalent in parts of the South today.

The real fact, it seems, is that many parts of the South are plagued by an out-moded political system. Such a system, has not only held the Negro back, it has also enslaved the white man. The County Unit System in Georgia is a good example.

The fact that only a few people in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, make the laws that govern, is basic reason why these states are far more backward, educationally, industrially and otherwise. The political system is one of a few, riding on the backs of others.

Those who fear more federal intervention, may as well get used to seeing more things handled from Washington. For as long as men will exploit and rob others of their rights as citizens some action must be taken to preserve the real ideal the country stands for. Such could be interpreted in light of recent action taken by the United States Department of Justice on voting in the South.

Power concentrated into the hands of a few, as has been the case in certain areas of the Deep South, is dangerous for even the welfare of the nation. No longer can our country stand up and preach to the rest of the world the ideals of equality and justice without first practicing it at home. The more intelligent leadership of the nation envisions a new kind of world; one where men and women will be judged on the basis of worth and value and not on artificial reasons.

We may expect in the future to see far less threats against people who desire to register and vote. There will be less talk of voting with St. Peter. There is bound to be more racial harmony and justice for all. The world has moved to the point where we can take no other course.

CARL ROWAN, left, famous newsman and author talking with Professor James A. Hulbert, director of the library at Atlanta University. Mr. Rowan was the guest speaker at the opening session of the Atlanta University campus-community book fair here Sunday. — (Perry's Photo)

31a 1956

NEGRO (WILLIAM GORDON)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Daily World P. 6
Atlanta, Ga.

BY WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor
Atlanta Daily World

Peddling The Seeds Of Hate . . . .

OAK RIDGE, Tenn. — (SNS) — It was a peaceful afternoon, the day we drove out of Knoxville for Oak Ridge. It was even more peaceful at the Oak Ridge high school where more than a hundred Negro children had been accepted, by faculty and students. The school has been opened to them without incident.

"Those who agitate and peddle hate usually have a background for the trade," the principal of one of the schools there told us.

He related part of his own experience. Most of his trouble came not from many native-born Southerners, but from an "outsider" who apparently was a chronic agitator. And so the story goes with Clinton, Tenn. This is a peaceful town, law-abiding, with a definite intent to do what is right. But up comes the chronic agitator, one who is obviously a trouble-maker, bent on satcrificing all principles of decency for the sake of bigotry. Without such influence, Clinton would be the same peaceful and law-abiding place as Oak Ridge.

The people directly involved in the Clinton case have shown the willingness to go along with the Supreme Court's decision and they should be commended for taking a stand for the right. The law enforcement officials there should also be congratulated for taking the initiative to maintain peace as not was the case in Alabama. But geography does make a difference sometime. Fortunately, in Tennessee, we have many whites who are still God-fearing; many who believe in the orderly process of law and order.

It is unfortunate that hate has moved into the picture. It will be more unfortunate if hate gets out of hand and somebody is hurt in the process. The seeds of hate inevitably leave in their wake a kind of sickness that lives to haunt men's souls.

Americans know too well the story of World War I and World War II when hate took the lives of millions. Hitler's hate peddlers because they disliked Jews, took the lives of more than four million people. Many Americans were in this number.

We can trace many damages left by wars of recent times, all of which grew out of the hate for one country against the other race against race, or religion against religion.

We also know from experience that hate groups in this country have caused most of the discord, the mob violence the lynchings and disruption.

It is unfortunate that hate is on the march again. It is on the march in Tennessee, Florida, Texas and many other places, simply because we have stood silently by and let mob rule take the dominant leadership.

There should be some moral and ethical responsibility for all of us to take. The churches could do a job, except that many of them, white of course, are themselves shackled with chains of hate. The ministry is unfortunately poor in reasoning and offers almost nothing in the sense of guidance.

Our Southern daily press is also chained to the seeds of hate peddling. There is a constant play-up of the activities of mob leaders and hate peddlers. Seldom is there ever a play-up of the respectable Negroes and the whites who back their views. Many of our Southern editors seems to search and look for the worse to print.

There is one in particular, who makes a business to search northern papers primarily to agitate and invoke adverse criticism. His motives are always negative.

This is also an element of hate, the kind which will eventually backfire. Hate peddlers and their sympathizers should keep in mind that hate based on race, religion, nations is without logical foundation. It's a disease more deadly and crippling than any epidemic we have ever known. "Whom the Gods will destroy, they first make mad." Hate, like history, has a way of repeating itself.

Loyalty Of Negroes Impresseses Visitors

World Wed. 9-19-56
B'ham, Ala. P. 6

By WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

ATLANTA, Ga. — (SNS) — The loyalty and progress of the American Negro are two "significant points" which stand out most in the memory of a top African official as he nears a three-month tour of the United States, it has been disclosed.

Masotsha Mike Hove, member of Parliament of the Federal Assembly of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is currently on a tour of the United States at the invitation of the U. S. State Department.

LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Mr. Hove's trip is sponsored in cooperation with the Foreign Leader Exchange Program of the International Exchange Service of the State Department.

The top African official arrived in Atlanta Wednesday evening, and will remain here through Tuesday of next week. He spent most of Thursday visiting Negro business institutions on Auburn Avenue. These included: the Atlanta Daily World, Citizens Trust Company, Mutual Federal, Atlanta Life Insurance Company, Alexander Calloway Company and the Butler Street YMCA.

While in Atlanta, he is the house guest of Dr. J. R. Coan, professor at Morris Brown College.

PROGRESS AND LOYALTY

"The progress of Negroes in business and education has impressed me very much," Mr. Hove said. He added:

"Perhaps most amazing is the loyalty of Negroes to this country. I have been impressed with the democratic outlook and point of view by Negro Americans. Everywhere I have gone and talked with them, I get the feeling that Negroes are far more loyal to their government and institutions than some of the whites I met."

The African official said he had a deep admiration, for not only the efficiency of the Negro in America, but the "willingness on the part of the race to deal with changes in the system on a legal basis, rather than radical basis."

VIEWS ON COMMUNISM

"I have met far more Negroes who denounce Communism in America than whites," Mr. Hove added.

He will spend the next few days in Atlanta visiting and speaking to groups in the schools and colleges. He is especially interested in studying the role of the Negro in all aspects of American life.

He is interested in the aged, rehabilitation of the physically handicapped, government regulation of transportation and agriculture research.

During his stay in the United States he has traveled through 20 states. Among these have been Texas, California, Louisiana, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Alabama, North and South Carolina and Georgia. He is presently in the final stages of his visit, and will travel in New England and the eastern seaboard states before leaving for Africa.

FORMER NEWSMAN

Mr. Hove is a former newspaperman. Before entering politics and being elected to Parliament, he published his own weekly newspaper, The Bantu Mirror, in Southern Rhodesia.

Mr. Hove, who speaks English fluently, has been a senior African teacher at Waddilove Institution He is a former member of the executive committee of the African Teachers Association of South Rhodesia; assistant secretary of the African Missionary Conference and the Rhodesian Guild of Journalists.

He is married. He and his wife are the parents of five children two sons and three daughters, ranging in ages from 3 1-2 to 14. They live at 25 Coghlan Road, Luveve Village Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

World 9/6
B'ham Ala.

BY WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor
Atlanta Daily World

Wed. 10-17-56

Hitler Was A Segregationist; He Failed

Hitler, the world's one-time number-one gangster used the same methods. He was followed by Mussolini, Italy's one-time Fascist leader, and more recently by the political forces of South Africa.

The technique is to cut the channels of communications; to divide and conquer. They begin by extending the stereotype painting the minority as an inferior. This is true with the segregationists today.

The idea was brought into clear perspective by a Southerner a few years ago as he sat, and talked with a group at an eastern university. He had finished at the head of his class, given a job in a top Southern college, but refused to remain in his native South.

"I simply couldn't stand it any longer," he said. "I like freedom, and I like to pick my own associates."

The young white man, well trained and capable, had moved his family out of the South and taken a job in the north. It so happened, that in his own Southern community, several Negroes were among his best friends. He couldn't be free sitting down and talking with them whenever he liked. Segregation was the barrier. So, he left, as many others have done, the South being the biggest loser.

At the time he talked with the group of us, his story seemed fantastic. But the whole matter became clearer a few months ago in Florida when I went to discuss a matter with a young white educator. The fact is, I visited his city on Sunday. I could not call at his office, neither his home. So I had to phone, and we met near the campus of a Negro college.

"I was puzzled a bit," he said, when you phoned. Negroes and whites cannot be seen sitting and talking together in public places. There's a law against it. So you see why I asked you to meet me here."

He assured me that this was not the feeling of young whites, thousands of them, big and intelligent enough to be practical about segregation. I got the same feeling from talking to a Florida newspaperman who said segregation was still much a part of the culture of his state, even though it produced situations difficult to deal with. "No matter how immoral and illogical these situations are, there are people who still believe in them; they will go to any length to preserve them."

The real shock came however a short time ago, when a white woman doctor was fired from her post in Florida because she was seen eating with a Negro nurse. On the heels of this a Monticello, Florida elementary school teacher was asked to resign her job because she defended Dr. Deborah Coggins, the Florida medic. Some of this seem almost unbelievable. But even an enlightened society sometimes has to be burdened with the corrupt, the unjust, as history so clearly records.

The student from India was amazed when he sat in a restaurant near Washington, D. C. a year or two ago. They refused to serve him, thinking he was an American Negro. When the management discovered that he was a foreigner, there came overwhelming apologies. But the Indian slowly arose from his seat and said: "You paid me a high honor by mistaking me for an American Negro." He walked out.

Some people worry about the damages segregation does to the Negro psychologically. There is damage of course, but most of the damage affects the other side, as many young whites will testify. They become confused and frustrated when they fail to find the basis for bigoted action. The Negro has used the weapon of ridicule to fight back; consequently, he has been able to survive. Frustration seldom catches up with him.

The Negro servant laughs behind the backs of her employers when she cooks and serves them food with her own hands and yet isn't allowed to let her own son or daughter sit in a separate seat in a classroom with the same whites. The young Negro lawyer laughs at many Southerners who fail to admit him to the universities in the South when he knows that he can work and study in the north, and in many instances return to the South and practice before Southern judges. The Negro laughs at the irony and out-moded methods used by some to cut the channels of communications between whites and Negroes. He laughs even louder when, despite the restrictions, the limitations on education for him, he frequently returns to the South and out produces and contributes more for the advancement of the region than those who restrict him. It's good to laugh at the myth of the "master race" concept.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Daily World
Jan. 10-14-56

BY WILLIAM GORDON
Atlanta Ga.
Managing Editor
Atlanta Daily World P.4

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

Daily World P. 4

Sun. 2-26-56

By WILLIAM GORDON

Atlanta, Ga.

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

The Epic Out Of Montgomery

It was two years ago when I got to know three young men from India, each articulate and sharply critical of the theory of "white supremacy." Each liked to tell this story about Gandhi:

It seemed that one day this thin brown man sat snugly in one corner of a compartment on a railway coach minding his own business. When a European man of some note entered the coach, he questioned Gandhi's presence. There was some resentment. The man asked Gandhi to leave. When he refused, he took Gandhi's cane and threw into the aisle of the coach. It is said that Gandhi, out of protest took the man's hat and threw it into the aisle. When the man asked for his hat, Gandhi is reported to have said: "I sent your hat to fetch back my cane." He then quietly walked out of the compartment and took a seat elsewhere.

Some writers say this was the beginning of the great passive resistence movement spearheaded by the great leader of India. From this point on the great non-violent movement against injustice in Asia and other parts of the world is part of history.

The people of India were perhaps among the first to feel the stigma of color and all the implications that haunted millions even to their deaths. No one person can describe the hardships, the humiliations and the frustrations encountered by a people who for centuries lived under the iron heel of British imperialism. There were many Englishmen back in Gandhi's day strongly opposed to the system of injustice, but could do little about conditions at that time. The same could be said for the thousands of whites, Southerners also who realize the embarrassments and injustices against Negroes, but are caught in the grips of social restrictions.

So the spirit of resistance, non-violent and non emotional has come to our shores in behalf of the Negro. In this respect, we are only a few years behind India for our fight for freedom.

The epic out of Montgomery, Alabama will testify to the protest by people who have reached the point of "no return to submissiveness and servility.

Under the leadership of Gandhi, the world faced a new kind of man from India. Under the variety of leadership today, the South faces a new kind of Negro —— the kind of Negro who wants no more and naturally no less, than what every other American citizen is entitled to.

The South is dealing with a Negro who fathoms good race relations, not in light of paternalistic peace-meal dealings, but in light of over-all American concepts of equality. He will accep' nothing short of this.

Like the Negro citizens of Montgomery, Negroes want more courtesy from bus drivers for Negro passengers. They want all Americans to live up to the principle of "first-come, first-serve" and not to be set aside to be dealt with in a special category. Negroes want to be employed on the basis of their skills, character and respectability as other Americans. These things, they know, are moral and religiously just and should be practiced in a democratic society. They do not especially ask to associate with white folks, because many whites, they know, are far below their social and moral levels. Like any other American, they detest being pushed around, humiliated, restricted and given rights on a peace-meal basis.

As it has been made clear to the people of Europe, the people of India, Pakistan, Africa and many other parts of the world, it should be made clear to the people of Montgomery that the Negro is a human being, entitled to the rights and privileges of all other human beings —— that color is groundless as a criteria on which to judge the level of society to which people may rise.

There are moral and religious forces, let alone just down right intelligence, that bear out this argument. It is about time that the leadership in the South catch up with the rest of the world in its thinking, and dealings with issues that are bound to rise as each new day dawns. There's a new birth of freedom whose implications are part of a world-wide movement. The Negro in America is included in this movement. Those who think otherwise are being stupid at their own cost. The epic out of Montgomery should be sufficient proof.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By WILLIAM GORDON

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

Daily World

The Ghost Of Tom Heflin

The deep South certainly has had its share of bigots, and Alabama can't boast of being an exception, no matter how you look at the political picture of things.

The late William Pope, Southern newspaperman apparently had this in mind when he wrote that the Sou has been without statesmen since Jefferson. Atlanta, Ga.

Political bigotry does not die over night, as has been evident at Tuscaloosa, Alabama where a Negro student has been denied the right to an education solely on the basis of her color. Even he semi-literate person can see that the spirit of the Autherine Lucy case goes back to the "ghost of Tom Heflin." Heflin was Alabama's contribution to Southern political bigotry. John Gunther does a good job in his Inside U. S. A. By placing him alongside Cotton Ed Smith of South Carolina, Tom Watson of Georgia and Vaudman of Mississipi. Sun. 3-4-56

It was a social historian who said only last week that if the University of Alaboma had been located in any other area than that of Tuscaloosa, the climate of reasoning would have been different. He mentioned for example, the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville.

Where the terrain is different, the souls of the people are also different he said.

The University of Alabama is too close to the "moon-shaped" black belt area of the state, where the ghost of Tom Heflin still walks in the moonlight, where the shadow of peonage from share cropping, lynchings, and white supremacy still prevail. There is an allegiance, he said between the money interest of Birmingham and the black belt territory of Alabama.

One gets the feeling that the relics of slavery command much of the action here.

The stand taken by many politicians in the so-called hard core Southern areas testifies that the South still lives in fear —— fear of the political potential of the Negro. And this fear of course, goes back to slavery the master and servant theory. So long as a Negro is in uniform, he can be controlled and made to conform to the patterns of Southern life. Acceptance of a Negro at the University of Alabama, would cut across the grain of mores, folk ways traditions and customs, not withstanding the fact that these customs are part of a dying institution. Miss Lucy came as a respectable human being but her color was against her.

In the final analysis, the South must be made to realize that it is wrong in its actions on the color question. The South should also be made to realize that Miss Lucy's case is only a small part of a resolution, world-wide in scope. This case, like many others which are bound to come, is a revolt against tyranny and bigotry everywhere. The racists who incited the riots at the University of Alabama have hurt themselves and the country far more than they have hurt Miss Lucy. The impact of mob action, the covering up of the rioters by responsible people, have served as a slap across the faces of every living human being whose color might be dark or brown. This is a human fight for decency and equality. The South must be made to realize this if it intends to survive. The South should also be made to realize that the Negro will stop at nothing short of equality, whether it is in Alabama or New York City. Those who turned Miss Lucy away from the doors of the University of Alabama will someday thank their God for the Negro in America. Out of this whole spirit of nationalism, and this too is a world-wide movement, colored peoples everywhere are preaching against the white man. We in America are the remaining few who see the logic of working with people instead of against them.

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Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

The Epic Out Of Montgomery

It was two years ago when I got to know three young men from India, each articulate and sharply critical of the theory of "white supremacy." Each liked to tell this story about Gandhi:

It seemed that one day this thin brown man sat snugly in one corner of a compartment on a railway coach minding his own business. When a European man of some note entered the coach, he questioned Gandhi's presence. There was some resentment. The man asked Gandhi to leave. When he refused, he took Gandhi's cane and threw into the aisle of the coach. It is said that Gandhi, out of protest took the man's hat and threw it into the aisle. When the man asked for his hat, Gandhi is reported to have said: "I sent your hat to fetch back my cane." He then quietly walked out of the compartment and took a seat elsewhere.

Some writers say this was the beginning of the great passive resistence movement spearheaded by the great leader of India. From this point on the great non-violent movement against injustice in Asia and other parts of the world is part of history.

The people of India were perhaps among the first to feel the stigma of color and all the implications that haunted millions even to their deaths. No one person can describe the hardships, the humiliations and the frustrations encountered by a people who for centuries lived under the iron heel of British imperialism. There were many Englishmen back in Gandhi's day strongly opposed to the system of injustice, but could do little about conditions at that time. The same could be said for the thousands of whites, Southerners also who realize the embarrassments and injustices against Negroes, but are caught in the grips of social restrictions.

So the spirit of resistance, non-violent and non emotional has come to our shores in behalf of the Negro. In this respect, we are only a few years behind India for our fight for freedom.

The epic out of Montgomery, Alabama will testify to the protest by people who have reached the point of "no return to submissiveness and servility.

Under the leadership of Gandhi, the world faced a new kind of man from India. Under the variety of leadership today, the South faces a new kind of Negro —— the kind of Negro who wants no more and naturally no less, than what every other American citizen is entitled to.

The South is dealing with a Negro who fathoms good race relations, not in light of paternalistic peace-meal dealings, but in light of over-all American concepts of equality. He will accept nothing short of this.

Like the Negro citizens of Montgomery, Negroes want more courtesy from bus drivers for Negro passengers. They want all Americans to live up to the principle of "first-come, first-serve" and not to be set aside to be dealt with in a special category. Negroes want to be employed on the basis of their skills, character and respectability as other Americans. These things, they know, are moral and religiously just and should be practiced in a democratic society. They do not especially ask to associate with white folks, because many whites, they know, are far below their social and moral levels. Like any other American, they detest being pushed around, humiliated, restricted and given rights on a peace-meal basis.

As it has been made clear to the people of Europe, the people of India, Pakistan, Africa and many other parts of the world, it should be made clear to the people of Montgomery that the Negro is a human being, entitled to the rights and privileges of all other human beings —— that color is groundless as a criteria on which to judge the level of society to which people may rise.

There are moral and religious forces, let alone just down right intelligence, that bear out this argument. It is about time that the leadership in the South catch up with the rest of the world in its thinking, and dealings with issues that are bound to rise as each new day dawns. There's a new birth of freedom whose implications are part of a world-wide movement. The Negro in America is included in this movement. Those who think otherwise are being stupid at their own cost. The epic out of Montgomery should be sufficient proof.

Trained Leadership

Banker Warns Businesses To Meet Changing Future

BY WILLIAM GORDON

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

An Atlanta businessman and former university professor yesterday pointed to "tremendous changes in our economy" and warned that if Negroes are to survive they must fashion their thinking for a desegregated society.

L. D. Milton, president of Citizens Trust Company was guest speaker at the weekly Hungry Club forum at the Butler Street YMCA. He was introduced by Jake Henderson.

MORE TRAINING

In a casual and informal fashion Mr. Milton, pointed to the growth of the Negro market, but also warned that institutions must spend more time training people for service in order to meet the competition of the future.

"Don't let integration segregate you out of business," he warned.

He said the growth of the nation's economy has demanded that men be trained for leadership in the field of business. Most of the big corporations and other businesses today, he said, are being headed by specialists, men who are trained.

SUCCESS

Touching on factors which constitute success in business, Mr. Milton said he had no answer as to how one could achieve absolute success. He did say however, that in business, one must often guess and in doing so, "There must be three right guesses out of every five you make."

He warned "those who know all the answers." He said:

"Nothing is so far from true. No one is indispensable, although, no man's shoes may be filled in the same manner."

The successful person Mr. Milton added, is one who does his best with what he can—better than any one else.

He said that many factors pointing to success in the individual are not always told. Usually, the substantial factors he pointed out, come to surface after a person dies.

CASTLES IN THE AIR

"Build castles in the air," the businessman advised, "and put solid foundations under them."

He said foundations to business institutions are far more important than the individuals involved. Most businesses are successful today, he stated, not because of people, but because of the foundations left by those who built them. He cited the Atlanta Life Insurance Company as being an example among other concerns in this area. He said this company has more capital than any other single institution owned and operated by dark people.

Citing cold business principles Mr. Milton said, "segregation has never got around to the dollar bill."

"We have done so well during recent years that we have made the whole market place attractive."

He told how that in 1922, Negroes had only $22 million in life insurance as against $850 million in 1955.

People are beginning to realize that the market cannot slip from under them, he said. All the way from nothing, he mentioned, Negroes have proved that here is a market to be explored. Everybody wants to invade this market, he stated.

Mr. Milton also told how attitudes and patterns regarding Negroes businesswise had changed. When he first came to Atlanta, he said mortgage companies would not consider business among Negroes. Today, he added, that picture has changed. It is so, he said, because Negroes made it that way.

The real estate market among Negroes is no longer racial. He warned Negroes to not allow this market to slip from their hands.

Mr Milton sees more opportunities for Negroes as the economy continues to expand. But, he said, Negroes must prepare themselves even though many of the schools now opened to them were out of line with the proper program for such training.

The Hungry Club program ended with Warren Cochrane presenting a scroll to E. L. Wright, former Atlanta business man. Mr Wright, recently retired, ran a bakery business on Auburn Avenue at Butler Street for more than 3? years.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

World P. 6
Tues. 4-10-56

By WILLIAM GORDON
B'ham, Ala.
Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

Why Do They Go To Prison?...

He told me he would come by and he did, on the very day he had indicated.

He was a youngster, when he first went to prison, only eighteen to be exact. But like many other youngsters, the life of a lad of eighteen can be very exciting, full of adventure. It can also be very dangerous as it was in the case of this particular person.

But he came by to see me, and I was delighted that he did.

We won't use a name here for many obvious reasons.

This lad, like thousands of others over the United States, got mixed up with the wrong crowd. He wanted to do what he thought was the most exciting thing. So he joined a group of other youngsters. Some of them had records, prison records, bad at that. One had even been involved in kidnapping. So when the gang was arrested, they got him too.

This young man went to prison at the tender age of eighteen. You would have thought he went earlier, from the way he looked.

"I'm still a bit nervous," he said. "I haven't walked the streets of a city in five years now. Naturally, I've got to get adjusted to a new life."

He came in, sat down quietly, his fingers trembling. Then he began fumbling for more words. He had to talk with someone. I am glad that I happened to be the first person. Because out of his brief testimony, I could envision the future for my own sons. I could see the pitfalls, the dangers that lie ahead for every youngster without the proper guidance and direction.

This lad had parents, but perhaps the kind of parents who spent far too little time looking after his interest. He didn't want to blame his parents for his misgivings, but one could see very clearly that somewhere along the path, someone had slipped. Someone had been laxed in their duties.

He was not a dull youngster. He was far above the average in intelligence.

I learned this the first day I went to prison. My visit was not by compulsion, but on invitation to speak to a group of more than five hundred men wanting to know something about the world they once knew. So I was fortunate in being invited to lecture. And I can say here, that the trip also did me a lot of good.

Since being in prison this particular youngster has done some writing. One of his short stories appeared in one of the nation's top magazines. He also won a top prize for writing one of the best articles for the year. Just before he was released, he was second-place prize winner for a subsequent article.

So one cannot question the level of ability here.

What society should question it seems, is why do we wait until youngsters have gone to prison, fallen into bad company and acquired an undesirable record before we start doing something about their future?

Incidents like this one can be multiplied into the millions on a national level.

This particular youngster who has paid part of his price to society is concerned about other youngsters. He plans to go back to school. Moreover, he plans to write. He wants to take a message to the youth of America and warn them against the pitfalls and obstacles which confront every living human being. His experience has been costly, he admits, but now that he has it, he believes it has helped.

Today he faces a new world, one which has changed a lot in five years. Nervously, he enters this world, excited, yet cautious that he won't make the same mistake again. From experience, he knows that the penalty is painful, frustrating, damaging to one's soul.

As he left the office, I could see a young man, now only 23, determined to make himself more useful to society. But as he became lost in the crowd, I could not help but get the feeling that although what he had done was wrong, a larger part of the blame could be traced to us, the people. We could reduce the prison population immensely today, if we would take more time to correct a situation before it gets out of hand.

Crime among youngsters all over America, testifies to our negligence. There are millions of youngsters who should not have had to go to prison.

'Segregation Is Wrong' P. 1

Daily World Thurs. 4-12-56
Atlanta, Ga.

Leadership Unchristian; "Idle" Church Is Blamed

31a Negro

BY WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

The church has had too little to say in politics, a distinguished minister said here yesterday at the Butler Street YMCA during the Hungry Club forum.

The Rev. M. L. King, Sr., pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church, who has spent almost 40 years in the ministery blamed the church for "sitting idle" and letting the un-Christian elements run the government.

"Many of us have not slept at the wheel," he said, "but too many of us have not preached as firmly as we should against the evils inherent in much of our political life."

"Segregation is wrong," Rev. King pointed out, and "no Christian," he continued," would argue that it is right."

Referring to the emergence of the New Deal, he said such is not what the people need. What is most urgent, the distinguished added, is to getthose in political office who will deal honestly wit all the people.

Many towns, and cities, he said are run by machine politics. Many of those who manage and run these twons and cities, Rev. King said are not Christian people.

Those who asoire to lead, should follow the three attributes of God, Rev. King said. He said these were love, mercy and justice. If politics is to be good, he said, the leaders must come from the church.

He criticized some of the leadership in the South for being 'low, degrading and no good.'

Because of this, he added. "our children, white and Negro will be exploited."

Rev. King says the church should preach the gospel of love. Either democracy will prevail, he said of the Communist will eventually take over. He sald the church should also preach the meaning of democracy.

PROTEST

The noted churchman said he observed that through the church, the people have a chance to register their protests. They also get this same chance, he added, at the ballot box.

The leadership he stated, must be through the church and at the polls.

In the whole picture of social and political change, the Rev. King said the church should never sell itself to any political party. He said it is the responsibility of the church to encourage people to register and vote.

"There is one place in the South," Rev. King emphasized, "where the church has taken an active part in government affairs."

REAL FEELING

The churchman referred to the Montgomery protest by Negro citizens against conditions on city buses. He said one could only get the real feeling of what is taking place there by attending one of the mass meetings.

In this connection, he said, "We have heard too many sermons. The Montgomery situation gives us the chance to see a sermon."

Rev. King warned against hatred. He said Negroes must fight with love. They must love those imposing the restrictions, he said.

This is not easy," he stated, "but we must love anyway."

Rev. King stated firmly that he is against "gradualism."

"We have been a tolerant people," he said. "We are willing to work with a bi-racial committee here in Georgia or anywhere else. But we must keep moving." He sharply criticized those who would defy the Supreme Court and use efforts to retard integration.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Daily World
Sun. 4-15-56

By WILLIAM GORDON

31a N.P.

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

"Asleep At The Switch"...

The movement is not new. It had its inception back during the early part of the Truman administration. It really happened when the President presented his first Civil Rights proposals.

Organized effort to keep the Negro in a certain political and economic status is part of the pattern known to groups bent on advancing themselves at the expense of the other fellow.

The fact that we are getting opposition to the United States Supreme Court's decision against segregation in the public schools and other areas of American life, should not be a surprise.

There has always been opposition to social change, and much of this did not begin with our era.

America had its trouble almost from the beginning. The Eighteenth century and part of the Nineteenth as well, saw opposition against people coming from abroad. There has been anti-Catholic, Anti-Jewish, anti-Masonic and anti-almost everything where certain interest groups looked around for a spot to place a blame.

We can understand and perhaps tolerate some of the earlier opposition to social changes. The people themselves, were not too far removed from the wilderness. There was ignorance, superstition and fear. But communication and transportation have taken some of that out of our system. It's too bad, but much of the superstition we encounter today has been allowed to drift into our section of the country, and propagandists are making use of it for their personal advances. A lot of this is due to our shortsightedness.

The liberal elements in the South could have done a good job of massing propaganda favorable to changes if they had started early enough. Groups should have organized, worked together and showed to the public as exhibit "A" that racial differences are biological, but human understanding and goodwill are things which know no color line.

There have been many such examples in the deep South There are still many, but few people know about them. We seem to take for granted that working together for the common good of all, is understood by all, even the masses. But we forget that on the other side of the fence, adverse propaganda is being distributed. Newspapers, looking for a headline print this. Consequently, the negative gets the lead on the positive. The man in the street is beginning to believe what the politician is saying about race. If he didn't believe it, he wouldn't be organizing into hate groups.

The pin is still "more powerful than the sword." Those who read Southern newspapers closely, will testify to this.

It's obvious that the negative forces have captured many of the newspapers in the South. For fear of pressure perhaps, many bend over backwards to comply with the status quo. They do everything possible not to insult the political powers.

The so-called liberal forces have been left out of the picture. Some have either gone over to other side, or they remain quiet in order to get along.

Unfortunately, the liberals have not been as aggressive and smart in their organization as those bent on maintaining segregation. Consequently, the negative forces have made many gains within the past few months. We have been slow and so content to take things for granted. We are losing the ball in the shuffle. It is quite obvious many liberals in the South are asleep at the switch.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

31a

By WILLIAM GORDON

Sun. 5-6-56

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

p.4

We Are Part Of A Culture...

A young lawyer was right recently when he said, "curb freedom of speech and you will kill the right to learn the truth."

He went further to point out that "culture is like a mighty stream" through which flows the vast mixture of ideas, habits and customs of peoples of various races, nationalities and religions, all finally ending in the total product of what man calls civilization.

No wonder, it is a thrill to stand and watch the waters of the mighty Mississippi River flowing through the heart of the United States, finally emptying its cargo into the vast Gulf of Mexico.

Scientists say the Mississippi drains approximately three-fifths of the United States. In its mighty wake, it takes millions of tons of water from its many tributaries. The rich farm lands of the mid west, the South and the whole Mississippi Valley profit from the river's contribution. Farms are saved from floods. Areas long without rain are nourished through the veins of this mighty Father of Waters as she flows gently into the South. From such waters, we are able to harness and establish great reservoirs, and use them for the future. Our great TVA emerged from such an idea.

As it is with rivers, draining off and bringing into territories these vital substances needed to keep plants and animals alive, so is it with man and his many types of cultures. Like the tributaries, pouring into the mighty Mississippi, we all contribute a lot to the sum total of western culture.

This, perhaps, more than anything else helped to establish that no one race, nor group, stands so far above the other. We all have something to give. In the whole process of giving, the Negro stands as near the top as anyone else. Despite his background, his heritage, part of which has been broken into bits through exploitation Negroes have risen to great heights in a very short time. Their contributions have been numerous.

Their genius is a part of everything American. In medicine, law, business, science, all things which have made America the great country she is today, are part of the sweat, blood and tears of Negroes.

The man from South Africa was right when he said: "You people are Americans, the same as any other racial group or nationality who immigrated here from Europe and Asia. It is only incidental," he added, "that your forebearers came from Africa."

The answer should be simple, when outsiders or native Southerners ask "What do the Negroes want?"

As the South African observed, we are Americans. To those who subscribe to the principles of the Constitution of the United States know that this doctrine applies to all with equal significance, no more, no less. Moreover, we are part of that mighty stream, that vast mixture of culture which helped to make this country what it is today; part of that heritage which gave America her freedom of speech. Continue to suppress us and you will kill the chance to learn the truth.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

World P.6

Tues. 6-5-56

By WILLIAM GORDON

B'ham, Ala.

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

There's A Natural Advantage....

The story came out of the conflict of World War II, where death and destruction ran without parallel. But somehow, no matter how inhumane war can be for both sides, human elements always emerge over the inhuman.

It is part of history that the Negro has fought in every war, contributed a large share of the suffering, and helped to pay for the American ideals in his own blood, and tears, even to the point of giving his life.

Although, he has helped to fight a ruthless enemy in each war, he has been among the first to realize that human beings exist on both sides of the firing line. Perhaps, this accounts for the story of the German soldier.

"What I think of the Negro?", he said. "I remember the day we surrendered. The streets were lined with people, many of them without proper clothing, some were hungry and many starving."

"It was an American Negro soldier who reached into a bag he was carrying and gave an orange to my hungry wife and baby, who had been without food for a long time. This is what I think of the Negro."

The soldier tried to talk further, but apparently grief stricken, perhaps tears choked off the rest of his speech. Such stories are many.

An Austrian had this to say only a few days ago:

"I like what your people did while the occupation forces were in my country. Negro soldiers, like other Americans could get plenty of food, candies and other items vastly lacking in Austria. They seemed to delight in giving to our people. They didn't wait for a crowd to gather to give, they gave without fanfare and publicity."

This must have gone a long way among people who had been faced with negative propaganda about Negroes. People in Europe were most amazed when they learned that Negroes were also real human beings. More than this, they learned that they were friendly, unboastful and broad in their thinking.

This can be traced to a natural advantage, an attribute which has brought us a long way, and one that will take us far into the future.

Presently, thousands of Negro youngsters are finishing the colleges and universities throughout the country. These graduates have a natural advantage, in that, by heritage, there is a basic element of friendliness. This quality, supported by the necessary skills and training, will put the Negro far ahead in terms of job opportunities. It's encouraging to note how much today, as against the past, that big firms, corporations are in search of people who know how to do the job. Color is being relegated to the rear. Big executives know that the finished product is no more sensitive to black than it is white or yellow, that what really counts is substance, not pigmentation.

But even more than this, the Negro can be of tremendous help to himself, and above all, his country in these times of crisis. In the area of international affairs, he can put his basic advantages of friendliness and understanding to work among peoples of the world who look to us as the leader.

Attitudes and feelings will play a large part in shaping the world for tomorrow. The way we respect the other fellow's point of view, the degree to which we consider his role as a human being, and the extent we recognize that freedom and equality are paramount in the thinking of all men, will go a long way in determining our own freedom here at home.

Whether we will admit it or not, the destiny of the free world lies in how we treat the millions of darker people throughout Asia and Africa. This will determine in what direction they will eventually go politically. In terms of the Christian concept: "What you do to the least of them, you do it also to me."

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Daily World

Sun. 7-8-56

31a

BY WILLIAM GORDON

Atlanta, Ga.

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

P.4

The Health Of The Negro...

Figures will show that in the deep South, roughly 85 per cent of the jobs given Negroes are found among the "domestics." The South with its policy of discrimination, still limits many to menial and service-type employment. The fact is, we still work in homes of white people as maids, cooks, janitors, in hotels as waiters and other jobs.

This is no attempt to present an argument against domestic jobs; I firmly believe that all work, as long as it is honest, is honorable. There is still just as much dignity in serving a meal as it is in writing a poem.

My argument here is against those who would exploit the Negro of his skills, his loyalty and his own self respect and then say he is not good enough to be called a real human being.

Southerners who argue that it's the health problem of the Negro back of segregation, should take a look at the number of Negroes working in their homes as maids, cooks, janitors and personal servants.

Those who argue that the Negro is unclean should first take a look at their cooks, those who prepare and serve the food to their families. They need no further documentation than to look into their own kitchens, have a talk with the girl who nurses the baby and chat with the waiter who serves the meals in hotels and restaurants.

These are the people who may be biding to send their children to integrated schools. These are the same people, 85 per cent of the employed, who will sit next to whites in street cars, and buses, on trains and planes.

What puzzles the Negro is to hear whites argue about his health when equality is concerned, and not say a word about it while he works in their homes as a servant.

It's ironical, some say, to accept me into your home as a servant, where I handle some of the most personal matters and not to accept me as a respectable human being. Just how far some will go to maintain segregation is puzzling to the best of minds.

Not only have Negroes maintained jobs in the homes of white people for generations, the health departments require each person handling food to have a health card. If health is of such basic concern for those in the public schools why not have all school children to present a health card on entrance? This, it seems, would at least eliminate an argument, so ingrained in the thinking of those who accept us in their homes as servants, yet won't accept us in the schools.

Negroes refuse to get frightened at the arguments of a few on the health question. What they do fear is the efforts of newspapers, magazines, such as the U. S. News and World Report this week outlining the health and morals on a racial basis. Negroes don't expect too much emphasis on the part of publications to crusade against segregation in as much as the practice has long been part of a heritage here, but they do expect these publications to be fair.

Most of them have been more concerned with the over-sensational approach to the coverage of news and events instead of an objective appraisal of issues. Their short-sighted bid for circulation has done much to harm the overall racial cause.

The editors and publishers of some publications should be examined on the basis of their moral and religious integrity, their background and heritage permitting of course. It would seem that many editors, north and South, should take a look into their own kitchens as exhibit "A" on the health of the Negro.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Daily World P.A
Sun. 9-23-56

BY WILLIAM GORDON

Managing Editor
Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

The "Master Race" Concept . . .

It was a young man from the Phillippines who raised the question:

"Is it true that Negroes are superior to whites in athletics and in music?"

His question was directed to a Negro speaking be' re an international forum at an eastern university. The Negro was the first to admit that there exists no biological nor social traits which point to a heritage of superiority. The fact is, Negroes are far more intelligent on this question than many whites; at least one gets this feeling from reading a recent article by Dr. Frank C. J. McGurk in the U. S. News and World Reports.

Like a few others who spend time trying to prove that the Negro is inferior, Dr. McGurk was also wrong. Anthropologists and psychologists long ago proved that differences which exists are only artificial in nature; that color, pigmentation and hair texture cannot tell how far man may rise in society if given he same opportunity.

I rather like the conclusions drawn by Dr. Paul Clifford, of Atlanta University, who observes:

"The notion that Negroes as a group do not possess as much capacity for education as measured by psychological tests is typical of much scientifically unsound data which have been spoken and written about racial differences in psychological traits."

The disparities in social, economic and educational factors are so marked between whites and Negroes that it would be totally unscientific to conclude as a group that Negroes are inferior in terms of capacity, Dr. Clifford points out.

To compare Negroes and whites on a socio-economic basis is far more difficult than Dr. Gurk, it seems, is able to face. Even though he picked similar socio-economic groups to compare in capacity, he fails to conclude that a wealthy or higher income Negro lives in a complete different society than that of a white person of the same status.

First of all the white person is free and the Negro is not. Negroes must face certain restrictions, barriers and frustrations not faced by whites anywhere. There is simply no facet of American life where the Negro can say he is a full-fledged free human being. Consequently, there are the psychological as well as the material barriers which keep pounding at him, telling him that "you are not acceptable because you happen to be an American Negro."

The fact that some tests show that whites are ahead of Negroes in some areas of learning, is to be expected. The fantastic thing is that Negroes have come so far in so short a time. Another factor is that when the two groups are tested objectively, there are Negroes who stand out far ahead of whites as well as some whites standing out ahead of Negroes group-wise. The real fact is, there exists greater disparities within the race than there are when the two are compared side by side. There have been Negroes who have achieved what seems to be fantastic. Dr. Paul A. Witty of Northwestern University, as long ago as 1935, reported the finding of a Negro girl who at the age of nine obtained a Stanford-Binet I.Q. of 200. This is perhaps as high as many can go in testing. One could go on and mention more Negroes with exceptional capacity, many far exceeding whites in many fields, but no intelligent person would draw the conclusion that superiority exists because of this.

The psychological behavior of so-called "racial" groups can best be traced to environmental and cultural forces and not to biology. It would be useless to debate otherwise. Some even contend that these is no such thing as a pure racial group, except those whites living in isolated areas in the mountains of Kentucky and parts of Tennessee. And many of these are backward and uneducated; they are far below the Negro as a group in terms of intellect.

Such arguments, as presented by Dr. McGurk further supports the short-comings of a segregated society. They also bring out the inconsistences in the policies and practices of a dual society.

Those groups which argue that Negroes are inferior ,should be more willing to dismiss their fears, superstitions and prejudices and let the race compete in the "open market." A good example, it seems, is to let the Negro first prove his "inferiority". Those without the "master race" concept, it seems, would be willing to do this.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

World P.A
B'ham, Ala.

BY WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor
Atlanta Daily World

Wed. 9-5-56

Peddling The Seeds Of Hate . . . .

OAK RIDGE, Tenn. — (SNS) — It was a peaceful afternoon, he day we drove out of Knoxville for Oak Ridge. It was even more peaceful at the Oak Ridge high school where more than a hundred Negro children had been accepted, by faculty and students. The school has been opened to them without incident.

"Those who agitate and peddle hate usually have a background for the trade," the principal of one of the schools there told us.

He related part of his own experience. Most of his trouble came not from many native-born Southerners, but from an "outsider" who apparently was a chronic agitator. And so the story goes with Clinton, Tenn. This is a peaceful town, law-abiding, with a definite intent to do what is right. But up comes the chronic agitator, one who is obviously a trouble-maker, bent on satcrificing all principles of decency for the sake of bigotry. Without such influence, Clinton would be the same peaceful and law-abiding place as Oak Ridge.

The people directly involved in the Clinton case have shown the willingness to go along with the Supreme Court's decision and they should be commended for taking a stand for the right. The law enforcement officials there should also be congratulated for taking the initiative to maintain peace as not was the case in Alabama. But geography does make a difference sometime. Fortunately, in Tennessee, we have many whites who are still God-fearing; many who believe in the orderly process of law and order.

It is unfortunate that hate has moved into the picture. It will be more unfortunate if hate gets out of hand and somebody is hurt in the process. The seeds of hate inevitably leave in their wake a kind of sickness that lives to haunt men's souls.

Americans know too well the story of World War I and World War II when hate took the lives of millions. Hitler's hate peddlers because they disliked Jews, took the lives of more than four million people. Many Americans were in this number.

We can trace many damages left by wars of recent times, all of which grew out of the hate for one country against the other race against race, or religion against religion.

We also know from experience that hate groups in this country have caused most of the discord, the mob violence the lynchings and disruption.

It is unfortunate that hate is on the march again. It is on the march in Tennessee, Florida, Texas and many other places, simply because we have stood silently by and let mob rule take the dominant leadership.

There should be some moral and ethical responsibility for all of us to take. The churches could do a job, except that many of them, white of course, are themselves shackled with chains of hate. The ministry is unfortunately poor in reasoning and offers almost nothing in the sense of guidance.

Our Southern daily press is also chained to the seeds of hate peddling. There is a constant play-up of the activities of mob leaders and hate peddlers. Seldom is there ever a play-up of the respectable Negroes and the whites who back their views. Many of our Southern editors seems to search and look for the worse to print.

There is one in particular, who makes a business to search northern papers primarily to agitate and invoke adverse criticism. His motives are always negative.

This is also an element of hate, the kind which will eventually backfire. Hate peddlers and their sympathizers should keep in mind that hate based on race, religion, nations is without logical foundation. It's a disease more deadly and crippling than any epidemic we have ever known. "Whom the Gods will destroy, they first make mad." Hate, like history, has a way of repeating itself.

31a 1956

NEGRO (WILLIAM GORDON)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

[illegible]

By WILLIAM GORDON

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

Learning To Live With Them

It didn't take long to get an answer. This tall and slender Englishman followed the true tradition of being alert. As a member of Parliament, he had to be on his toes.

"There is no question about it," he said. "We are learning to live with people, not against them. We look to the future and not the past."

His answer came on the heels of a talk regarding the Jamaicans. During recent months, many Jamaicans, due to economic and other reasons are immigrating to the British Isles. They have been going in hundreds which obviously raises the question. "Where will these people live and what kind of work will they get when they get to Europe?"

This British MP had the answer. Many Englishmen already knew, he said, that they must learn to live with people, and not against them. After all, they are British subjects and are entitled to all the rights and privileges of other Englishmen. So in the opinion of many of the more influential elements of the Commonwealth, something should be done to welcome these people, get them orientated into the customs and ways of the Commonwealth. And most of all, he said, there would be no bigotry, no discrimination and segregation on the basis of color and religion. The Englishman said this with emphasis.

There is a historical reason for this Englishman's reasoning. His country, whether we want to admit it or not, has led the way in dropping the shackles of colonialism and slavery. England quit the slave trade back in 1835. It took us thirty years later, and even then, we had to go to war to try to correct the evil.

It is true that colonialism still exists within the borders of the Empire, but at least something is being done about it. Slowly, but surely millions under the domination of Britain are getting their freedom and in full status, not in piece-meal fashion.

In 1947 India with its more than 360 millions, Pakistan with its 80 millions, Burma with its more than 18 millions, and more recently the Sudan, all have slipped out of the orbit of colonial status. It is said that sometime this fall, Nigeria, the Gold Coast will become a free country, maintaining of course, its Commonwealth status.

England has been smart in this respect. I recall a youngster from Malaya telling me in 1953 that the British were even willing to train people like him, who would eventually be pulling from beneath the cloak of colonialism. But he added:

"I shall always feel obligated to the British. At least, they learned a long time ago, that people of my race were human, and deserved the same respect as other races. Therefore, I'm grateful and I shall be loyal." So history marches on, and sanity continues to triumph over stupidity.

Against the background of what England has done and is still doing, one cannot help but look at parts of the Deep South where attitudes and customs are twisted out of proportion with reason. While the English have long learned that it is better to live with people, some of us try to live against them.

Instead of more job opportunities, we try to discriminate. In the place of adhering to the supreme law, we defy the highest tribunal. We have organized economic pressure groups, threatened to destroy the public schools; even deny ourselves the opportunity for enlightenment through bigoted leadership. We abandon intelligent leadership for mob rule. We have the whole world saying that in the South, we lack the ability to settle issues over the conference table, so we resort to bombings and brutality. In terms of handling people and the problems that come with them, we are vastly confused and disorganized. Evidence will testify that much of the Southern leadership "missed the boat" of enlightenment, if we use some of our race relations as an index. There is definitely one thing true: We have yet to learn how to live with people, and not against them. In terms of the latter, England is far ahead of us.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By WILLIAM GORDON

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

[illegible]

One Hundred Years And The Negro . . . .

[illegible]

His deep Southern accent may have been difficult to understand, but his statement was revealing.

"I've been converted," he said, "converted to the stand Negroes are taking in their fight for human decency."

This man admitted his ignorance of the basic issues in the so-called drama of the South, even though he has lived here most of his life. I assured him that many whites, genuine and straight-forward in their thinking, labored under the same illusion as he did. The reason: The inherent elements in Southern society have always limited the white man to a narrow perspective. The Negro as he has known him, is a servant, one without the capacities of a self-respecting human being.

Like many other whites, torn by mores, folk ways, suspition and fear, he was amazed to meet Negroes who spoke perfect English, many much better than he does. He was more amazed when he learned that their philosophy fell more in line with overall American concepts of democracy than many whites he had known. In his own words: "It was simply amazing."

This matter of Southern race relations is also amazing to the average Negro, who after a period of almost a hundred years, is still without full citizenship rights. It is still amazing in light of some who say the Negro is moving too fast and that the South knows best how to deal with him.

The South has been given this chance many times. For example, a chance came in 1865 following the Emancipation Proclamation. There are those who might remember the "black codes" measures imposed against the Negro, prohibiting full citizenship status, only allowing him nominal freedom.

The second chance came in 1877 when federal troops were pulled out of the South. No one was any happier than the Negro himself, who still had faith and confidence in Southerners. This faith was quickly dispelled however, when the white man he had worked with, worked for and helped to protect, began to lynch him and deprive him of his voting rights. Feeling ran so high during one period that the South had a lynching on an average of almost one a day. Not only were Negroes lynched, but white people who shared their views often met with the same fate.

The feeling of slavery did not fade quickly. When Negroes failed to work for nothing, Southerners enacted vagrancy laws which sometimes automatically placed them in jails and on the chain gangs. For those in doubt, check your history during the 1880's.

Things ran so far out of hand that a Southern white man, John Shapp Williams told an audience in South Carolina in 1904 that the white man in the South was incapable of governing himself.

I am sure that every American is aware of the "Separate But Equal" doctrine of 1896, a measure the courts had to kill because it never did not have a basis for operation. Not only did the South fail to build schools and provide equal facilities for Negroes, the South itself fell behind in providing for white people. Such a theory was not without irony.

Every Negro from the ditch digger to the college professor, believes in the orderly process of change, and this is not without realization that many areas of the South have conducted themselves on this in dealing with the race problem. But there is a vast difference between the willingness to comply and the act of open defiance.

For the record, one should look at the interposition acts passed by some states, the open defiance against the Supreme Court decision by certain elements of Southern leadership and acts of violence in Alabama and Mississippi. With this as background, one is almost inclined to go along with John Sharp Williams.

Most of all however, one should look at the record of Negroes

during the past three quarters of a century. He has never altered his position of "going slow." It seems that nearly one hundred years should be sufficient proof.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Tues. 3-11-56
P. 4

By WILLIAM GORDON

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

World P. 6
Tues. 3-20-56
B'ham, Ala.

By WILLIAM GORDON

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

The Political Accident

If there is such a thing as regional mentality, the South certainly presents a perfect laboratory for study.

Carl Zimmerman, famous sociologist at Harvard believes strongly in such a theory. He contends that people, by and large, can be judged on the basis of climatic conditions, the area in which they live and how they obtain their livelihood. The South, he contends, is a more perfect example of this theory. Judging from the many emotional outbursts, the deep-seated attitude and the die-hard stand to resist change, one is inclined to be more sympathetic with conditions here, than critical. There are obvious incapabilities deep within the moreas of the population. This being evident, one is puzzled as to steps necessary to reach the average Southerner. But one also gets the feeling that ingrained feelings are not at all easy to reach within the souls of people who them selves are part of a "political accident."

"There is no way, never has been and never will be," according to a Southern newspaperman.

Still a young man, the famous newsman has retired from the main stream of his profession. At the moment he is content to remain in the background and do what he can to cement race relations in a nominal fashion. The fact is, he seemed to be more disgusted with conditions in the region than many Negroes.

But on the other hand, one is forced to reason, that the Negro is not the real victim after all. At least he is able to live with his conscience, and he is able to conform much easier than much of his white counterpart. What I am saying is, the Negro has been less emotional and far less "racist" at heart in accepting the inevitable. So the big question it seems is, where do we go from here?

At what point do we put our foot down on the matter of race relations? Where do we begin to organize feelings against the continuous killings in Mississippi, mob rule in Alabama and total resistance in South Carolina? Whom do we talk with, and where can we get an audience to talk with the opposition about race relations in an atmosphere of growing tensions?

There are some who take the view that nothing can be do at this point, particularly in the area of public school integration that the opposition has become more fortified because of our stand in the past.

This being true, one gets the feeling that the big job of public relations must be done on the opposition and not on Negroes. Negroes themselves must in some way, get an audience with those of lesser reasoning and discuss the inevitable. All people, no matter how prejudiced or how ignorant, must have a conscience. This conscience must be reached through careful, well organized strategy backed by individuals who want to do a job for the total community. Through some means we must save the South from the evils of its own soul. We, who are Christians know better than anyone else that someday, somewhere, every man must answer for the doings of his own soul, and Southerners will be no exception.

Moreover, we must be able to convince people that this matter of change, involves more than just the American Negro, the movement is world-wide in scope, the implications of which have finally hit the South. It is a movement out of bounds of human control, for its direct purpose is to establish equality for all men. The Negro is only incidently included in this total movement. It is the one movement which will eventually save the free world from Communism or any other ideology detrimental to a free society. This, we must, some way, or some how, sell the regional mind. It is bad enough to be part of a political accident. But is is worse it seems, to lose one's soul as a result of it.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald P. 8

Michigan Report

"But warm, sweet tender, even yet,
A present help is He,
And faith has still its Olivet
And love its Galilee. . . ."

"Hubbard Lashes Back at Critical Bishop" runs a Dearborn, Mich., headline hateful, surely to every owner of a faith that means something to him.

The Episcopal bishop of Michigan, the Rt. Rev. Richard S. Emrich, has called on "every pastor and Christian" to oppose the support given Dearborn's long-standing race segregation customs by Mayor Orville Hubbard.

The mayor has threatened to sue for libel, vows that "forcing any race upon another is morally wrong," says the segregation in Dearborn and surrounding communities is "not in deliberate violation of any Christian teaching but their own God-given right to live as they choose," recalls the principle of separation of church and state as one especially and originally dear of the Episcopal Church.

Here is something very different from the legal desegregation of the Supreme Court's school decision. It refutes our too-easily-surrendering Southerners who are saying legal desegregation won't mean real desegregation.

A campaign is on for real desegregation—on all fronts everywhere. Unhappily for the church and its indicated greater and clearer tasks, it seems persuaded to take the lead.

* * *

IT WAS BAD enough in Russia (not renounced) to take the name of science in vain for ideology's sake. It is worse in America to be taking religion's name in vain for ideology.

* * *

"Men of good will," opines Editor "Crumpled Culture" McKnight in a Charlotte Observer editorial which Birmingham's William C. Burnett commends as "sound and sensible", "can live with it (the desegregation decision) calmly, conscious that destruction of a once-legal barrier need not of necessity wreck a pattern of culture that has already developed through habit and custom over a period of years . . ."

The Observer will spoil its good mark with the NAACP if it implies that "habit and custom" are to be kept in spite of the decision. Thurgood Marshall has been more than frank and so has Roy Wilkins. The goal is the elimination of segregation everywhere in everything, voluntary as well as legal.

* * *

WITNESS PROPOSALS of New York authorities, approved by Collier's, to desegregate Harlem.

The segregation there is voluntary, a matter of the "habit and custom" on which The Observer says we may depend.

But it is not to be allowed.

* * *

A BIRMINGHAM attorney has looked up the voting record and found that a typical vote in the Negro precincts of Birmingham last Tuesday was 600 for Folsom to about 10 for McKay—and, of equal significance, that the vote for those thought to be on the "Folsom slate" was in almost exactly the same overwhelming ratio.

Proving (1) bloc voting, and (2) a Folsom slate.

AS MORE AND MORE industrial captains of national rank win commissions now in the South, saluting them is a matter of pride as well as of "military" regulation.

One who is too modest to have received yet the salutes he deserves in extra measure is Arthur G. Wakeman, president of the epochal Coosa River Newsprint Co.

Wisconsin-born, a graduate of Massachusetts Tech, he was for 17 years before coming here an engineering associate of the big Kimberly Clark Corp. in Appleton, Wis., onetime home of Joe McCarthy and Harvard's President Pusey.

As chief of the War Production Board's Pulp and Paper Division, member of the Mission of Economic Affairs in London, and the Army's surveyor of the European paper industry in 1945, Mr. Wakeman was already ace-high in the paper industry when he came to Alabama, but it is for brilliant pioneering here in the new field of newsprint from pine that his name in industrial history will live highest.

His forestry policies, his pine seed distributions, his scientific and executive ingenuity with new problems, and the good will his unassuming ways create, plus the millions this plant means to workers, farmers, and other industries—will all be in the book.

He and the very lovely girl he married—Loraine Cheeseman—are increasingly to be prized as Alabamians.

* * *

NO BOOKKEEPER could take inventory of what Lloyd Foster left. His local and national achievements as a chamber of commerce executive, his teaching and preaching of commerce and its ways, his wide friendliness, are assets not fixed enough for book value but growing through years to come.

* * *

OLD ATHLETES may never die—no more than old soldiers—but they come to no good end. Either they give up and are subject to demoralizing nostalgias with every breeze that blows or they hang on into a middle-aged disability that drives them to drink.

* * *

THIS JEALOUS OUTBURST comes of a letter from the Middle Atlantic Lawn Tennis Association advising me, "as a member of the winning team in the Hotchkiss Cup Competition" (Washington, Baltimore, Richmond and Norfolk) of my right to a goblet with the long-ago facts on it. No goblet for me, thank you, gentlemen—not unless I can have back the perspiration, sun and trampled grass, the high-fidelity muscles, the glory of the driven ball, the sometimes almightiness, the times of being all-spent, the hot showers, the locker room sociability, the way a steak tastes then, the bright eyes of a divine sweet evening star, the totality of sleep, the blessedness of sore muscles in the morning that recover by noon, the competition that cares-but-not-too-much, the glory of the universe!

* * *

THE ONLY sensible thing for old athletes to do, you see, is stay home and hint that they used to be hell-on-wheels.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald P. 10

The Unknown Voter

Tues. 5-29-56

"And from its force not doors nor locks
Can shield you—'tis the ballot box."

B'ham, Ala.

* * *

For city commissioner— J. T. (Jabo) Waggoner.

For probate judge—J. Paul Meeks.

For public service commission —C. C. (Jack) Owen.

For delegate-at-large — N. L. Horne.

For Ninth District delegates— Bagwell, Dorrough, Smyer.

* * *

Will we love them on May 29 as we did on May 1?

Will we follow through with our votes again or hold back and spoil the drive? The professionals, the self-servers, the demagogs, are always on the job but we-the-people steam up and then pipe down.

Here's praying for enough steam to get us to the booths today.

* * *

We have government by the people, supposedly, but what the people really say, no one knows. The Unknown Voter—who never makes his wishes known—outnumbers all Democrats, all Republicans.

IS THE UNKNOWN Voter, nationally speaking, a Republican — as Taft used to think? You can argue that way, but there's much shifting about, of course.

The 27.3 million for Adlai in 1952 was only slightly less than Roosevelt's 27.5 in 1936, an all-time Democratic high.

But the much made of Adlai's vote overlooked the fact that in the last five presidential elections Democrats have actually polled just about the same vote — ranging between 25.6 million and 27.5 in spite of the country's big increase in population, while the Republican total has ranged from 16.7 million in 1936 to 33.8 in 1952.

* * *

IN 1936 WHEN Roosevelt polled 27.5 million, the country's population was less than 130 million. In 1952 Stevenson polled 27.3, the population was about 160 million.

With the Democratic vote thus just about the same every four years and apparently not increasing with the population, it is the Unknown Voter who makes or breaks the political situation, depending on whether he remains unknown.

In 1952 he voted enough to lift the Republican total from 22.0 million in 1948 to the winning 33.8.

* * *

NOT THAT THIS UNKNOWN Voter really came out in 1952.

Only about 10 million of him did, and that left nearly 40 million. The population over 21 in 1952 was about 100 million, yet only 61 million voted. Some 39 million didn't vote even in that year of record-breaking turnout. This was more than voted either Republican or Democratic.

Isn't it strange about the Unknown Voter!

Because of him we never know how the people of the United States really feel about things.

If he should suddenly vote his full or even half his strength, the whole face of affairs political might be altered in ways no one can guess—for good or bad.

* * *

SOME SAY it would be alteration for bad.

They say people who won't vote are no good and their vote would do the country no good. But some perfectly good people have a quirk in their public-mindedness that keeps them from voting. And some pretty bad people vote more regularly than anybody else—in pressure groups herded like "dumb, driven cattle."

* * *

The Unknown Voter! Will we ever know who he is and what he wants? And who will be elected then?

* * *

WHEN RALPH BRUNCH, Nobel-Prize-winning Negro, praises the bus boycott leadership in Montgomery, many of us say amen.

A world stage has been won. Montgomery's colored people have been made heroes and martyrs—with no great inconvenience. Without very much to go on, the movement has been masterful in advertising used, psychology employed, devotions inspired—and dollars contributed.

It has been made to seem too peaceful, patient, free of hate. Yet the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., bases it on hate, on a presumption that white hate colored and that the latter must take the hate in Christian temper and Spartan endurance.

That's what makes the thing so masterly—and so false.

"Don't ever let anyone pull you down so low as to hate them," he tells his people, (without giving Booker Washington, who said it, any Christian credit at all).

"We must use the weapon of love," he begs, while the world cheers and weeps. "We must have compassion and understanding for those who hate us. We must realize so many people are taught to hate us that they are not totally responsible for their hate . . ."

Hate and hate and hate!

There are many ways of hate-mongering.

One is to cry hate when there is no hate.

That is the Rev. Martin Luther King's way.

Also from Rome, Ga., came Will Cothran — our ever more leading banker and citizen!

GRAVES

Our School Amendment Is Needed

"The heartache and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to. . ."

* * *

Dr. Austin Meadows, Alabama's superintendent of Schools, is shocked at the school prospect.

And aren't we all!

But most of us, I believe, have better seismographs than the doctor's.

We know where the shock comes from.

It comes from what the Supreme Court has done, not from what the people of Alabama are now in need of doing.

When Dr. Meadows sounds off against the so-called "Freedom of Choice" school amendment (No. 2, to be voted on Aug. 28) his alarm is sincere, I am sure, and natural.

Public education is so precious to Americans that radical measures concerning it scare everybody. But the radical measure is the Supreme Court's decision.

What the amendment does is recognize that something capable of destruction has happened to our schools. It sets us free of legal encumbrances against this and that thing for saving both education and segregation.

Some of the things proposed if the amendment passes won't work in my opinion. But the main thing is to be able to do things, to be stripped for action.

The best and most devoted legal brains in Alabama have agreed that the amendment is necessary for this stripping.

It should really be called the "Strip for Action" amendment.

Alabama isn't alone in shock. Other Southern states are shocked, too, and are further along in strippings for action.

DELEGATE Eugene Connor, one of the three top-runners, does well to question the gubernatorial caucus in Atlanta Wednesday. There will be more wishy-washies than stalwarts.

Our own governor, whoppingly beaten, has been piously announcing that the people have told him to lay off. Yet he has accepted the invitation and will be laying on.

Governor Faubus, of Arkansas, is a radical, utterly remote from a situation like this.

Tennessee's Frank Clement (or a representative) is devoted above all else to being vice president, hell-bent against any rocking of any boat for any purpose. Even Mississippi's Governor Coleman is too politically loyal to see straight on this question.

As for the Southern governor who has provenly put States' Rights and the Constitution above party—Allen Shivers, of great Texas, — he hasn't even been invited.

Able Governor Collins, of Florida, is in the handicapping position of being governor of two states at once. A Northern one in the Southern half, and a Southern one in the Northern half. Earl Long, of Louisiana, is interested mainly in dodging the question and holding his Negro vote.

This leaves for that solid front which a caucus is supposed to develop — Governor Stanley, of Virginia; Governor Hodges, of North Carolina; Governor Timmerman of South Carolina; and Governor Griffin, of Georgia.

* * *

NOT SINCE 1861 have the people of the South been so determined and united. That determination and unity need to be in caucus before the great test at Chicago. But the Atlanta meeting can't possibly be such a caucus. Unhappily the politicians of the South are for the most part far behind the people of the South.

* * *

COMES DR. PAUL Calvin Payne, general secretary of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., sounding off for integration at the recent meeting of his general assembly: "By ending segregation and cultivating America's greatest untapped resource—the talents of her Negro population —the North will achieve an increased vitality. Then the South will have to go along, for it cannot compete with a society using the gifts of all its members ..."

This use-of-gifts argument is impressive.

But it works in exactly the other direction.

Under integration the gifts of many Negro teachers and many Negro preachers, for example, will be done without because they won't get the jobs.

It was Ike himself, speaking frankly to a Congressional committee right after World War II, who said the trouble with integration in the armed forces would be that Negroes couldn't get to be sergeants.

Racial feeling being what it is and having lasted as long as it has, Negroes who have to compete in an unsegregated society are not as likely to be allowed to develop their talents and show their gifts in certain fields, at any rate, as in a society of their own.

GRAVES 3/10

Post-Herald
B'ham, Ala.
Thurs 8-9-56

Negro Vote, In North And South

"Under which king, Bezonian? Speak, or die!"

p. 12

* * *

Dr. Gallup get embarrassinger and embarrassinger for all-is-well politicians.

He shows that the Northern Negro vote is not only overwhelmingly Democratic still but prefers Adlai Stevenson overwhelmingly over all other Democratic possibilities.

No wonder Adlai is for endorsing the desegregation decision and for an even stronger civil rights plank than in 1952. He can't fail such all-powerful support.

Especially when he is sure our Southerners will stand without hitching.

* * *

He could be terribly wrong. In times past Southern delegates have gone to Democratic conventions to seal the fate of the South.

This year they go to learn what rate is proposed—and the people of the South will then take over for themselves. "The ordinary (Southern) voter," well-says The Roanoke, Va. Times, "fortunately is spared the agony which the party professionals suffer in the hideous dilemma of conflict between political principls and loyalty to a party label. John Q. Citizen can vote as he pleases."

"OUR GUESS," says famed Editor R. L. M. Parks in The Augusta Chronicle, "is that the Southern people themselves, equipped with seven-leagued boots, are a number of strides ahead of their timid leaders." He believes the much-advertised Atlanta meeting was "a frustrating experience for the politicians who attended," even though they managed to smile bravely and say "the South is united as never before."

* * *

COLLIER'S story of the enormous power and brilliant leadership the Negro is achieving needs close reading in the South.

We have brilliant Southern leaders, but they are confused with "loyalty" to the very party which palavers now for the Negro's vote.

We have enormous potential political power, too, for we far outnumber the Northern Negro voters. But that power is denied us partly because of blind "loyalty" our political leaders and partly by the fact that while the New Deal Democracy robbed the South of its saving two-thirds rule it did not touch the even more saving unit rule which makes Negro power possible.

UNDER THIS unit rule the whole electoral vote of a state goes to the party with a majority, however small, of the popular vote. One Negro vote in Harlem can determine the whole electoral vote of the biggest state. It is by reason of this that the Negro voter can indeed elect a President as the Collier's writer says, "Negroes now have, by reason of their balance of power in the nation's five principal cities which in turn dominate states which cast 156 electoral votes three fifths of the number needed to elect a President."

The Post-Herald and other Scripps-Howard papers have conducted a valiant fight to get this unit rule done away with not just for the South but for democracy's sake and for more genuine rule by the people. Our Laurie Battle has talked and fought to get something done at Chicago.

But people in power don't give up the power.

They don't that is, unless they are Southern people bewitched and sleeping under a New Deal or numbed with the disease of unity-at-any price.

* * *

FROM ATHENS, W. W. Malone would like to hear a few words from the Republicans of Alabama against what the Supreme Court has done to the South. He should read Tom Abernethy's editorial in The Talladega Home last week. Eloquent, personable, youthful, a grained-in-the-wood. Southerner, a States Rights Rebel of 1948 who turned Republican after that in disgust and was the party's magnificently-running candidate for governor in 1954, Mr. Abernethy will be delegate to the San Francisco convention.

He is suggesting that his delegation remind the platform committee that "the Republican Party, even if it were inclined to do so, could not write a platform sufficiently radical to attract to it the bloc vote which will be cast in November."

"But the Republican Party could recognize the ordeal of the South, the problem of the South, could speak with the tongue of moderation and understanding and could open avenues of hither-to unknown support that would make it for many decades to come the party of the vast majority of Americans."

* * *

THE REPUBLICAN Party certainly can't have the South and the Northern Negro too, even though the Democratic Party thinks it knows the trick.

Under which king, Bezonian? Republicans have to choose.

But they don't actually have any choice. Dr. Gallup says 67 per cent of the Northern Negro vote is going Democratic to 16 per cent Republican.

The GOP choice is actually between something it can't get and something it may win enduringly if it is realistic.

* * *

In atomic science, it transpires, fusion is dealier than fission. It is a thought, perhaps, for those who would fuse white and Negro in the United States, who would join together what God has put asunder.

3la 1956

WHITE (JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES)

This Morning

Post-Herald

BY JOHN TEMPLE-GRAVES

Sat. 2-4-56

"They might as well try to dip the Atlantic dry with a teaspoon. . . ."

Birmingham, Ala.

What does Interposition mean?

Today it means "null and void" in Alabama, "illegal encroachment" in Virginia, simple protest in other Southern states.

P. 8

Strictly and historically, it is the assertion by a state of a sovereignty not surrendered.

John C. Calhoun called it "the negative power—the power of preventing or arresting the action of the government—be it called by whatever term it may—veto, interposition, nullification, check or balance of power—which in fact forms the Constitution. . . ."

* * *

NONE OF THE SOUTHERN states talking Interposition seem to have decided exactly what they mean or to be prepared to implement a meaning. Yet Interposition means something.

With it are to be understood all the other measures against Supreme Court encroachment on rights of states and Congress, it seems to me—school placement laws, the three-way school plan, the private school one, the not-guilty jury verdict plan, the legal obfuscations, hairsplittings and delay and the now innumerable Citizens' Councils.

Interposition is all the ways the South can conceive of saying it will not submit to integration of its public school masses in what it deems plain violation of the Constitution.

It is Mississippi's new governor, James Plemon Coleman ("the calmest, least racialistic of the five candidates," Time called him) declaring that "those who propose to mix the races in our public schools might as well try to dip the Atlantic dry with a teaspoon."

Interviewed over NBC a few days after the first desegregation decision in 1954, this writer predicted that "the decision has tortured the Constitution, and the South will torture the decision."

That is another definition of Interposition.

* * *

IF THERE IS A CONSTITUTIONAL crisis—and there is—it isn't because Alabama has called the decision null and void, and Virginia has called it illegal. There is constitutional crisis because, in calm and sorrow, the South is refusing to mix its school masses.

* * *

Interposition was proposed first and most famously, of course, in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 against the federal Sedition Law.

Written by Thomas Jefferson for Kentucky and James Madison for Virginia, the resolutions avowed that in the event of a "deliberate, palpable and dangerous" exercise by the Federal Government of powers not granted to it by the Constitution, the states "have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them. . . ."

* * *

AFTER READING the speech entitled "Interposition: The Barrier Against Tyranny" delivered in the House Jan. 25 by Congressman John Bell Williams, I marvel that so scholarly, thrusting and competent an effort, impressive with legal and historic references, should have been dismissed by a part of the nation's press as ignorant, emotional 'Southern oratory."

Or, rather, I do not marvel. Mr. Williams is from the ceaselessly libeled state of Mississippi.

* * *

What sort of cold fish have we come to be in this country if we can't stand a little honest animation with arguments!

* * *

"And I love but you alone,
My lady—of the telephone. . . ."

WHEN NICE PEOPLE on the phone, especially ladies, have had their say and while you are still cordial and full of love, isn't there some telephonic device to stop them from going on and on, proliferating, repeating and wandering until love turns to hate?

You begin making imaginary asides as to a crowded room or rattling your typewriter keys as if urgent business were all around—but the "visit" goes on.

The right not to be visited-with on the phone ought to be inalienable but oh, how some people alienate it—and your affections!

Upright, public-minded Earl McGowin seems not to have realized the enormous possibilities of the State Conservation Department.

Who would have dreamed there were so many spoils!

SOUTH CAN SOLVE PROBLEMS, VIEW

Times Picayune
New Orleans, La.

BILOXI, Miss., Jan. 16 (AP)—John Temple Graves, columnist of the Birmingham, Ala., Post-Herald, said Monday the South will solve own difficulties in his own way.

Graves addressed the annual convention of the Mississippi Seedmen's Association.

1-17-56

He said, "In spite of all the race trouble compounded with labor trouble that seems to lie ahead for the South, this region is not only the nation's economic promise, but holds the nation's balance of both economic and political power."

"Realize that promise, exploit that balance," he said, "and the golden ram will be ours in spite of Thurgood Marshall and Walter Reuther."

8-14

Marshall is chief counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Reuther is vice-president of the combined AFL-CIO.

Graves said the time has come "to tell the Democratic party we will not stand without hitching—the Republican party we will not come calling . . . and the national magazines behind their paper curtain that we can actually read and write and mean to do so."

"The future is ours," he said. "We don't propose to secede, we propose to take over."

Graves said in one method or another "race integration among public school masses of the South is going to be avoided . . . we know a million ways to defeat the uncomprehending majority of outsiders."

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

Post-Herald

A Wave Drawing Southerners Home

P. 10 Thurs.

"And when he died he was literally loving a nation into peace."

Thurs. 2-23-56

ATHENS, Ga.—Here is what I am permitted to tell a joint meeting of the Georgia Press Association, the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism and students of the University of Georgia:

In spite of Time's misconception, the editorial trend of the South is not centrifugal but centripetal, drawing more and more of us home.

But what we come home to, stripped of the hatefulnesses of the race question, is an Americanism more basic than any which our "nation-minded" claim, so basic it begins to draw Americans everywhere.

* * *

This centripetal force has pulled Southerners home through all history. It drew Jefferson and Madison home to author the first act of Interposition in 1798, and win the nation.

It drew Calhoun home—he who had been our most nation-minded American, described by John Quincy Adams as "above sectional prejudice more than any other statesman with whom I have ever acted." Calhoun called his interposing "Nullification," and won with it against the tariff of 1832 as Jefferson and Madison had against the Sedition Act of 1798.

* * *

AND YOU MAY BELIEVE it or not, gentlemen—for it has industriously been glossed over—but this same centripetal force of Southern circumstance drew home in the last two years of his brief life the great American whose name this school of journalism bears.

It was said famously of Henry W. Grady that "when he died he was literally loving a nation into peace." The words were my own father's. They are on his monument in Atlanta.

They are true, but not of Grady's last chapter. Shiningly the champion of a "New South," of forgetting the quarrel, forgiving the wounds (in invitation to industry he was first of a long line of Atlanta boosters), Grady nevertheless came home at the end to a South more in need of his championing against Lodge's Force Bill than a nation needed his loving — a South whose opposition to that force was basically the most American thing in sight.

Birmingham

BEFORE the New England Society in New York in 1886 he had won his fame for nation-mindedness. But before another New England body, the Boston Merchants' Association, in 1889, just a week before he died, he stood forth as a challenging, standtaking, "interposing" Southerner. Listen to it for few of you may have heard:

Ala.

"We wrested our state government from Negro supremacy when the federal drumbeat rolled closer to the ballot box and federal bayonets hedged it deeper about than will ever again be permitted in this free government. But, sir, though the cannon of this Republic thundered in every voting district of the South, we still should find in the mercy of God the means and the courage to prevent its re-establishment . . ."

* * *

OUR COLORED people have gone far since Grady spoke, farther than any people ever went so fast. Today we propose only to protect them and ourselves from a great mass mixing forced on enormously differing peoples. To those who say this refusal to mix is un-American, we ask how can that be when America has always had this separation. To those who say it is un-Christian, we say where in Christianity's book or sense does separation as distinguished from unkindness or injustice become a sin. To those who say it is unscientific we say they prostitute science to ideology as surely as Russia's Lysenko did, for science simply doesn't know or pretend to know.

* * *

AND TO THOSE who say it is unconstitutional we avow that the great second principle of America is rule against the sometime tyranny of majority or of central government, is sovereignty remaining in states, is the right not to be 51 per cent, the right — if we choose — to be wrong.

* * *

This nation came about not in merger of a people but in contract among 13 nations, a contract wisely reserving to each nation and each individual what was not given to the central power. The wisdom of that contract grows as the nation grows. How else today could a land so wide as ours, so diverse in climate, people, ways, gifts and problems, have remained "one and indivisible"—how else than by strict respect for the parts making it up?

* * *

TODAY THE CENTRIPETAL force which is bringing Southerners home while Time says they are going the other way is a force for the nation, too, for what America must continue to mean if it is to survive the exterior and interior stress of this immense time.

* * *

We do not propose to fire on Sumter again, or (let us swear) to do any other violence.

Our scene is blessedly different. We are the nation's economic promise. We have the nation's political balance of power if we are not too lost in bygones to use it—economic power and political power.

We propose to win—for ourselves and for America.

* * *

WE PROPOSE TO TELL the Democratic Party we will no longer stand without hitching-

We propose to tell the Republican Party we'll never come without calling, without such consideration as a major minority group deserves. We propose to show the national periodicals—even unto Time—that we mean circulation, advertising, an immense sector of public opinion.

* * *

If we are true to ourselves, if our editors and our young men and women dare to be free—we'll not be seceding this time. We'll take over.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald P. 10

Two Views Of The Court Ruling

Fri. 3-16-56

"Correct interpretations of the Constitution and the conscience of the nation."

B'ham, Ala.

Weary, it would seem of "moderate" hems and haws, Governor Stevenson has spoken out.

The desegregation rulings, he vows, "are correct interpretations of the Constitution and conscience of the nation."

This challenge to the Southern manifesto is total.

I prefer to think of its outrightness comes not of the approaching Minnesota primary, the hot breath of Hubert Horatio Humphrey there and the suddenly full-grown competition of Kefauver, but a determination to hew to the line at last and let the chips fall where they may.

Governor Stevenson proved himself capable of doing that when he turned Texas down in 1952 on the tidewater oil issue. He is a man of conscience.

* * *

There is, also, the age-old feeling that the South will stand without hitching. This isn't certain any more but it is a calculated risk that may have had to to be taken.

* * *

Very different was President Eisenhower's reaction to the Southern Manifesto, a difference reflecting in part his greater responsibility as Chief Executive and also, in my opinion, his genuine sympathy with the South on an issue which he has lived most of his life not as a politician but as a soldier.

The President was an absolute as Adlai on upholding the Constitution as the Supreme Court interprets it.

But he didn't say the Court was right.

He didn't say it had correctly interpreted "the Constitution and the conscience of the nation."

On the contrary he recalled with something like nostalgia the "separate but equal" doctrine and how the South has relied on it ever since 1896. He spoke for patience against extremists on both sides and he said he had no idea how long it will take to carry out the decision.

* * *

WHAT REMAINS of National Democratic unity when the agonized and almost unanimous cry of the South is asnswered thus by the Democratic leader—and so differently by the Republican President?

* * *

THE HOPE of the South is that the nation will see what Adlai can't or won't see, that the Supreme Court is not correct but dangerously legislative in this interpretation of the Constitution—and that the "conscience of the nation" is for fair and equal treatment, not necessarily for integration.

This hope was large in national print Wednesday. This editorial columns of both Dorothy Thompson and David Lawrence on that day, appearing in some papers side by side, marked a new high for the South in defense of the Constitution.

Like Taft, who generally voted with the South and would certainly be disapproving the Supreme Court's decisions now, Miss Thompson and Mr. Lawrence do not necessarily agree with us on segregation. They simply believe in the Constitution and home rule.

Dorothy Thompson's address is 237 E. 48th St., New York, N. Y.

David Lawrence's is 1241 24th St., N. Y., Washington, D. C.

* * *

MR. LAWRENCE insists that the United States is not to be called "David Lawrence's magazine," as many of us do. "That's very complimentary," he writes, "but it doesn't take into account the part my associates play, and many of them are stockholders, too. Actually, I have very little to do with the news content of the magazine. All I write is the editorial."

* * *

IT WAS PLEASANT at the Georgia Press Institute meeting last month to see John McCune who was so liked and successful as newspaperman an dnewscaster here.

He is now editor and publisher of The Dispatch and News at Hawkinsville, Ga., "a town of 4100 on the banks of the Ocmulgee." He doubts "if there is a friendlier place on the face of the globe." To feel like that anywhere sounds like success therein.

* * *

SO CENTRAL HAS Alabama become in the South's resistance that nothing would be more unfortunate than to have Mr. Folsom speaking for it nationally as Democratic committeeman. And in the unlikely event of a national Democratic victory the patronage situation would be appalling.

Representative McKay, Mr. Folsom's opponent, is a gentleman at once highly presentable and greatly in sympathy with his people's situation and resolve, capable of dignified, intelligent and courageous stand-taking and of real contribution to the party and country.

* * *

"FAITHFUL are the wounds of a friend." When the friend honestly didn't mean to offend and proves it beyond doubting—you end up friendlier than ever.

all will be lost. The South will have "all this and the Supreme Court, too!" But if Ike is elected the balance in Congress will remain close, and the South can continue to predominate.

* * *

SINCE NOBODY EXPECTS Republicans below the presidential level to carry Southern states this year but many (including Dr. Gallup) expect some to be carried at that level, the Southern prospect is a "Democrats-for-Eisenhower," not a Republican, one. Or, should we say, a "Southern Democrat" one.

* * *

THAT MASTERLY MINNESOTA statement for which Thurgood Marshall says Governor Stevenson is reinstated in the good graces of the NAACP brings him grace in the South, too, oddly enough.

What he said was that the rest of the country should put its own house in order before criticizing Alabama and the South. The NAACP recognized this as a call for more integration everywhere, but the South took it for the sound of it—as a defense of itself. It brings Adlai no inch nearer the South's belief that segregation here is a necessity.

* * *

READ THE SATURDAY Evening Post's fine editorial on the Supreme Court and know again that our fight is the nation's fight—if South and nation both will see it. It's for the constitution, for the vital constitutional division of powers between arms of federal government and for the even more vital division between federal and state governments.

We are not alone. That means we must—

(1) take heart, and

(2) mind our manners.

* * *

NOBODY CAN SAY WHAT is "moderation" on the race question but we can say what extremism is. One example is a letter to me protesting literature of a great national humane enterprise because one of the pictures includes a little Negro girl with the white girls.

If the picture were meant as propaganda the protest would be well-taken but this is so obviously innocent and incidental that it is foolish to take umbrage.

If we are going to damn everything that accepts integration outside the South when it comes to us on matters unrelated, we are alone indeed.

* * *

THE NAACP SEEMS TO have gone all to pieces with imagined power. Its Clarence Mitchell calls Senator Eastland a "stinking albatross," its Roy Wilkins is talking of a civil rights march on the Capitol. Intemperance and bad taste hardly qualify them for the company they would keep.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald

The Letter-Writers

B'ham, Ala.

"Kilroy was here!"

* * *

Uncalled for and out-of-character as was Mrs. Eisenhower's letter congratulating a white girl for attending a Negro school, those who compared it with the activities of Eleanor Roosevelt should stop and think.

3-8-56

Great Scotts!

Only the mythical Kilroy ever got around as much as Mrs. Roosevelt, and her favorite theme was integration.

P. 12

The prospect of her return with the Democrats is something to shudder at in more than one respect.

She was turning the United Nations, for example, into an agency for One World socialism and do-goodery until Ike took it away from her. And she's as eager and ready as ever.

You can bet your last Confederate dollar that whoever persuaded Mrs. Eisenhower to write that foolish letter will persuade her no more.

* * *

If Fair Deal Democrats should succeed in lowrating Ike enough to get him defeated and bring in, as that surely would, a predominately Fair Deal Democratic Congress, the South would be in a bad way for certain. There would be constant anti-Southern civil rights bills, as before—and this time with more success.

Ike and the Republicans have given us a minimum of such legislation.

Come Democrats or Republicans, we are to have this Supreme Court until death or disability do us part — and that means trouble enough.

Bring back a Fair Deal civil-rights-demanding Congress and

31a 1956

WHITE (JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES)

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald P. 14
Birmingham
Wed. 4-11-56

Two Top Decisions Made In Georgia

"Georgia — the state of decisions."

For one at Thomasville last January and one at Warm Springs in 1928, Georgia may stand in history as the State of Great Decisions.

* * *

The Thomasville one was Dwight Eisenhower's—to run again.

It could make the difference between peace on earth and end of earth.

The Warm Springs one was Franklin Roosevelt's—to give up his hope of some day walking again without artificial aids and to run for governor of New York in order to strengthen the Al Smith presidential ticket.

Where and what would the world be now if Roosevelt had remained in private life?

Would there have been an atomic bomb, for one thing? Who but FDR, even in wartime, would have staked two billion dollars on what might have been only a gigantic boondoggle?

It was after Smith had been nominated in Houston and the desperate nature of his presidential fight was apparent that they persuaded Roosevelt to leave Warm Springs and run for governor. He won New York state by 25,000 while Smith was losing it by 100,000. That, some say, was the beginning of the feud.

* * *

THE GEORGIA DECISION that made Roosevelt four-time President through the era of greatest depression and greatest war may have been no more epochal than the one that is about to make Eisenhower, a two-time President in the era of Pax Atomica. Only Ike, in some belief, can seal the peace of atomic awfulness into something mortally endurable and manageable.

* * *

WHO IS OUT of step in North Carolina—the press or the people?

The South's "most enlightened state" can't locate its light. The newspapers are for varying degrees of compliance with the desegregation decision but the people are like other Southern people. They hold to what Editor McKnight of John Knight's Charlotte Observer-made-over has scorned as the South's "crumpled culture."

Reflecting their concept of culture and of light, the State Advisory Committee on Education has recommended a special session of the Legislature for maintaining segregation and, if necessary, closing the schools.

* * *

The finest Negroes in the world live in North Carolina. I've said it many times.

They got that way segregated.

* * *

IS THE PRESIDENT sworn to support the Supreme Court? He is sworn to support the Constitution, but is that the same?

John Marshall said the Court was supreme among Federal arms. Charlie Evans Hughes said the Constitution is what the Court decides it is. But not even the Constitution is competent to say what happens when its 13-nation compact is flouted by a court which is only one arm of one party to the compact.

* * *

YOU WONDER if Robert Taft, that statesman of dauntless constitutional principle, would feel that he had sworn to support a Supreme Court gone unconstitutional. Some of us who knew him pretty well think he would say there is a "constitutional crisis."

* * *

"They're hangin' men and women there
For wearing o' the green . . ."

In North Alabama it's to be "for playing of the B-hop," it seems.

By this dawn's early light plenty of us believe the South is still part of America, and indeed the most American part.

Gladly would we join a Society for the Utter Damnation of B-hop, but if and when parties call on us menacingly in the stolen name of the great original Citizens Councils to "suggest" that we stop playing B-hop and Negro music, the only Southern and American answer for us to make is "go to —."

Hitler and Stalin tried to bully certain music into or out of their people but never so blatantly as this.

Anybody, unfortunately, can start a Citizens Council. And, if he is persuasive enough, he can give it lunacies of the far right he found in the crazy belt of California.

But the "Citizens Councils of America" organized in New Orleans last week by real leaders of the original movement from 11 states may as well forget the America stuff and go out of Southern business unless it disavows this fascism in North Alabama and prevents its sure spread by creating an accrediting agency with minimum standards of sobriety, Americanism and sense.

* * *

THE PITY IS that so many people and newspapers which ought to be leading our eager, disturbed and determined people in the tidal wave the Councils reflect seem equally afraid to speak well of them when they are real and damn them when they are not.

All of us are eager to do something. But leaders who incite us to ridiculous and extreme things which destroy the national name and influence we are winning are our worst enemies.

* * *

TALKING TO the famous Highland Book Club here last week I could wonder to what extent I was addressing our city's authority and power, as I was certainly addressing a sector of its culture, taste and values.

The husbands (or sons, fathers or brothers) of these ladies are at many economic, spiritual, and political controls. How much are the controllers controlled by their ladies—and should there be more or less?

It is a thought worth a program. Our workaday world is to be explained more and more now with a "cherchez la femme," and the emancipated woman has at least as much indirect authority as direct.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald
B'ham, Ala.
Tues. 4-3-56

Will Racial Tensions Hurt Dixie Economy?

"And drizzled blood upon the capitol."

P. 12

Denying that new industry is being turned away from the South because of the mounting race tension and boycotts, Walter Cates, of Georgia's State Chamber of Commerce says he's never heard of any.

The Georgia Power Company's industrial development manager, Eugene A. Yates Jr., calls it propaganda—"a bunch of hogwash."

He says his division has worked with 50 per cent more interested companies this year than last.

My guess is that it all depends on how we behave in the future.

Real "moderation" is not the stands we take but the manner of taking them. So far we are doing pretty well, no matter how the loud alarmists at home and greedy sensationalists abroad cry havoc.

In coming weeks this column will be making the rounds of the South. I believe I'll find it as calm—and determined—as my mail is.

* * *

SONG OF SPRING! Standards of propriety and sobriety necessarily controlling business and professional men simply cannot without killing frustration be imposed on men devoted and by nature belonging to the arts, fine and other.

Writing is a fine art. Newspaper writing is another art, and privileged, too, I say.

* * *

ACCUSING THIS column of "incitement to verbal violence" against the New Yorker, Mrs. James Hart, of Roanoke, Va., finds this "depressing, for I've often felt you were 'New Yorker' yourself, in your more lucid moments."

That's well-meant but it is only in our un-lucid moments that the New Yorker and I are alike. We are both capable of being fatuous then, as it is about the NAACP meeting in Atlanta.

Return to maturity is indicated in its issue with a cartoon of a friend reading a newspaper to Nehru and exclaiming: "More controversy in Alabama! You'd think those people were being asked to send their children to school with untouchables."

India knows a segregation which is really segregation. In spite of talk, she can't get much shock out of our far lesser and different one.

* * *

"IF YOU ARE STILL 'pausing for a word' to apply to Ralph McGill's article in the Atlantic, I suggest 'truth'", suggests F. H. Richmond, of Birmingham. What other word, then, Mr. Richmond, for the Interposition stand of Editor McGill's Atlanta Constitution?

* * *

SINGLE-TRACK MINDS can do a lot of damage—but people who care about things make this world go around, nevertheless. From Roanoke, Va., a reader sends 23 clippings she has saved of note-worthy quotations The Times there runs beneath its editorial masthead.

From Tallahassee, Fla., a reader who waited to be sure I read it has copied in long hand and mailed to me David Lawrence's recent column about how school integration is "a long way off . . . and maybe never."

* * *

LATE BUT LOUD, exactly like his friend Mr. Folsom, Justice Mayfield comes forth with compounded defiance of the Supreme Court at the United States.

Suddenly he is more pious than the Pope. He says opposition has forced him "back into the political arena." A judge who has gone nowhere on the desegregation issue would hardly be going further than anybody else all of a sudden if something wasn't forcing him pretty hard.

* * *

OFFING WITH three Democratic heads at guillotine speed Don Ewing says in The Shreveport Times that "Gov. Harriman is about as colorless as Kefauver is light and as Stevenson is shallow and distant."

Shallow and distant! How have the mighty fallen! Four years ago they were calling Adlai Stevenson another Woodrow Wilson—but never with much cause for Wilson was a covenanter, a grim and dauntless crusader.

There's not a covenanter in a carload of Adlais. It was only because of his education and intellectuality—and perhaps of his being a Princeton graduate—that they likened him to Wilson.

"They say," he will be offered the presidency of Princeton if he doesn't win the other one. In my days when John Grier Hibben was president, the seniors would sing of him fondly from Old Nassau's steps that—"He's made for Pres-i-dent - of Princeton - that's all!"

There was no note of exclusion from other presidencies, only an expression of perfect suitability for the Princeton one.

If this song is still sung it will have to be dropped in case Adlai becomes prexy.

He would be a popular president—with students, faculty, alumni and the nation, I think.

But no Woodrow Wilson.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Civil Rights Proposals

"Don't look now, Mr. Brownell, but your slip is showing!"

* * *

The Republican attorney general has left out of his civil rights proposal the main item Mr. Truman and his Democratic attorneys-general used to include, indeed the one that brought the 1948 revolt in the South.

That is an FEPC.

This being election year both sides have to talk a lot of civil rights but the Democrats are way ahead on the sum total of talk.

There's only talk either way, of course, but when Republicans controlled Congress from January 1953 to January 1955 they didn't even talk. They offered no "civil rights" legislation at all. The last real attempt was under Truman in 1949.

An 18-day Southern filibuster stopped it.

* * *

PRETTY CYNICAL business both ways. What Mr. Brownell has proposed is mostly included in bills already pending in this Democratic Congress.

True to his pledged word when he asked South Carolinians to elect him senator by write-in two years ago against a hand-picked Democratic nominee, Strom Thurmond has resigned and invited them to nominate him for the remaining four years in a regular Democratic primary.

Both South and nation have him much in memory these days for he led the 1948 revolt in the South which became the 1952 revolt in the nation.

* * *

NOW WE HAVE 1956.

Not since Sumter has the South been so united and determined, so able to be put into a nation-winning whole if shown where to go. But if unity should be used to deadlock the electoral college next December on the bitter race issue, something to consider is that the South's man wouldn't have a chance.

The other two, rather than yield to us at such a time on such an issue, would gang up—in whole or sufficient part. Meanwhile, the nation would be shocked, embittered and antagonized at the spectacle of our minority holding up the electoral process. Far from gaining power and influence out of the maneuver, we would be isolated.

In addition we would undoubtedly quarrel among ourselves when the election came to the House of Representatives. Some of us identify our cause with a conservatism others of us deem reactionary.

* * *

IT CONTINUES TO seem to me that the South's one cue, with its 1956-model solidity, is to solidify its control of Congress and, by giving Ike electoral votes, prove conclusively at last that it is permanently doubtful territory, a major minority to be fought for.

But if Southern states—any or all—go for Eisenhower, I hope they go as Southern Democrats.

This not only to hold Congress but to let Republicans know we are still no set-ups and National Democrats remember we once were theirs.

* * *

"NO DISCIPLINARY action" is planned by the so-calld "Citizens Councils" of North Alabama against one of its members who led the attack on Nat (King) Cole.

That isn't the question.

The question is whether real leaders of the real movement, threatened now by fascism in North Alabama and the introduction of all sorts of extraneous issues, will discipline North Alabama leadership.

* * *

IT WILL SEEM to many of us that a first order of business at the planned mass meeting in the auditorium Saturday night should be a rejection by name of this local element which can spread and ruin the South's strongest organization since Appomattox.

Georgia's famous Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook, a principal speaker Saturday, will have fine things said of him in introduction, undoubtedly, but the finest to be said at this moment is that he refused to speak to the other crowd here last month.

* * *

CHARLES BLOCH, Macon, Ga., attorney, who is also to address this meeting is one of our ablest constitutional lawyers and most outstanding citizens.

His speech nominating Sen. Richard Russell at the Democratic Convention was a classic of oratory, determination and sense. In men like this is the only leadership the South can use now that its cause is to be won in the light alone and every aspect of darkness and Ku Kluxery is a set-back.

* * *

If the Cole incident brings house-cleaning to this critical center of the South's resistance there will be net profit in spite of the weapon it has given our enemies.

* * *

"All this world am sad and dreary
Ebrywhere I roam. . ."

Reading the current United States News with its story of the sad plight of Southern Negroes who have flocked to Chicago, of discrimination and underprivilege multiplied there as they are not in the South by cold dislike, you know again that the last words on neither race relations nor labor relations have been written in the North and East.

If the NAACP will permit it, they may be written here some day—where there is no such separation as Chicago's.

Ours is physical only.

* * *

For calling it "South of the Potomac" when it should be "below the Mason-Dixon Line" I am rebuked again by that unmitigated Marylander, Lloyd T. Everett, of DeLand, Fla. Since every slip calls for an apology which advertises the Free state, Mr. Everett eagerly awaits my next.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

The Segregation Question In Harlem

"White thousands cheer. . . ."

Unwittingly this week Collier's puts its finger on the fallacy behind some of this "you, too" saying to the North from the South.

Unless accompanied by a clear stand for the Southern position, it means "you, too, are guilty of the awful Southern sin of segregation."

* * *

"When Harlem has been desegregated," editorializes Collier's, citing a recommendation to that effect by the New York planning board, "there will be time enough to point a finger at the South."

Collier's isn't being sarcastic. It isn't condoning segregation in the South. It is damning segregation in Harlem. It is saying, in all earnest, that segregation there must go—even though nobody makes anybody live in Harlem or away from Harlem and the proposal to force racial mixture is monstrous and absurd.

* * *

THERE IS FOOD for clarifying thought here on those who are being applauded North and South for showing up the North. Unless they join, as some fail conspicuously to join, in Southern resistance to what the Supreme Court has done and in insistence on public segregation as a police and biological necessity where racial masses are involved, they are in fact damning this segregation.

They are saying only that the North is as guilty as we are.

We admit no guilt.

It's splendid to show the North and East up for hypocrisy. But is it splendid to imply that the North and East are sinful "just like us."

We don't think it a sin.

* * *

PLEASED WITH THE Collier's editorial which is entitled "Segregation is Not Confined to the South," Birmingham's Ace Smedley has telephoned the editor long distance with his thanks. That was a fine thing to do.

Letters and messages to national periodicals from Southerners these days are a new and mighty force. They—and personal letters, too — are accomplishing much. But there's optical illusion in undiscriminating applause for all who find segregation in the North and East.

In delight at catching the Yankees, we mustn't excuse them or ourselves from the issue — which is whether segregation is right or wrong among racial public school masses and whether the Supreme Court shall be permitted to force it unconstitutionally on people vitally convinced it is wrong.

* * *

The charge against the North and East is not sin but hypocrisy.

* * *

"You, too" (unless this distinction is made or denied) is as much a two-way dodge as "leave us alone and we'll come home."

* * *

THE COLLIER'S address is 640 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., whatever, if anything, you want to write. Here's hoping you want to write somebody something and often, these days. Millions in the South who are eager for a part are frustrated because our enemies don't live here. Some are in danger even of doing harmful or evil things in intensity of will to contribute. Here is a greatly contributory thing to do—if the letters are literate and calm.

* * *

By much request, my list of candidates for delegates to the national convention will be repeated Monday.

* * *

A BIRTHDAY observation, after having had one Wednesday, is that no matter how much you think you want no notice taken of your birthday after you have passed 40, 50, 60, 70 or 80—you love it. The only thing that can even momentarily stop time in this terrific flight is human affection.

* * *

DOESN'T IT SUGGEST anything to anybody that a poll at the university law school among students and faculty shows Mr. Folsom in the lead for committeeman (a shocking thing in that abode of light) but with fewer votes than McKay and McCord combined.

In other words, Folsom leads only because his opposition is foolishly split.

* * *

WHAT ADLAI WOULD do as President is eloquent in what he accuses Ike of failing to do, to wit, give the "immense prestige and influence of the presidential office" to "those who honestly seek to carry out the (school desegregation) law in a gathering storm and against rising resistance."

In relative integrationism there seems to be a tie for first place now among Harriman, Kefauver and Stevenson.

Ike runs second to all.

* * *

Remember 1954!

It isn't only at polling places that they steal primary elections. It's also on tally sheets, recapitulation summaries and such in the hands of criminal officials.

31a 1956

WHITE (JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES)

This Morning

Post-Herald

BY JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

"The Centripetal Force of Southern Circumstance. . . ."

31a White

Birmingham, Ala.

ATLANTA—Is this city of might-have-been and meant-to-be about to be?

Are the Dutch taking Holland?

Never did this column think to have Ralph McGill, editor of The Constitution, making its point.

But as I pass here after four days above the Potomac where all comment has been of riot, illiteracy and rebellion at the University of Alabama and you were made almost to believe the University razed, its officials lynched, and its student body and townfolks splattered with bombs as in a veritable telephone strike or blood as on a veritable picket line — I read a heart-warming editorial in The Constitution.

Sat. 2-11-56

It makes the little-made point that outranks all others.

* * * P 8

"Let's Not Disregard the Alabama Riots," is the title. "Alabama is in turmoil . . . brought about by Federal interference in affairs always previously left to the states. . . . While this newspaper does not now or has it ever condoned mob action, the incidents . . . are a symptom of the intense feeling and tension. . . . Alabama, like Georgia, will not willingly accept integration and if it is attempted by force, irreparable harm will result. The President and the Federal government will be making one of the greatest mistakes in national history if they do not grasp the seriousness of Alabama's plight—the plight of a whole region. . . ."

* * *

Ralph McGill's address is The Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

He deserves thanks for this deeper note while some of his fellow Southerners (including student groups at the University) are so busy denouncing the riot and being "enlightened" that you wonder who is left to have thrown the eggs and gravel before the hoodlums horned in and made it a mob.

* * *

Even as the grained-in-the-wood Charlotte Observer forgets itself, the grained-in-the-wood Atlanta Constitution remembers.

What this column called in "The Fighting South" the "centripetal force of Southern regional circumstance," drawing Calhoun, Davis, Grady, Watson, Byrnes and other Southerners of national light and leading home to the South through history, seems to have got The Constitution after all the nation-minded, Fair Dealing years.

Only yesterday Ralph wasn't a bit like this.

* * *

The Constitution is out for Interposition, too.

* * *

As Senator Eastland addresses a great Citizens Council meeting in Montgomery (where the mayor and city commissioners have joined up) may the national and world press here for the "illiteracy at Tuscaloosa" learn more about these Councils than Dr. Carmichael's hostile reference gives them to think.

May Dr. Carmichael learn, too.

Even Hodding Carter has agreed that the Councils are made up for the most part of top level citizens, sincerely "dedicated," as the Council periodical's masthead has it, "to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our community and in our state and to the preservation of our State's Rights."

* * *

Hodding feared only that the Councils might fall into the hands of vigilantes and Ku Kluxers.

I have shared this fear, plus another fear—of their falling into the hands of "lunatics of the far right" such as roam California.

Eternal vigilance is needed against both tendencies. The Councils have a great and useful part to play if they hold to their origins. Each individual council needs to be considered for these things today apart from the movement as a whole.

* * *

Famed and respected Editor Tom Waring, of The Charleston News and Courier, after careful inspection is unqualified in endorsement of the Councils and the generally high quality of their membership.

W. H. Debnam, author of "My Old Kentucky Home, Goodnight," after criticizing the Councils in the first edition of his book, prepared an entire new chapter in salute to them.

The chapter heading is "In Which We Admit Our Error in Our Appraisal of The Citizens' Council Movement in Mississippi and Salute Those Men Who Have Provided a Rallying Point in a Last-Ditch Fight."

* * *

To serve their destiny the Councils, surely, will purge themselves instantly of every Ku Kluxer or lunatic of the right who pushes to local leaderships.

* * *

Important in this week's edition of South is a reported story of why Polly Ann Myers Hudson was denied admission to the University, without regard at all to her race. There, too, perhaps, is a point for the world press outranking eggs and gravel.

This Morning

Post-Herald

BY JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

"Don't let them take it away!"

Mon. 2-20-56

National Brotherhood Week is a time for us in the South to proclaim the brotherhood no one else understands.

It is the most intimate, ancient and persisting of all the brotherhoods this land of brothers knows. P. 8

It is the brotherhood of Southern white people and Southern colored people.

Birmingham, Ala.

Persisting through the long generations, persisting through the sins of each against each, persisting, let us resolve, in spite of demagogs and witless do-gooders, and communists and fascists and those who agitate for pay or power.

* * *

When my taxi driver to the Edgewater Beach Hotel in Chicago last Fall launched into a long tirade against "niggers," reciting this and that bitter grudge against them, I asked him why he was telling me. "You from the South, ain't you!" he said.

There was the monstrous misconception.

He wouldn't believe me when I told him the South is the only place in the country where Negroes are really liked —in person, not just in theory.

* * *

Because "you are the only writer who expresses concern for preserving the pleasant relationship between the black and white races which have existed in the past," W. H. (Van) Baldwin wants to know what I think of his proposal in a recent spech for a "Southern Association for the Advancement of Colored People within the boundaries of racial segregation."

I think it would be an answer to prayer—if right leaders could be found.

The trouble is that this sort of thing is notoriously a set-up for a certain self-serving, shallow, insincere sort of Negro leader who makes a living selling out to white people. All of us know the type.

* * *

Given another Booker Washington or Carver—or James E. Shepard—to assume truly great leadership, a Southern Association could go far.

Unforgettable in my memory and heart is James E. Shepard, who was president of the North Carolina College for Negroes.

He and I represented the states' rights side in an American Town Meeting of the Air debate in New York on Feb. 17, 1944. On the other side—for having the race question dealt with by the Federal Government — were Carey McWilliams and the Negro poet, Langston Hughes, both subsequently identified with fellow-traveling organizations.

Tall, gaunt, upstanding, old Dr. Shepard spoke nobly that night of North Carolina, his love for his state, his belief in its will to deal justly.

"The principle of states' rights which I advocate," said the grand old Negro, "is simply the principle of the rights of the people in the state to finance their own enterprises, solve their own problems, to run their own affairs energetically and confidently, and not be governed by some remote and distant governing class. . . . "

* * *

I am not alone, Mr. Baldwin, in affection for our colored people and in sorrow that this hateful crisis should cloud it. We white and black of the South are brothers under the sun. We have millions of things in common against all the other people of America.

Many of us remember—and hold fast.

* * *

It is good to hear that the Citizens Council in Alabama are being brought into a statewide organization. May the leaders be men of the caliber and philosophy of the original Councils.

The movement is so immense now that naturally it includes all sorts, including, of course, many who have been Klansmen and many others who are in sympathy with a still existent American fascism. But the commands and directions must be in very different hands if this movement to save the South is not to become mushroom and menacing in its growth.

Where can assurance against this be had so long as anybody and everybody can start his own local council and make it an instrument only of hate or wild imaginings or un-American doctrine in the name of America?

* * *

Our contention is that the South is the most American part of America.

Our program is not to secede but to take over.

We mean to use our dawning economic and political power to deal successfully with our race and labor problems and, of even greater import to restore to our country its Constitution, its rule of self-government, its ideal of excellence in self.

* * *

"They build too low who build beneath the stars . . . "

They build too low who let the great Citizens Council movement which has come so spontaneously to include so immense a cross section of us be confined in direction to either conservatives or progressives.

And they destroy the whole building who turn it over to motheaten exponents of violence and hate or to fascists who always try to call Southern patriots brother.

This Morning

Post-Herald

BY JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

"Wherever earth is home for men,
Beyond what mountains, by what seas—
Let there be law, transcending these. . . ."

Birmingham, Ala.

Let students at the University of Alabama take note!

Let vigilantes all and everywhere take note!

And let the Supreme Court of the United States take great note!

Sat. 2-18-56

"The issue now before the University," Dr. Carmichael declares, "is not segregation versus integration but law and order versus anarchy." P. 6

But both issues are before the University, and before Alabama and the South. They are deeply related.

It is partly because we are for law and order that we are for segregation. We know it is a police necessity for our school masses.

There is no mass situation yet at the University, true, but tension there has reflected the sense of mass situation which the Supreme Court has forced on us all.

When Columnist Roscoe Drummond points out that other Southern universities have taken in a few Negroes without any to-do, he forgets that this was before the Court made us necessarily more race-conscious than we have been since Reconstruction.

* * *

THE SUPREME COURT has not only made us race conscious.

It has taught us to disregard the law.

But what was an ideological orgy for the court is regional life-or-death for us.

It is time to go back to the Court and see whether anything has happened to it in view of what is happening with us. The nine are provenly capable of considering other things with (and without) the law. Our contention that segregation is a social and biological necessity may not have made an impression but our contention that segregation is a police necessity may.

It is even possible that our clamor for recognition of the Constitution of the United States has had some effect now that great national names are being signed for us.

* * *

FEELING HIS HONEST and highly-

intelligent way in the super-Potomac dark, Walter Lippmann has already concluded that the South cannot be forced but must be persuaded. Just around the corner if he keeps on is a conclusion that the South cannot be forced or persuaded either, on the question of mixing two greatly differing masses of a population—and that the question has nothing to do with democracy, Christianity, Americanism or science.

* * *

THE PHYSICAL FRONT in the anti-integration fight is not at the University but in the lower schools where mass mixture is proposed. But an ideological front is at the University among those young men and women soon to inherit our commands.

As this column declared at the time, it was a splendid thing to have the students show their strong feeling against integration—not against Autherine Lucy, the puppet, and not against the University's mild situation but with ballyhoo by the NAACP making a dramatic occasion of it.

The nation (and South, too) needed to know that those who are soon to be leading are not all persuaded a thing is un-American which America has always had, un-Christian for which Christianity has made no rule, unscientific about which science simply doesn't know.

If the demonstrations had not been taken over and turned into a destructive-spirited mob, they would have been a boon to the Southern case and a flag to certain drooping Southern spirits.

* * *

THE UNIVERSITY'S situation now is that it has tried honestly to obey the court, that a perfectly legitimate student assembly in protest has turned into an intolerable mob, that it has been necessary to suspend the Negro student or suspend the University, and that the issues now remaining are not one but two.

There is the absolute issue of law and order.

There is the equally absolute issue of Southern determination, of making it emphatic for the high court and the country with this evidence of the police situation the high court creates with its own law-breaking.

* * *

"FAITHFUL ARE the wounds of a friend. . . ."

Those of us who even though not members, regard the Citizens Councils with great friendliness and hope are named to tell them to look to their localities.

The movement is so immense that it begins, like the Democratic Party, to include all kinds.

If ever Klansmen take command, or lunatics of the far right, all is lost.

Among these lunatics are those who absurdly yell Communist at every opponent of segregation, making our case seem as wanton, as the Communists' own, who circulate literature for extreme right positions unrelated to segregation or other literature damning all national organizations which believe in integration (including some that do business with the Community Chest) when all we have a right to demand of these perfectly legitimate outside groups is that they leave integration out of their active business here.

This Morning

Post-Herald

BY JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Tues. 2-21-56

"Backward, turn backward, O Time in thy flight . . . ."

P. 14

* * *

Blinded by its one little show of light, Time Magazine turns back to new lows of hypocrisy and smugness.

Birmingham, Ala.

It gives its readers to understand that Pollie Ann Myers Hudson was turned down at the University of Alabama merely because she was "involved in a divorce action," knowing well that the published and unchallenged reason was unmarried pregnancy and criminal associations.

In the same issue, without a blush, Time lectures the Southern press on failure to report facts fairly on the integration situation.

It is even bare-faced enough to complain that Southern papers print stories of crime in the North—as if the main traffic were not monstrously the other way.

* * *

Time quotes its old friend, Ralph McGill, admiringly again, but this could be the Ralph of six months ago, not the current one who has brought The Atlanta Constitution out for interposition and pointed to the University of Alabama situation as evidence that the South will "not willingly accept integration, and if it is attempted by force irreparable harm will result . . ."

Here's hoping Ralph's stay in the light is to be longer than Time's.

The magazine smugly explains that all Southern editors can't be expected to see things the enlightened (integration) way right off, but that they are coming around. Capping monstrosity, Time quotes Editor ("Crumpled Culture") McKnight, of The Charlotte Observer, that "it will take at least a decade before many changes take place in Southern journalism."

The changing happens to be in the other direction from the one Time and Mr. McKnight have in mind. And it will need far less than 10 years. The count shows editor after editor taking a stand now and beginning to be joined by Northern and Western editors, too.

Time's address is 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y., but dishonesty towards the South is an old and firm policy with it.

My first experience was during a Congressional debate on an anti-lynching bill several years ago. When Time had grossly overstated the lynching record of the South it admitted the error privately to me and several others, including the attorney general of Louisiana, but refused to print a correction, hypocritically claiming the matter was no longer news.

* * *

If there is bias in the Southern press today it is on the integration side. It is because papers are honestly and perhaps properly playing down stories that multiply the ugliness of all this or might enflame Southern whites.

The true story of Pollie Ann Myers Hudson's rejection by the University of Alabama, for example, was printed in only a few Southern newspapers.

Things being as they are, a true story is sometimes so sure to be misunderstood as to be doubtful for publication. There is that Negro doctor in Columbus, Ga., who was killed last week by a white man.

The Negro was an official of the NAACP, but all agree that this had nothing to do with the killing. Mention of the NAACP is sure to convince many, nevertheless, that there was a connection, while failure to mention it would be as sure to seem a suppression of facts. The AP chose to mention—prominently—the NAACP connection.

* * *

Of what he calls "Time's smear of the Southern Press," Editor Tom Waring points out in The Charleston News and Courier that "Time conveniently ignores the bias and distortion of many—we believe most—of the larger and richer Northern newspapers and magazines.

"Among these, Time itself is perhaps the chief offender . . . What it says on the subject of race relations is suspect at the source. We hope its Southern readers will tell Time how they feel about these things . . ."

Nine Rockefeller Plaza.

* * *

The beating up of a Negro trusty at Fairfield City Jail calls for punishment not only of the man who did it but of those whose negligence made it possible.

We-the-people need to remember where we were with our colored people before the Supreme Court and the NAACP horned in.

We were far past the place where you could beat one up in jail.

Granted that intolerable inference has made many of us forget, we must now remember to remember.

I invite the local Citizens Councils to join me in this statement.

* * *

If ever medal was deserved it was the one presented by our mayor to Mrs. David Roberts III, Saturday, for her work as chairman of this year's Festival of Arts. She was truly unlimited in zeal and undertakings.

This Morning

Post-Herald

BY JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

"What tributary nations I would bring
To stoop before your scepter and to swear
Allegiance to your lips and eyes and hair . . ."

Wed. 2-22-56

Birmingham

As a visit from Queen Elizabeth is promised, wistful royalism breaks out in letters to some of our magazines.

Or, rather, a sigh for an individual of our own to be above parties and politics, a human embodiment of patriotic love, loyalty and understanding, a breathing reminder of the anthem, the flag, the great things history has made, the hope the future holds.

* * P. 12

Kings and queens aren't undemocratic any more. Laborites in England are as loyal to the Throne as Tories. The institution has to do now with the human need of a personal spectacle—a need greater than ever in an age of impersonal enormities.

* * *

Washington's birthday reminds us of an America which came about in revolt against a king, but it reminds us, too, of an America still human enough to need human embodiments of its ideals, loves and ways. George Washington's place has come to be kingly in some respects, breathing but remote, reverenced and apart—

"From Yorktown's ruins, ranked and still,
Two lines stretch far o'er vale and hill.
Who curbs his steed at foot of one?
Hark, the low murmur—'Washington'!"

* * *

WE THE PEOPLE are not so mature as we imagine. We worship images still and need them in our businesses. And, just as the Bible says, they mustn't be graven. Carlisle once proposed that since having a king was important but the upkeep was expensive Parliament should have a graven image made and be devoted to that—at cost only of an occasional cake of soap. But it's not the same.

The king must be able to breathe.

The queen must have lips and eyes and hair.

* * *

NOW IT'S DOROTHY THOMPSON—signed up in her column Monday for the Southern position!

Southern legislatures in action; Southern courts more and more imaginative, defiant and alert; Newsweek, the Saturday Evening Post, United States News, Wall Street Journal—going our way; the nation's most thoughtful and authoritative editorial columnists—Walter Lippman, David Lawrence, Dorothy Thompson—practically on our side; our own two-stepping politicians falling into line; high councils ahead for making the South count in the national conventions; the Doctrine of Interposition getting a nation's open-minded interest—it is inconceivable that we should endanger all this now with spectacles of that familiar and nationally intolerable old hate-peddling, Negro-picture-passing, wild-rumor-mongering, riot-making-by-riot-rearing, Communist-calling, witch-burning, all-out rabble-rousing Ku Kluxery. Let's watch it especially in North Alabama, for we are menaced with it here, and it can ruin the new and very different sort of effort the present crisis requires.

* * *

OUR REAL ENEMIES don't live here.

Our real hope depends on leaders with the intelligence, education, self-control, enlightenment, wide-mindedness and long-sight to take our case to the nation.

The job at home is not against colored people but among whites. It is not a job of enflaming the already convinced and aroused masses but of persuading the classes of winning these young people and these church people who are brainwashed by professors and preachers into false belief that integration is the Christian, American and scientific wave of the future.

These are not won but alienated by fascist hate stuff, by the vicious business of showing pictures of white and black together somewhere outside the South, by the foolish business of calling all opposition Communist when some of the most respectable people in America are opposed to us and have been through the centuries, and by the lunatic lugging in of reactionary outside issues not related to our single great cause.

We can win only in the light this time, not in the dark, and those who are operating darkly or in the dark must go.

* * *

EAGER AS THEY MUST BE to help their financially hard-pressed state save money, Governor and Mrs. Folsom will be interested in the way Ohio's Governor and Mrs. Lausche manage.

Governor Lausche insists on paying his own expenses, above transportation costs, when he makes a business trip. Mrs. Lausche, equally scrupulous with the housekeeping budget, sometimes splits the cost of a pound of coffee with the state—cups for private use calculated against cups for official guests.

WHEN TIME MAGAZINE—of all printed things—accuses the Southern press of biased report and overlooking evil at home to point evil far away, that is a very black pot calling a comparatively white kettle black.

Between The Lines

The views expressed in this column do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Louisiana Weekly.

By Dean Gordon B. Hancock
For ANP

ALABAMA NEGROES STEAL SHOW

On October 20, 1942, more than 70 southern Negroes met at Durham, North Carolina, in what turned out to be the memorable Durham Conference. They met to draft a statement, addressed to the Southern white man, in an effort to challenge his righteousness and his claims of being Christian and democratic.

The now famous Durham Manifesto was a product of that meeting. Those Negroes were being scrutinized closely; and their least mistake would have been a death warrant to their commendable endeavors. They did not make that mistake. They spoke forthrightly to their southern white brethren after such manner that their statement evoked a respectable and encouraging reply.

What is more, they spoke after such manner that there was left no doubt that there was Negro manhood in the South even as there was in the North. That historic Durham meeting proved conclusively that Negro manhood is not bounded by geographical limits. In fact it takes a great deal more courage to be a man in Georgia than in New York. The real Negro man is not necessarily the one who gets the most things said, but the one who gets the most things done!

It is true that today we hear more and more from the Southern Negro; but the latent manhood was always in the offing, ready upon a moment's notice to blossom into deeds of valor and service. Even in the days of slavery we find that the slaves were far from cowards, even though they were outnumbered and overpowered. How else can we explain the fact that according to Router, in his "The American Race Problem," there was an uprising of the slaves on the average of one every four years. It is doubtful if such displays of courage can be equaled in the annals of mankind.

As of current date we have in Alabama one of the finest displays of Negro manhood and womanhood. Collectively and individually the Alabama Negro is stealing the race relations show. While the Negrophobes in the South are wooping and wailing and gnashing their teeth, the Alabama Negro is facing forward. One Miss Autherine Lucy is bidding for admission to the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa. In spite of the rioting and "rodying" by thousands of students and their sympathizers, Miss Lucy is determined to enter the university.

It takes raw courage to face what she is facing without a whimper. To use a Churchillian expression, this is Miss Lucy's "finest hour." It is one of the finer hours for the Southern Negro who has arrived almost over night. When we consider where the Negro was in 1914 and where he is today, it is hard to believe such wonders could in such short time be wrought. When the Southern Negro could not speak for himself the Northern Negro spoke for him. Now he speaks for himself. The Southern Negro has come of age as is so genuinely indicated by Miss Lucy's courageous contentions.

Then there is the Montgomery bus boycott. For more than 50 years, the Negro commuters have been treated as untouchables by the transportation companies. All kinds of abuses and indignities—and in many instances death itself—have been heaped upon them. The worm turns—and in Montgomery, Alabama. Something has happened to the Alabama Negroes who are boycotting their prosecutors are pioneers, moral pioneers, opening up vast horizons of moral and social possibilities.

We must keep the records clear. The revolt of those Montgomery Negroes is not against the South person; it is against the Old South, which is attempting to turn back the hands on the Clock of Time. It cannot be done and the manly stand being taken by the Montgomery Negroes is just a practical way of saying it cannot be done.

Just how the authorities are going to force the Negroes to ride the buses against their will is not at present clear, although that seems to be the proposed program of the local authorities.

When the Negroes learn the power in unified action which is being currently demonstrated by the Alabama Negroes, we are going places—and in a hurry. God and Time and Right are on the side of those boycotting Negroes and on Miss Lucy's side.

The Alabama Negroes steal the show!

Between The Lines

DEAN GORDON B. HANCOCK
For ANP

A ROSE BY ANOTHER NAME

It has been said that a rose by another name would be just as sweet. For many months this column has been debating the wisdom of suggesting another name for the NAACP. Notwithstanding that the name NAACP is a synonym for all that is noblest and finest in one of the most mangificet fights for full American citizenship, it does not cover the entire gamut of its usefulness as a liberation agency. It connotes a struggle for full citizenship rights and responsibilities for Negroes, and this is as it should be. But the scope of the organization's program and practices far exceed those of the Negro race. In its inception it bore directly on the rights and responsibilities of Negroes and became an instrument of their achievement; but these rights and responsibilities were so closely interwoven with other races and groups that it has come about that the struggle for Negro rights is a struggle for the rights of all mankind.

The achievements of the NAACP have been achievements for all mankind and its fight has focused the civil rights fight on all disadvantaged groups in the world. In Africa and Asia and in the uttermost parts of the earth the NAACP fight is being duplicated and with salutary results. The spirit of the NAACP is the spirit of the times and it no longer represents just a fight for Negro liberation. The principles involved become the watchword for all oppressed peoples. The victories won become victories for mankind and the defeats it sustains become the defeat for the cause of liberation everywhere.

In other words, the NAACP fight has become so closely allied with, and identified with the world liberation movement that it is useless to try to differentiate objectives. A fact that needs emphasizing is, the NAACP is no longer an Association for the Advancement of Colored People but it is in fact an Association for the Advancement of all peoples. N.A.A.P. instead of NAACP would be more correct.

Oppressed peoples everywhere stand to profit by the success of the fight the NAACP is so valiantly carrying on. Even the most rabid Negrophobes of the Old South have profited and are currently profiting by the valiant efforts of the NAACP. One of the current boasts of the Old South in its plea to be left alone to work out the problem, is the progress that has been made and is currently being made in race relations. The boast is often made that the progress the Negro has made is proof that further progress is in the offing. And it is vigorously alleged that if left alone the South will make further progress in adjusting race relations. Boast is often made of the closing gap between the educational expenditures of white and Negro schools. And more recently great boast is being made of the fine school equipment that is currently being offered Negroes in the South.

Little is said of the fight that NAACP has had to put up to get the concessions of which the South is now wont to boast. The campuses of our Negro state colleges are just becoming gardens of beauty; but it is not always made clear that these fine buildings and their fine equipment are the results of the fight that the NAACP made to invigorate the "seperate but equal" laws and practices enunciated in former generations. For generations the separate but equal doctrine remained inert with the emphasis placed only upon separate. But the magnificent fight made by the NAACP energized the legal concept in ways that have brought a great transformation in the physical aspect of Negro education in the South. But the Old South's current boast is of the fine schools being provided by the South for the Negroes.

So it may readily be seen that the NAACP's fight has not only helped the Negro in the South, but it has bolstered the pride of the Southerner. In so many far ways the NAACP has become the NAAAP, the National Association for the Advancement of ALL PEOPLES. The prosaic notion that the NAACP is for Negroes only is outmoded and should so be recorded. Let's have a NAAAP instead of NAACP. A rose by another name! From benefactor of the Negro race to benefactor of mankind!

Between The Lines

The views expressed in this column do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Louisiana Weekly.

By Dean Gordon B. Hancock
For ANP

TESTING NEGRO LEADERSHIP

Our current crop of white Southern leaders never tires telling the story of what fine race relations obtained in the South before the NAACP era. They picture an ideal and idyllic state-of-being in the South, where both white and Negroes were ever at peace, and where there was a race relational calm and tranquility akin to that of Grand Pre of which Longfellow wrote generations ago. But these Southern leaders never stop to point out what a price the Negro was paying for those imagined fine race relations.

As long as the Negro did not press for his right of suffrage and feigned an indifference to his voting privilege; as long as he did not seek jury duty, as long as he seemed satisfied to let the whites run the government after the white primary style; as long as the Negro was willing to accept the "separate but unequal" doctrine in the matters of education, he was a jolly good fellow. But once the Negro began to press for jury duty and for a place in the erstwhile white primary and once he pressed for a "separate but equal" principle in education, trouble began to brew.

It can be safely said that our current trouble dates back to the time when Negroes really began to press for equal as well as separate conditions of education. In other words as long as the Negro accepted without protest a condition of the whiteman's domination and his own subjugation, all was apparently well in the South—as long as the status quo obtained. What has recently been transpiring in the South has been the Negro's attempt to break away from the status quo in search of another status on a higher level.

Today, we find the Old South up in arms to resist the Negro's effort to gain a high status and as Senator Byrd proposes there will be no Negro advance because if there is a "massive resistance," the Supreme Court's decision is never to become effective. The Negroes are resolved to advance and the Old South is resolved that "they shall not pass" and so the struggle is on! The brutal fact remains that race relations in the South are terribly strained and the state of tension has dangerous implications for both the white and Negro South.

It is to be questioned which is the more dangerous, a tranquil Old South with the Negro completely subjugated or an Old South in stress and strain with the Negro slowly but surely being liberated. In other words there is something worse than a tense Old South with its Negroes striving to become first rate citizens; it is an Old South complacent with millions of Negro half-citizens. Negro leadership has a strategic role in the current crisis.

In his struggle for full citizenship, the Negro has attained the ballot and in this has the key to the situation. In the last analysis the issues that are today so vexing must and will be settled at the ballot box. Much of the ado and rancor currently tearing at the vitals of the South are matters of politics and very few of the Negrophobes' ailments cannot be cured at the ballot box. It is true that for the most part the South's rural Negroes are voteless; but more and more the South, like the nation, is becoming urban and Negroes more and more are congregating in the cities of the South where they can become powerful balances of power if rightly led by Negroes who care more about the welfare of Negroes than they care about the newspaper headlines and popularity in general.

There was never a time when selflessness among Negro leaders would pay greater dividends. For instance, we have a potential vote here in Virginia of over 100,000 which if used as a balance of power vote could influence anv election. If Negroes could muster a hundred thousand votes Senator Byrd would never date to enunciate his "massive resistance" appeal to the South in an attempt to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision.

If Negroes can be taught to utilize their limited votes as balance of power weapons, it will become more and more dangerous politically for our politicians to make anti-Negro pronouncements from presses and platform. It is up to Negro leadership to train the Negroes to vote for their own protection! The ballot protest is more effective.

31a 1956 NEGRO (JOHN B. HENDERSON)

Welcomed Publicity For The Case Of The South

Journal & Guide P. 10
Sat. 4-7-56

By JOHN B. HENDERSON

Norfolk, Va.

MANY OF the nation's leading newspapers and periodicals have made their own investigation of conditions in the South relative to integration. Among them is the New York Times. It has sent ten staff writers into the South who made a five-week investigation of the matter. The findings of the team have been published in an eight-page report under the caption, "Report on the South; The Integration Issue."

Dr. Henderson

For the greater part the investigation repeated what is already known to those of us who live in the South and have been concerned with the issue. The value of the report lies in the widespread publicity it will give because of the place the Times hold not only in this country but also abroad. For quite some time the South has insisted that its position was not known by the rest of the country. It is now getting that position broadcast to the world. The publicity given to facts that are seldom put in print but which are true is also desired by Negroes.

* * *

WE WANT the world to know that "the dominant attitude of the white population is against any change." We want the publicity given to the fact that "the dominant white segment did not entirely come to terms with the Negro as an equal member of the community and the framework of the law. In most instances the Negro was not generally regarded as the same sort of human being as the white person." It makes good reading in India, Egypt, and South America that, "color constitutes a racial uniform that imputes to the Negro a low social status and subordination . . . and there is in such 'hard' areas a steady demand for the Negro to surrender decision making entirely to the white leadership."

We are delighted to have the world know that the South never practiced the principle it now cherishes so dearly — separate but equal—and the reason was its determination to keep the Negro from "getting out of his place," which place was an inferior one.

* * *

THE CRUX OF the whole matter is a deep-seated prejudice on the part of die-hards who are unwilling to think of the Negro except as an inferior. His weaknesses they now point to are the result of the inferior status to which they have subjected him all these years. But the dye is cast, changes have come and will continue to come no matter who is unwilling to accept them.

The Negro today is as different from his grandfather as day is from night. He does not regard himself as inferior and is unwilling to accept an inferior place in our society. With law and religion and public opinion on his side he is bound to win.

The New Negro Emerges Unafraid And Undaunted

Journal & Guide P. 8
Sat. 8-4-56 31a Negro
Norfolk Va.

By JOHN B. HENDERSON

IT IS rather amusing to see how inconsistent the prejudiced and passion-controlled can be. Recently I've noticed evidences of their resentment at seeing in Negroes the same qualities they admire in themselves. It is all right for them to draw up a Declaration of Independence and follow through bravely with a determined fight for freedom, but not for Negroes.

Dr. Henderson

It is all right for them to be aggressive, forthright, ambitious and enterprising but any aggressiveness on the part of Negroes is sufficient grounds for southern lawmakers to rise up and put them in their place. It is all right for them to desire decent homes, beautiful, wholesome surroundings for their wives and children but when a Negro desires it he is an "uppity", Communist inspired, mongrelizationist.

* * *

THEY HAVE a stereotype in mind from which they hate to see any Negro deviate. They like to think of the Negro as being a dumb, docile, dependent, lazy, shiftless, good-natured beast. Such a character allows them to make all the decisions, do all the voting, make all the profits, enjoy all the privileges and dole him out a pittance for his labor for which he grins and says, "tank ya suh".

During all these years since 1865 they have used effectively poverty, ignorance and fear to intimidate and brain-wash those with whom they have had dealings to keep them down and satisfied to remain down. When they say they know the Negro that is the type of character they have in mind. That is the way they want all Negroes to be, then one of them can manage 1,000.

* * *

THERE HAS grown up in recent years, a different type of Negro. He is neither dumb, docile nor dependent. He is intelligent, aggressive, ambitious and determined to win for himself every right enjoyed by any other man. He does his own thinking and does not frighten and that puzzles and exasperated his good white friends.

Negroes are always supposed to fear whites but this new Negro did not inherit any of his grandfather's fear or trembling. With head erect and a feeling of self-respect and pride within, confident of his stand and encouraged by the fact that religion, law and world opinion are on his side he goes his way determined to fight until hell freezes over, to win what others have said were the inalienable rights of all men.

He desires no special favors, asks for no exceptional privileges, wants no preferred concessions. All he wants is the same things everyone else wants and will accept nothing less.

It Is Now Unlawful To Be Law-Abiding In Virginia

31a Negro

By JOHN B. HENDERSON

THE SPECIAL session of the Virginia Assembly is over. It was called for the noble purpose of enacting legislation designed to circumvent the desegregation ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court. It will go down in history as one of the most famous meetings ever held by that body in all its long history.

Dr. Henderson

The whole purpose of the meeting was unworthy of the consideration of law-abiding citizens. Nothing good could possibly have been accomplished when the aim was illegal, immoral and unChristian. To seek ways to avoid the fundamental law of the land should have been beneath the thinking of men who make laws and expect them to be obeyed. Had they been an open and avowed bunch of bank robbers, gangsters or Communists then it would have been expected that such a group would have been concerned with undermining and overthrowing the government. It is inconceivable that lawmakers would meet for nearly a month for the expressed purpose of law evasion.

Journal & Guide P. 8
Norfolk Va.

* * *

THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS of the session, if they can be considered as accomplishments, will be judged by history as Virginia's descent from the pinnacle of high idealism into the deepest pit of illogical, illegal, unethical muddling through on a major issue.

The Stanley Plan was enacted but by no means did it receive unanimous support. The rottenness of the whole scheme creates a stench in the nostrils of all fair-minded men everywhere. Virginia will continue to collect taxes as usual for a great many purposes, among them the operation of a public school system. But from now on if and when a community operates its schools in accordance with the federal constitution then the governor will withhold state funds from that community.

* * *

IN OTHER words the only kind of schools the Virginia Assembly will finance will be schools that violate the fundamental law of the land. It is illegal to abide by the Supreme Court's decision in Virginia. That in brief was the glorious achievement of the special session.

Sat. 10-6-56

So pleased were the members of the Assembly with that noble feat until they proceeded further to pass laws that made it difficult for the most law-abiding organization in the country to operate. Although the NAACP has won twenty-four decisions before the Supreme Court, the Virginia Assembly considered this organization as an evil influence that should be curbed.

Seven anti-NAACP laws were passed for the purpose of crushing the organization. It is unlawful to be law-abiding in Virginia. Don't be surprised if the next special session of the Assembly passes laws against the Ten Commandments, the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount.

Here Are Two Certain Ways To Kill The NAACP

Journal + Guide P. 9
Norfolk, Va. Sat. 9-22-56

By JOHN B. HENDERSON

IF WHAT I read in the papers is correct the members of the Virginia legislature are out to kill the NAACP in Virginia. Believe it or not I am all for it. The NAACP ought to be killed. It is a shame and a disgrace that it ever had to be started. For once I am in accord with the purpose of a movement in the Virginia legislature.

Dr. Henderson

I can tell the legislators how to kill it stone dead but I hardly think they will listen to me. My proposal for getting rid of the NAACP will be too much for them to swallow. To make it brief, give the Negro all that the NAACP is struggling to obtain for him and you will kill it as dead as can be. There will be no reason for its existence if the Negro is granted first class citizenship. Remove all the laws that hinder and restrict him from living as other Americans live. Abolish all the evil practices, customs and traditions that humiliate and insult him. Accept him on the same footing as others are accepted and the NAACP will die a natural death.

* * *

IF YOU don't care to kill it in that manner, here is another way. Repudiate the Declaration of Independence, abolish the Federal constitution and destroy the Christian religion with its ideals of human brotherhood and its teachings on the dignity and worth of human personality then the NAACP will not have a leg to stand on.

The shame and disgrace of it all is on America. That one-tenth of her population was subjected to such unjust, unAmerican and unChristian treatment until an organization had to be formed to secure for them the inalienable rights guaranteed to all by the constitution, should be the thing to be concerned about.

* * *

IT WILL everlastingly be that it has operated well within the framework of the law. Not once has it done anything that was not provided for in the constitution. The ends for which it has striven and the means it has used to achieve those ends have had the approval of the highest officials of this nation. No responsible, right thinking person or agency has ever charged the NAACP with being unAmerican.

Now unless the members of the Virginia Assembly are willing to kill the NAACP in the ways described above they are standing in their own light by trying to crush it without removing the causes for its existence. They will never succeed in killing it unless they remove the reasons for its existence.

* * *

THEY MAY succeed in making it difficult for it to secure members and funds in Virginia but that will only cause the Negro church to take up the cause with greater zeal and determination. The spirit of the NAACP cannot be killed until every Negro enjoys every right and privilege enjoyed by every other man. The present efforts of the legislature to crush the NAACP will serve to give added momentum to the cause for which it stands.

Price Virginia Must Pay For Segregated Schools

Journal + Guide Sat. 12-8-56
Norfolk, Va.

By JOHN B. HENDERSON

THUS FAR TWO Virginia cities have met with difficulties in trying to secure funds for public school construction. South Norfolk and Hopewell have discovered that bonds for public schools are not desired by investment companies. Hopewell with an "A" fiscal rating advertised for a million dollar bond issue and did not receive the first bid. South Norfolk sought a half million through the sale of bonds and secured one bid with interest rates so high it was impossible to accept it.

Dr. Henderson

There are some who say this is a by-product of the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling and would lay all the blame upon the Court. Now if all the states affected by the Court's ruling were experiencing difficulties in selling school bonds it would appear reasonable to say the Court's ruling is the cause but since there have been no reports of such difficulties elsewhere it is hard to see why the ruling is responsible. Since difficulties are being experienced only in Virginia it appears reasonable to look elsewhere for the cause.

* * *

THERE MUST be some validity in the reasoning that says the cause of the difficulty springs from the recent action taken by the Virginia legislature when it adopted the Stanley Plan for circumventing the Court's ruling. As you will recall one provision in that plan calls for the withholding of state funds from any school where integration occurs. This casts a cloud of doubt over the future of Virginia's public schools and investment companies are saying that's the reason for their reluctance to invest in them.

Even before the courts have had an opportunity to pass upon the validity of these acts it is becoming apparent that a certain judge was right when he said they do not reflect much credit to good judgment.

* * *

MORE AND MORE as time goes on it will become plainer and plainer that the legislature made a collossal blunder in following the Byrd-Stanley leadership in adopting a program of resistance to the Court's ruling.

To use the language of an article in a current issue of a popular periodical, Virginia came to the cross roads and took the wrong turn. She is now headed in a backward direction down a blind alley from which she must retreat. You can depend upon the present political leadership in Virginia to continue down that blind alley even if it costs the complete destruction of the whole public school system of the state. That seems to be the price they are willing to pay in order to maintain segregation in the state.

31a 1956

NEGRO (JIMMY HICKS)

Negro Newsman Visits Clinton Despite Warning

Daily World
Sept. 4-56
Atlanta, Ga.

CLINTON, Tenn., Sept 3—(INS) —Jimmy Hicks, Negro managing editor of the Harlem, N. Y., New Amsterdam News, arrived in Clinton Monday and was warned at once by a National Guard spokesman he would receive no special protection.

Hicks went immediately to the temporary press quarters in the telephone building and had been there only a short time when Jack Dealy, public information officer for the Tennessee National Guard, informed Hicks of the conditions.

Dealy reminded Hicks that he had been warned not to come to the troubled town, and said no protection not extended to any other person would be offered to the Harlem editor. He admitted, however, that if Hicks is attacked, Guardsmen will come to his defense.

LANGSTON Hughes

Headlines I Never Expect To Live Long Enough To See

Negro students and faculty at Dillard and Xavier in New Orleans picket annual Sugar Bowl football game with signs reading: "Civilized Communities Do Not Jim Crow in Sports Or Otherwise."

The Rotary clubs of Birmingham, Ala., award Nat King Cole a plaque at gala luncheon honoring him as leading Alabama citizen who has contributed greatly to the popular arts of his native state and the entire U. S. A.

* * *

Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi throws his hat in the ring as a Presidential candidate on a platfrom of civil rights for all, a strong anti-lynching bill, and a federal fair employment act protecting minorities in their right to work without discrimination.

* * *

Popular Broadway star, Sammy Davis, jr., to headline big weekly television show on major national network for the next 52 weeks, breaking the color barrier in sustaining TV shows.

* * *

Social Note: Mr. and Mrs. Henry Lee Moon entertained at dinner Mr. and Mrs. Roy Wilkins, Mr. and Mrs. Lester Granger, Mr. and Mrs. Aaron Douglas and a dozen other members of Harlem's top level society in the Club Room of the Stork club in New York City during Negro History week.

* * *

Congress passes a law prohibiting the operation of the Ku Klux Klan as an anti-Negro, anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish organization, also banning the wearing of white hoods and robes, and affirming jail sentences for all caught burning fiery crosses on anybody's lawns anywhere anytime anyplace.

* * *

Amos and Andy have gone to night school and learned to speak correct English.

* * *

New Western in technicolor shows Indians triumphing over whites for once with a happy ending for the redskins in final sequence.

* * *

College theatre groups on Negro campuses announce plan to subsidize Negro playwrights to write plays of Negro life especially for college presentation.

* * *

Colored capitalists announce the formation of the Afro-American Airlines with 20 new late model jet planes, Negro pilots, charming hostesses of color, and direct flights across the Atlantic to Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Egypt and Ethiopia.

* * *

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, dean of Negro scholars, is sent on a cultural tour of the world under the auspices of the State department as a distinguished representative of American culture.

* * *

Very unusual play opens on Broadway: A serious drama of Negro life with a happy ending for the colored characters.

Memberships in the National Association for The Advancement of Colored People passes two million mark through mass membership drives spearheaded by such famous stars of stage and screen as Pearl Bailey, Louis Armstrong, Dorothy Dandridge, Sammy Davis, jr., Eartha Kitt, Harry Belafonte, Duke Ellington, Hazel Scott and Nat King Cole.

* * *

The government of South Africa has invited Dr. Ralph Bunche, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Dr. Channing Tobias, and Dr. Margaret Just Butcher to Johannesburg as consultants on how to solve its race problems.

* * *

The next American Negro boxing champion will retire rich, undefeated, and in the clear with the income tax authorities

* * *

The House un-American Activities committee votes unanimously to investigate the White Citizen's Councils of the South.

* * *

Atlanta elects first Negro Mayor in Georgia as every colored citizen of voting age casts his ballot at the polls.

* * *

Negro space cadet, first man to reach the moon, reports no color lines, no Daddy Graces, and no Rock and Roll up there.

* * *

Satchel Paige announces retirement from baseball at the age of 100.

LANGSTON Hughes

Jazz: Its Yesterday, Today And Its Potential Tomorrow

To discuss jazz you can start anywhere with the music as the circle and you yourself the dot in the middle. I'll start with the Blues. I am not a Southerner. I never worked on a levee. I hardly ever saw a cotton field except from the highway. But women behave the same on Park Avenue as they do on a levee: when you've got hold of one part of them the other part escapes you. That's the Blues — love's labor lost.

A lot of commercial music nowadays comes out of the Brill Building. But life is as hard on Broadway as it is in the Blues-originating land. The Brill Building Blues is just as hungry as the Mississippi Levee Blues. One communicates to the other, brother! Some people are wont to declare that nothing that comes out of Tin Pan Alley is jazz. I disagree. Commercial, yes. But so was Storyville, so was Basin Street. What do you think Tony Jackson and Jelly Roll Morton and King Oliver and Louis Armstrong were playing for in the old days? Peanuts? No, money, even in Dixieland. They were communicating for money. For fun, too — because they had fun. But the money helped the fun along.

To skip a half century and come right up to now, some folks say Rock and Roll isn't jazz. First, two or three years ago, there were all these songs about too young to know — but. . .etc. Well, the songs are right. You are never to young to know how bad it is to love and not have love come back to you. That is as basic as the Blues. And that is what Rock and Roll is musically — teenage "Heartbreak Hotel." The music goes way back to Blind Lemon and Leadbelly — Georgia Tom merging into the Gospel Songs— Ma Rainey, and the most primitive of the Blues.

It borrows their gut-bucket heartache. It goes back to the jubilees and stepped up spirituals — Sister Tharpe — and borrows their I'm-gonna-be-happy-anyhow-inspite-of-this-world kind of hope. It goes back further and borrows the steady beat of Congo Square— that going on beat — and the Marching Bands' loud and blatant yes! Rock and Roll puts them all together and makes a music so basic it's like the meat cleaver the butcher uses — before the cook uses the knife — before you use the sterling silver at the table on the meat that by then has been rolled up into a commercial fillet mignon.

A few more years and Rock and Roll will no doubt be washed back half forgotten into the sea of jazz. Jazz is a great big sea. It washes up all kinds of fish and shells and spume and waves with a steady old beat, or off-beat. And Louis must be getting old if he thinks J. J. and Kai — and even Elvis — didn't come out of the same sea he came out of, too. Some water has chlorine in it and some doesn't. There are all kinds of water. There's salt water and Saratoga water and Vichy water, Quinine water and Pluto water. And it's all water. Throw it all in the sea, and the sea would keep on rolling along toward shore and crashing and booming back into itself again. The sun pulls the moon. The moon pulls the sea. They also pull jazz and you and me. Back beyond Kai to Count to Lonnie, beyond June to Sarah to Billy to Bessie to Ma Rainey. And the Most is the IT— the all of it.

Jazz seeps into words — spelled out words. Nelson Algren is influenced by jazz. Ralph Ellison is, too. Sartre, too. Jacques Prevert. Most of the best writers today are. Look at the blues ending of the "Ballad of the Sad Cafe." Me, a dot in the middle. The first time I heard the Blues was on Independence Avenue in Kansas City. Then State Street in Chicago. Then Harlem in the twenties with J. P. and J. C. Johnson and Fats and Willie the Lion and Nappy playing piano — with the Blues running all up and down the keyboard through the ragtime and the jazz. And I wrote my initial poems about that music, "The Weary Blues."

When I first reached New York "Shuffle Along" was running with the Sissle and Blake tunes. A little later came "Runnin' Wild" followed by the Charleston beat, then Fletcher Henderson and Duke and Cab. Jimmie Lunceford, Chick Webb, and Ella. Tiny Parham in Chicago and Mary Lou in Kansas City. And at the end of the Depression times, what I heard at Minton's in Harlem—a young music coming out of young people — Billy — the male and the female of them — the Eckstine and the Holiday — Charlie Christian and Dizzy and Tad and the Monk. And what came out in poems of mine in "Montage of a Dream Deferred."

I play it cool
And dig all jive.
That's the reason
I stay alive.
My motto,
As I live and learn,
Is: DIG AND BE DUG
IN RETURN.

LANGSTON *Hughes*

Simple Dreams Up A Nightmare For The Deep South

Defender
Sat. 10-6-56

"So they have barred the colored kids out of them schools down in Kentucky," said Simple. "Well, we can stand it. We'll get along a while longer segregated instead of integrated till "all deliberate speed" catches up with a snail. It's them white folks down there that need educating, anyhow but I would hate to tell them who their teachers are going to be."

"Who?" I asked.

"Nasser, Nehru and Russia," said Simple.

"Why, they are not even Christian," I said.

"Aint they?" asked Simple. "Them folks in Kentucky are Christians so they say, but they don't act like it. The very first two teachers to resign when the colored kids came to school were Baptist ministers. Southern Christians behave like they never heard of Christ. Such Christians is really not fit to be teachers. No wonder the white folks down there don't know how to act, being taught by such teachers. But them Egyptians and Indians and Africans and Russians, also Chinese are going to teach them something in due time. Just wait."

"How long?" I asked.

"With all deliberate speed," said Simple. "Meanwhile, let them down home Kluxers and White Citizens Councilers keep on disgracing themselves in the sight of the world. God knows a new day is dawning when they will be cut down to size."

"Do you think the peoples of Africa and the East are going to declare war on America?" I asked.

"I hope not," said Simple, "because I do not want to get shot myself."

"Then what do you think is going to happen?" I asked.

"I think they are just going to make Dulles and Talmadge and Uncle Sam and the Mayor of Clay, Ky., so mad that they will choke to death trying to think of something to say. You see, the American white man is not used to colored folks paying him no attention. Some day when colored India and Egypt and Africa, egged on by Russia and China, just ignore him, and do not pay him no mind at all, the white man is going to get so bugged he will go to pieces, start trembling and shaking, frothing at the mouth, and be so dizzy in the head that he will fall down and faint in front of that school from which he has barred Negroes out. Then the Negroes will just walk on in the school and set down and start studying."

"You are dreaming up a real fantasy," I said.

"It will be no dream to them downhome greys — it will be a nightmare," said Simple. "Southern white folks are living in a dream world already — dreaming how smart and clever and better than me they are — which, I say, let them dream, because they are perched up on a high tall building of deceit. When they look down and start dreaming they are falling, and screaming like Talmadge in their dream, that will be when their dream will turn into a nightmare. Then when they fall kerplunk on the ground with the colored kids stepping politely over them going to school, that will be the day they have, for real, done fell out of bed. Then they will call me to help them up, but I will be too busy getting my arithmetic."

"I see you don't believe in returning good for evil," I said.

"I do," said Simple, "but with all deliberate speed. I would let them lay there a few years on the cold, cold ground and get used to moderation. I would not go to no extremes to pick them up, since Eisenhower has done speko out against extremes. I would say, 'These things take time. Let the people of goodwill of both races work it out, meanwhile you lay in the mud.' "

"Out of the confusion of your parable, I gather that what you visualize is the Southern white man prone, but the Southern Negro hale, hearty, and fit to tell him off. All this, you say, will come about through a combination of forces overseas."

"Black, yellow and red forces," said Simple.

"Surely you don't think Africa, India, China and Russia are sufficiently strong, united and well armed to attack our country, do you?"

"I am not speaking of nobody making war," said Simple. "I am talking about just being sassy. A Southern white man would rather be shot than passed by somebody he thinks is lower down than himself. He classes Indians, Egyptians and Russians as low down as he does Negroes. So if them foreign countries keep on sassing Mr. Charlie, Mr. Charlie is just going to get so upset he can't take it, and blow his top. When his top is blowed and his wig is gone, then is when colored kids can take up their studies with a clear mind. Old as I am, I will go back to school, too, to pick up where the white folks left off, and try to learn something about behaving myself. Out of their own books I will try to learn something good. After which I would invite them old crackers into the school to learn something, too, because today they are just pure-D ignorant, that's all."

LANGSTON *Hughes*

Simple Wants To Know What Is Extreme About Negroes

Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 9-29-56

"Today is a new day that never was before," said Simple, "never, no time at all, never in history was it today yet. Now it is today."

"So, what are you going to do with this new day, something new?"

"I cannot think of anything new to do since I can't turn white," said Simple.

"You could join the NAACP, and help those people down South get the vote and the right to go to any tax-supported school, and up North the right to rent or buy a house anywhere you want to live — that is, if you do not already belong to the NAACP."

"I belong," said Simple.

"Then I hope you attend meetings and do more than just pay your dues every year. I hope you activate yourself."

"I'm active," said Simple. "I denounces white folks all the time."

"I mean in a constructive way," I said, "not destructive."

"What is the difference between CON and DE," asked Simple.

"One means to build, the other to tear down. Since this is a new day, the thing to do is build."

"You'd sure have to tear down Dixie to do that."

"You mean tear down the attitudes Dixie stands for, not the land or the people. After all, millions of Negroes live in Dixie, too."

"I left," said Simple. "I departed out of there as soon as I was able to buy a train ticket."

"But you certainly did not solve any problems by leaving. In fact, you brought some of the problems up here with you."

"I brought myself," said Simple, "If I am a problem, God made me one, and He must have had a purpose in mind."

"I wonder."

"The purpose, no doubt, was to bug white folks," declared Simple. "Now, take President Eisenhower — he is talking about he is against the extremists on either side, meaning I reckon, the Klan on one hand and on the other the Negroes. What I would like to know is, what is extreme on my side? I been barred out of the good schools down South ever since slavery time, so what is extreme about wanting to go to them schools now, which colored tax money and colored work, just like any other work and money, helped to build? I been hounded and hunted and Klanized since before I was born. So what is extreme about not wanting to be hounded and hunted and Klanized any more? I do not see what is extreme about a colored man wanting to vote in Mississippi without getting shot? How, otherwise, is a Negro to get his garbage hauled or his street paved, or a new police chief behind the desk when the old chief has beat his head to a pulp? I ask you how, if a Negro can't vote? So when the President says extremists on BOTH sides, who and what is he talking about on my side?"

"Answer the question yourself," I said.

"He must be talking about me," replied Simple, "because I dead sure want to vote, and I reckon that must be extreme. Not only vote, but I also want as much right to be President as Eisenhower — if I can make it. I also want to go to decent schools where the gymnasiums and libraries and swimming pools is at — not to a school in a hollow with the toilets in the back yard, and I don't want to have to ride my kids twenty miles to classes if there is a school right in my own home town. Schools have no business having no signs up on them WHITE ONLY. In this day and time education ought to be free and equal for everybody — not another fifty years from now. Negroes have been near a hundred years free — but ain't free to go to school yet. That is an extreme long time to wait! So if it is extreme to get tired of waiting, then I am extreme. Eisenhower is talking about me."

"Why don't you write the President a letter and speak your mind?" I asked.

"If the President does not take time to read the daily papers — which he often says at his press conferences he does not know what everybody else has read day before yesterday — how can I expect him to read a letter from me? I expect they got a WHITE and COLORED letter bin down there in Washington marked extreme KLAN and extreme KOLORED, both spelled with a K — and you have to write in the middle to get read at all. I never was no middle man. If I write anybody, I am going to write Adam Powell and tell him to make one of his real loud speeches and speak my mind for me. I like Powell, because he can really holler. Do you reckon there is any truth to them rumors that Adam might turn?"

"You can never tell," I said. "What a politician, white or colored, will do."

"But a colored politician ought to be different," declared Simple.

"Maybe Adam is."

"Extremely different," said Simple.

LANGSTON Hughes

Defender 5/12 Chicago, Ill.

Sat 4-28-56 P.9

Simple: "Does King Cole Still Sing, "Straighten Up And Fly Right"?"

"Yes," said Simple, "I'll love them, if I can't do no better."

"Who? What do you mean?" I asked.

"Them white folks in Montgomery," said Simple, "I will stay off their buses and love them, too. But what I do not understand is how King Cole could come out of Birmingham a couple of weeks ago after that flying tackle that white man gave him on the stage, and say he is not mad at anybody. It would not make me mad to walk to work, but I would hate to be throwed down after I got there! Why I would be mad at my own mama if she was to dive at me and throw me down and wrench my back and bump my head while I was standing up singing for my supper — and I love my mama. The white folks — whom I am only trying to love in Alabama — I would be forced to be mad at them for trying to hurt me. What do you reckon is wrong with King Cole? Can that be love? Not mad!"

"If Cole's statement was based on love," I said, "then it is right, not wrong, for him not to be angry."

"It can't be right," said Simple, "unless King Cole is not in his right mind — with his picture in the paper grinning, telling the world he's not mad. Do you reckon his wig is gone?"

"What I really think," I said, "is that some press agent gave out that statement for him — some public relations man for his concert bureau, maybe."

"Then that man must have been a white man," said Simple, "because no Negro could say any other Negro would not be mad to be throwed down and hurt in public that way by a Citizen Counciler with blackjacks and sawed-off shot guns in the car outside. Whoever said for King Cole that he wasn't mad, must be a sorry kind of publicity man for a famous Negro to have. Somebody has goofed. Were I King Cole I would not have such a man, white though he be, would you?"

"Entertainers do not always have control over their publicity staffs," I said. "Their booking offices usually furnish such personnel, and, of course, they're usually white since they have to deal mostly with the white press in order to sell their artists to the public."

"They have unsold me," said Simple. "What I want that publicity man to tell me is what was King Cole doing down there in Jim Crow Birmingham anyhow, singing for an all-white audience into which his own mother could not go? Colored people had to wait till the last show to get in! King Cole could stay up here in New York and make a living. As many records as he has done made, he can't be hungry! So what was he doing there Jim Crowing his self, anyhow? Answer me that?"

"Don't yell questions at me," I said. "I know no more about King Cole's business than you do, so I cannot answer. But you certainly sound like you are mad! Are you mad for King Cole, or at him?"

"If that Negro can't get mad for his self, shame on him!" said Simple. "I wonder, does he still sing, 'Straighten Up and Fly Right'? If he don't he should. And if he has got to say something for the white papers to publish, why don't he just say, 'No comment.' He don't have to let the world know that his publicity man says he ain't mad. I know King Cole was mad, is mad, and will be mad everytime he thinks about Alabama! And I bet he won't go back there no more to sing for fifty-eleven years. I'll bet he is saying right now 'Bam —!*:*!—!—BAM Alabama' and then some"

"You are putting words into King Cole's mouth," I said. "He looks like a mild kind of man to me, and certainly he sings sweetly."

"Then he should not talk," said Simple.

"Why? After all, King Cole was talking for himself."

"He were not," said Simple. "When he fell backwards and hit his head on that piano stool with that Citizens Counciler trying to beat his brains out, it were me fell, too, and hit my head on that piano stool also, and I were mad"

"Calm down," I said, "you are carrying your racial identification too far. You're not King Cole."

"No, but I'm in the same hole," said Simple.

LANGSTON Hughes

Defender P.9 Sat. 5.26.56

Concerning A Great Mississippi Writer and the Southern Negro

I wonder what will happen to Mr. William Faulkner, the famous, white writer from Mississippi, the next time he goes to get a passport to travel abroad, now that he has allegedly said in the public prints that he would take up arms against his own government in case worse came to worse down South. Will Mr. Faulkner get a passport? Paul Robeson had his passport taken away from him for allegedly saying something not nearly so "subversified" so Mr. Robeson now cannot leave the U.S.A. to sing abroad. In the case of Mr. Faulkner, I am not suggesting, nor do I wish that the government take away his passport. As far as I am concerned, Mr. Faulkner can go to the moon, Mars or Venus if he wants to travel. In fact, the farther away he goes the better — so that he might get away from us Negroes who upset him so badly. The last thing I ever like to do myself is upset anyone.

So distinguished a man and so great a writer as William Faulkner, I hate to disturb under any circumstances. Personally, I respect genius, and I respect sincerity. I believe Mr. Faulkner is an excellent writer and a sincere citizen. He is not a political demagogue talking for votes. So when he says what he says, he really means what he says. But WHY he says what he says is not clear.

Doesn't he want me to go to school ever in life with the rest of the Americans in Mississippi? Am I a varmint or something that he wants me, colored, to wait and wait outside the gate to the good life, while everybody else white, Mexican, Oriental, native and foreign born, Jew or Gentile, go to the University of Mississippi if they want to but me? Does Mr. Faulkner think I'm simple? If so, why does he want to keep me that way? He can write some noble words sometimes. He got the Nobel Prize. I thought he loved humanity. But I thought humanity included me. I still think that, even if Mr. Faulkner marks me out. I refuse to leave the human race, neither will I leave Mississippi, nor the U. S. A. just because Mr. Faulkner says me Nay!

I think, regretably for American literature, he has blowed his top. But if he thinks I am going to blow my top in return, then I know his wig is gone! Which is not a very dignified way of saying that he must be a little disturbed, a little off his psyche. I am really sorry! Mr. Faulkner ought to be colored for just a week in his home state, Mississippi, and then see what would happen. If he gets that upset over being white, what would happen to him if he were black — especially after making such statements? I know what would happen. He would be in jail, else investigated by Sen. Eastland's committee, surveyed by the FBI, and called all the names in the book by the patriotic editorial writers who damned Josephine Baker to hell and gone for exaggerating a little about lynchings shortly before the white gentry of Mr. Faulkner's state dropped little Emmett Till in the river with an iron wheel tied to his feet. Suppose Mr. Faulkner was Emmett Till's mother? Do you reckon he'd chose sides so gallantly against the Supreme Court's moving racial decency up to a snail's pace? "All deliberate speed" is hardly rushing matters, is it? It's been almost 100 years since slavery and Mississippi hasn't gotten very far yet, racially speaking.

In my opinion the people who are not ready for democracy are the Southern whites, not the Negroes. Without wishing to boast, I can't help but believe that the Negroes are twice as intelligent as they are, twice as clean, twice as moral, and twice almost everything else — except as simple.

LANGSTON Hughes

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 7-28-56

Jazz Boys Whale In An Old Whaling Town

At the interracial American Jazz Festival at Newport some of the best of the colored jazz artists whaled their best for three days in that old whaling town by the sea. Count Basie opened the Festival with "The Star Spangled Banner" beneath a sea of water pouring from the skies and flooding the open air stadium where, nevertheless, over two thousand people sat for three hours in a downpour to listen to Basie, the Modern Jazz quartet, Eddie Condon's All-Stars, Sarah Vaughan, Jutta Hipp, Toshiko Akiyoshi, and the wonderful Charlie M i n g u s group that came on like gangbusters in modern guise at the very height of the cloudburst. The audience paid as great a tribute to art as I have ever seen by remaining in their watery seats all evening long to listen to jazz. The performers on the wind-blown and sometimes water swept stage responded with their best. T h e opening of Newport's third annual Jazz Festival was a great concert on the part of all assembled.

Two hundred years ago in colonial days, Newport's harbor not only sheltered whaling vessels sometimes, but it sheltered slave ships all the time. Rhode Island was a center of the t r a d e in "black gold" which meant Africans imported by New England slave ships to be sold to other states and the West Indies. The slave trade made Newport a great commercial center in the eighteenth century, and founded most of its huge fortunes in that era. In 1787 Samuel Hopkins wrote, "The town has been built up, and flourished in times past, at the expense of the blood, the liberty and happiness of the poor Africans; and the inhabitants h a v e lived on this, and by it have gotten their wealth and riches." Some of the old mansions built from the sale of black men and women still stand in Newport. And maybe the ghosts of slaves who died there listened during t h e American Jazz Festival to the music born of African syncopation leaping from Basie's piano, Armstrong's trumpet, Chico Hamilton's drums, and Duke's great band in Freebody Park in the July nights.

Only the true in heart, the deep dyed jazz buffs, sat through the steady downpour of the opening night. But on the second evening of the Festival when Louis Armstrong, and Ella Fitzgerald, and Dame Brubeck gave out, there were ten thousand people in the park. And on the third almost twelve thousand heard Duke Ellington whale as they never whaled before — or so it seemed to the crowd that shouted and applauded as the band played and played and played, and folks got to dancing in their boxes, and all up and down the grassy aisles, and the audience poured down toward the stage, until finally the management begged Duke to stop playing for fear, perhaps, the socialites in the boxes near t h e stage would get crushed in the rhythmic excitement. The whole island of Newport seemed to rock to Harry Carney's sax, Cat Anderson's trumpet, Sam Woodyard's drums, and the rest of Duke's terrific musical combination. By this third concert the rain was over, but it was a cool night out of doors. Duke made the cool night hot. His solid beat brought the crowd to its feet. And the Festival ended with jazz at its jazziest whaling its way toward midnight.

For thirty years I've been hearing Duke's band. It never sounded better than it did at Newport. The Armstrong and Basie groups were in great form, too. Ella and Sarah were the MOST! Eddie Condon with Wild Bill Davidson and Bud Freeman went to town at "the first jazz concert ever held under water," as Condon termed the opening night. All the great old-timers at Newport stood up well. Folks loved them, as usual. Their solid beat continues sweet. But among the younger set on the jazz scene, some solid scoring was done, too. Phineas Newborn from down Tennessee w a y made a great hit at the sun-bright Saturday afternoon concert. And Saturday night, Chico Hamilton in the cool of the evening came on so cool he made the bandstand glow a modern kind of jazz as wonderful in its way as Dixieland was in its heyday. His interracial quintet with brown Buddy Collette on reeds and white Fred Katz, cello, Jim Hall, guitar, and Carson Smith, bass, played t h e kind of music I should think would cause the State Department to send them on a good will tour of all the great wide world. I could have listened to "B l u e Sands" all night long.

T h e Charlie Mingus workshop group on opening night I found quite wonderful, too, with some guy playing a tambourine such as I have heard it played only in Spain or in sanctified churches — against a modern arrangement that made everybody forget the driving rain and the soggy field and the possible pneumonia due to the kind of music you couldn't leave for hotel shelter, hot coffee, a warm bath, and blankets. Jazz must have preventive qualities — therapeutic values — because I heard of nobody who caught their death of cold at Newport after that first wet but wonderful evening of music. Everybody was back the next night, which was a bit drier, and the third night which was starbright. The American Jazz Festival, its performers and its audience Negro and white, brought to Newport, the old slave ship city, three great American musical nights.

LANGSTON Hughes

Defender Sat. 8-4-56

The World Is So Full Of A Number Of Things

Chicago Ill.

To make us all happy as kings these summer days and nights there are a number of interesting items in the way of records that have come my way that go well with a cold glass of mint tea or a long tall gin and tonic. If you like cool jazz, but with lots of lovely melody, you couldn't do better than to put on your combination that fine long playing record called simply the "Chico Hamilton Quintet" featuring Buddy Collette on the Pacific Jazz Records label.

There's a flute, a guitar, Fred Katz on cello, and Chico Hamilton himself on drums, sometimes a clarinet or sax, and it all adds up to a quiet, delightful mellow session, restful and wonderful after a long hot day at work. Buddy Collette's original "Blue Sands" is on the disc, a kind of musical jazz poem with a sensuous flute and a wild guitar and a crying cello and caravan drums that could beat all night for my money. There's a melodic rendition of "Funny Valentine" and there is "I Want to be Happy" and the "Walking Carson Blues" and the jolly "Buddy Boo." It's a very good record.

With Detroit's Thad Jones on trumpet, John Dennis on piano, and Max Roach on drums, the Charlie Mingus group plays some fine music on the Debut Records label, a new LP having just come out that I hear is great. But the cool one I have been playing these host nights is Volume I: "Jazz Collaborations" which is modern with a beat, infectious and jazzy sweet. It's a ten inch LP with Cole Porter's "Get Out of Town" on it, "I Can't Get Started" by Vernon Duke, and two Thad Jones originals that swing real crazy, with a trumpet as clear as a bell and as festive as a firecracker. On Atlantic's label, Mingus has a new disc coming out called by the formidable title "Pithicantropus Erectus" which I am waiting to hear when the August dog days come around.

In quite different categories, of course, are two other record albums I have been playing to forget the humidity. One is an album of spoken poetry, "Poetry of the Negro" recorded by that excellent young actor, Sidney Poitier, with Doris Belack, for Glory Records, and one of its values is that it brings again to public attention the poetry of one of our best poets of the past, Paul Laurance Dunbar.

His "When Malindy Sings" and "We Wear the Mask" and "Ere Sleep Comes Down" as well as others of his poems are beautifully recited. Chicago's Pulitzer Prize winner, Gwendolyn Brooks, is represented by "When You Have Forgotten Sunday" beautifully read. And the other poets whose work is recorded are James Weldon Johnson, Countee Cullen, Carl Holman, Armand Lanusse of the old Creole days, and myself.

After many years of world acclaim, Roland Hayes, one of the great voices of our times has at last been carefully and flawlessly recorded by Vanguard in a series of excellent long playing albums. No tenor has surpassed Hayes in the singing of the great European art songs, and no singer at all has recreated more movingly than he our own beautiful Negro spirituals. On four sides, in large LP discs, "The Art of Roland Hayes — Six Centuries of Song" may be yours, not only to enjoy now, but for many years to come — for which lovers of good music everywhere are grateful.

From the concert hall to the stage of Harlem's Apollo Theatre went the Vanguard folks with their microphones to record a real live stage show in action there. What they caught on "A Night At The Apollo" is a fine band, some rhythmic tap dancing, and that funniest of female commediens, Jackie Mabley with a running monologue that won't don't. Also George Kirby with his amazing impersonations from Edward G. Robinson to Joe Louis, Peter Lorre to Pearl Bailey. Then to add to the fun, an entire Amateur Night show is captured in the microgrooves, the bad, the good, and the highly hilarious, with Leonard Reed as the Master of Ceremonies. It is a most amusing party record, and entertaining anytime, to be played with the sound dial turned up good and loud.

And last but not least of the summer records I've enjoyed until the grooves are beginning to show it, are those two FINE LP hours bearing Maxine Sullivan's name — that great little voice with the big appeal. She sings "The St. Louis Blues" on one of the records, and "Loch Lomond" on the other, and you can take your choice — or buy both and not go wrong.

"Flow Gently, Sweet Rhythm" came my way from the Jazztone record Book-of-the-Month Club issuing some very unusual and good musical material. With Jack Walker as commentator and members of the original John Kirby Band, Maxine Sullivan sings such wonderful old favorites as "Molly Malone" and "Barbara Allen" and "If I Had A Ribbon Bow" and it is all very smooth and very cool and very nice for summertime — or anytime.

LANGSTON Hughes

Defender Sat. 2-4-56 p.9
Chicago, Ill.

The Weather Is Cold. But New York Is Hot

The winter in Manhattan has been cold this season, but the old town is jumping. In Harlem during the holidays there were more parties than you could shake a stick at, and everybody seemed to have some special place to go. Lots of people's Christmas cards were combination holiday cards and invitations to cocktails, eggnog shakings, or just plain at-homes. Then Joe Louis and Rose Morgan up and got married — and everybody and his brother, wife, girlfriend, and mother attended their big friendly reception at the Skyline Room. Many clubs have given dances, and the dances are continuing into the fraternity season and the big Urban League Guild costume ball held annually at the Savoy. The new celebrity, Tommy Smalls, better known as Dr. Jive of Rock and Roll fame, has taken over the celebrated old Smalls on the corner of 135th and Seventh, so it is jumping again with some bang up good music. The Baby Grand with Nipsy Russell still rocks and rolls along its nightly way, the best night club buy in New York. And some very chic and attractive bars have renovated far up on Sugar Hill, with barmaids as pretty as pictures and customers whose lady friends all look like models.

Pearl Primus has been dancing again with African authenticity, leaping the most amazing leaps to the rhythms of a group of especially imported drummers she has brought to the USA, and with a superb leading male dancer whose name is Percy Board. Mae Barnes and that most gone of gonest musical trios, the Three Flames, are still performing at the Bon Soir in the Village. Further uptown the most continental of colored songstresses, Mabel Mercer, is singing to her usual crowds in her own new room. The Apollo theatre in Harlem has had an average of better than usual shows this season. And everytime Count Basie plays anywhere cheers rend the air and cries of, "One more time — once!"

There are an unusual number of good shows on Broadway, several of them having at least a token Negro in the cast, Earl Hyman and Frank Silvera having very effective roles respectively in "No Time For Sergeants" and "Hat Full of Rain". Way downtown at the Greenwich Mews one of the best comedies of any nuance of Negro life ever to hit the boards is playing, "Trouble in Mind", by the talented playwright of color, Alice Childress. This highly hilarious show concerning the casting of a stereotyped Broadway melodrama about white-conceived ideas of Negro life is as meaningful and as funny as any play I've ever seen on any segment of the race problem. Since autumn "Trouble In Mind" has been performing to crowded houses.

Speakeasies and after-hour spots seem to be flourishing, several with happy music that jams away from the wee small hours until sometimes almost high noon. But, with the curtains drawn, nobody knows it is daylight outside. The customers inside evidently do not have to go to work, for no one seems to care what time it is. On the cultural front, the Countee Cullen Branch Library in Harlem has had several interesting programs and book review evenings, including an exhibition of the Roy De Carava photographs from the new book, "The Sweet Flypaper of Life". The distinguished South African writer of color, Peter Abrahams, has lately been to Harlem and gone back across the seas, leaving a memorable impression after his talks and meetings.

At Town Hall a number of fine Negro singers have given concerts this season, and more such musical offerings are scheduled. At the moment, various plans are on foot for Negro History Week programs in halls and churches. And the annual Negro History Week Breakfast of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History will be as crowded and as interesting as in former years. There is not a dull moment in New York this winter for those who have time to attend all of the affairs that help keep moments from being dull uptown or down, in Harlem, or out. In Manhattan, there is something doing every minute of the morning, noon, or night, even into the early bright. The weather is cold, but not New York. And, honestly, there's only one New York!

LANGSTON Hughes

Defender p.9 Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 3-3-56

Simple: Home--Grown Colored Folks Have Less Weight Than Foreign

"I was just reading in a New York paper that the world is two-thirds colored and only one-third white," said Simple.

"I guess that is about correct," I said, "because all of Africa and Asia are colored, and they are pretty big continents. China, Japan, India, Ethiopia, and Nigeria, are all colored countries with millions of people, so the world probably is two-thirds colored in fact."

"I wish the world would get more colored," said Simple.

"You always were a race man," I said, "so I am not surprised at your wish. But why?"

"Because the more colored the rest of the world is, the better our white folks here at home in the USA will treat us," said Simple. "From the way the white papers sound, also the radio, it seems white folks are beginning to get a little scared of colored folks in the rest of the world. So, I figure, the more colored folks there are elsewhere, the more scared our white folks will get. Colored folks in China and India and places like that carry more weight than colored folks do here. Just let Nehru say 10 words, and it is a big headline in a New York paper. But me, I can holler my head off about a lynching in Mississippi or a mob in Alabama and nobody pays me the least mind. Yet I live here in America. Why do you reckon that is?"

"You, my dear fellow," I said, the example we done set at home don't do a bit of good in Mississippi, neither Alabama nor Georgia, nor South Carolina, neither my home which is Virginia? They want to put colored folks in jail for not riding Jim Crow buses in Montgomery, but there's no jail for that Indian from Nehru's country who didn't want to eat in a Jim Crow dining room in Texas last year. Him they put on the front page of the "New York Times" and wrote a big editorial of apologies. I have yet to see any white paper apologizing to Miss Lucy for them students that tried to kill her on the campus of the University of Alabama just because she wanted to go to school. I'm telling you, foreign colored folks carries more weight than us home-grown kind. When I get borned again, I'm gonna be born in India."

"That is a very remote possibility," I said. "It is hardly likely you will be born again."

"I might," said Simple. "Either that or I will be washed whiter than snow. The only thing about snow is, it is so cold, and white is so colorless. Besides, if the world is two-thirds colored now, in a few more years what would be the point in being white? If I never get borned again, and never get washed whiter than snow, what I will do is stay just like I am — me and them other two-thirds — colored."

"are only a plain American citizen. Nehru is the head of a great government, India."

"Yes," said Simple, "but India is thousands of miles away across land and sea, whereas right here and right now in the USA is me, and twice as dark as Nehru. I think when I speak, somebody ought to pay me some attention, too. Do I have to be an Indian to raise my voice and be heard? And all this Foreign Aid I read about Congress is giving. How come I can't get a few billion dollars, too, to build some houses for me right here in Harlem where I can't find an apartment for love nor money? I'm a grown man and married and I need a roof over my head that ain't a kitchenette. And instead of sending tanks to Saudi Arabia, how come they can't build a few more buses and street cars and subway cars in New York so when I leave Harlem to go to work, I can set down once in awhile instead of being so crowded I have to stand on one foot because there ain't even room to put the other foot down? How come we got to send away so much Foreign Aid when there is so much that ought to be done at home — which is where charity begins?"

"America is trying to set an example," I said.

"Example," cried Simple. "How come we got to set an example for the rest of the world when

LANGSTON *Hughes*

A Little Group Of Poems On The Struggle For Democracy

Defender P.10

Sat. 3-31-56

For many years now I have been writing poems about the determination of the Negro to become a full fledged American. Lately, with Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia on the front pages daily, a number of requests have come to me for various of these poems. With the kind permission of my publishers, I reprint some of them here.

I, TOO

I, too, sing America.
I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the kitchen
When company comes, but I laugh,
And eat well, and grow strong.
Tomorrow, I'll sit at the table
When company comes.
Nobody'll dare say to me,
"Eat in the kitchen," Then,
Besides,
They'll see how beautiful I am
And be ashamed —
I, too, am America.

But, recognizing the struggle to achieve full citizenship!

DEMOCRACY

Democracy will not come
Today, this year, nor ever
Through compromise and fear.
I have as much right
As the other fellow has to stand
On my two feet and own the land.
I tire so of hearing people say,
"Let things take their course,
Tomorrow is another day."
I do not need my freedom when I'm dead.
I cannot live on tomorrow's bread
Freedom is a strong seed
Planted in a great need.
I live here, too.
I want freedom just as you.

And through the eyes of a child at a carnival I look at segregation:

MERRY-GO-ROUND

Where is the Jim Crow section
On this merry-go-round,
Mister, cause I want to ride?
Down South where I come from
White and colored
Can't sit side by side.
Down South on the train
There's a Jim Crow car.
On the bus we're put in the back —
But there ain't no back
To a merry-go-round!
WHERE'S THE HORSE
FOR A KID THAT'S BLACK?

Concerning the problem of voting in the Deep South before the rise of the Citizens Councils, this poem about a young Negroe's encounter with the Klan:

KU KLUX

They took me out
To some lonesome place.
They said, "Do you believe
In the great white race?"
I said, "Mister,
To tell you the truth,
I'd believe in anything
If you'd just turn me loose."
The white man said, "Boy, can it be
You're a-standin' there sassin' me?"
They hit me in the head
And knocked me down.
And then they kicked me
On the ground.
A klansman said, "Listen!
Look me in the face —
And tell me you believe in
The great white race."

Even a "mammy" (to use a white term) might sometimes speak her mind as in:

SOUTHERN MAMMY SINGS

Miss Gardner's in her garc
Miss Yardman's in her yard. M
Michaelmas is at the mass
I am gettin' tired! Lawd! I
gettin' tired! The nations they
fightin' and the nations they d
fit. Sometimes I think that w
folks ain't worth a little bit. L
week they lynched a colored l
They hung him to a tree. T
colored boy ain't said a thing
we all should be free. Not mean
to be sassy and not meanin' to
smart—but sometimes I think t
white folks just ain't got
heart, No M'am! Just ain't got
heart.

Chicago, Ill.

Certainly the way of the pion on the frontiers of democracy not always easy:

DUSK

Wandering in the dusk,
Sometimes you get lost in t
dusk —
And sometimes not.
Beating your fists aga
wall,
You break your bones
Against the wall —
But sometimes not.
Walls have been known to f
Dusk turn to dawn,
And chains be gone!

So we cling to the Americ dream and, like those who f Hitlerism during the war to se sanctuary on our shores, Negro declare as might a:

REFUGEE IN AMERICA

There are words like Freedo
Sweet and wonderful to say.
On my heart-strings freedo
sings
All day everyday.
There are words like Liberty
That almost make me cry.
If you had known what I kn
You would know why.

LANGSTON *Hughes*

Defender P.9 Chicago Ill.

As Lincoln Said, Public Sentiment Is A Factor To Be Considered

Sat. 4-14-56

Abraham Lincoln once said, "Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who models public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes and pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

As one means of moulding public sentiment below the Mason-Dixon Line and improving the climate of race relations there, I **suggest that for the next five years our Christian churches and our missionary societies concentrate all their mission forces in the South. I suggest that instead of sending missionaries to work in foreign fields, they be sent to Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina to work right here in the USA for the evil is deep and the situation at home is urgent. Jackson and Money, Miss., Montgomery and Tuscaloosa, Ala., Atlanta and Augusta, Ga., Orangeburg and Charleston, S. C., and Richmond, Va., all need missionaries bearing the message of practical Christianity to preach pray and teach brotherhood.**

I also suggest that our national educational associations at their next meetings take up the question of education in human relations and interracial living and put it at the very top of their agenda. Why schools — if decency is not taught in them? Why education — if boys and girls, men and women, do not learn to live harmoniously together? Why books — if goodness does not emerge from their pages? Why writing — if hate words are to be written? Why school appropriations to continue segregation?

I suggest that our national library associations consider the setting up in the South of attractive information centers on race relations, and for free use those centers be stocked with the best books available on the subject, also the best of the books by Negro writers, both factual and creative, prose and poetry, so that bigoted Southerners might read and perhaps have their eyes open to a world beyond their current horizons.

I suggest that our nation radio and television chains devote an ever-increasing number of public service programs to the Southern problem, and to information about other lands where peoples of various colors and religions have managed to work out ways of getting along. That they also present more and more cultural programs stressing the contributions of the Negro American to our national life so that the Southerner might perhaps be shown how worthy a people Negroes are and become enlightened as to the vital part we play in the making of America.

I suggest that Negro churches, lodges, and other organized groups in the North invite for extended visits, groups of young white Southerners to live for six or eight weeks in Harlem, Paradise Valley, the South Side of Chicago, St. Albans, West Chesterfield, and Blueberry Hill in Los Angeles, to see how both poor and well-to-do Negroes live, searching after the decent things in life, as American as anybody else in thoughts and habits.

I suggest that our great nationally circulated magazines and newspapers not only publish, as they are now doing, news and picture stories of the racial situation in the South, but that **they assemble expert research and sociological staffs to prepare plans as to how we may quickly and amicably begin to solve the problems that today make such hot news. I suggest that a concentrated effort be made to show in print to the Deep South the value of goodwill between the races — and how goodwill cannot be based on words, but must also be based on deeds, concrete achievements, and lack of Jim Crow signs, public humiliations, and closed ballot boxes.**

The education of the Southern white man is certainly a part of the problem of solving today's problems. It needs to be a very intensive and extensive education, ardently undertaken on a big scale, utilizing all the agencies of church, press, radio, television, and every other available medium at our potential command. And the time to start to mould public sentiment for the better is now — but soon!

LANGSTON Hughes

Brotherhood Week Recalls Rocky Road Of Brotherhood

Brotherhood has had a hard road to travel in this world. But perhaps we can take comfort from the fact that at times the road has been harder even than it is now— and not just for the Negro. Look at the American Indian, for example. The Redskin was not even extended a little finger of the hand of Brotherhood before he was indentured into slavery, attacked, driven off his land, pushed ever westward into the deserts, and finally put on reservations without the right to vote or buy a drink of whiskey. Democracy was a word in books meant for immigrant Americans, not the original ones who were here long before Columbus.

Look at the Jews, running hither and yon since the days of Moses seeking a Promised Land. Europe in the Middle Ages burned Jews at the stake, put them on chopping blocks and cut them up, herded them into ghettoes, and otherwise denied them even a whiff of Brotherhood. In our time, Hitler did Jews to death in the gas ovens of Germany, made them wear a yellow star on their coats for identification, and even stopped playing Jewish music in Nordic concert halls.

The Jews have a long history of seeking Brotherhood and seldom finding it. The last time I was in Florida, I saw wayside signs up in front of motels, RESTRICTED. These signs meant "for Gentiles only." Naturally, nobody bothered to put the word WHITE in front. Negroes know better than to drive up to a Florida motel and expect to find a place to sleep. Jews are somewhat more hopeful than we are.

Concerning Brotherhood, look at the Chinese, imported into the U. S. A. in the early days of the West to help build railroads and do the heavy pioneering work — but never given citizenship, and barred out as immigrants entirely when their labor was no longer needed. Look at the Japanese who, even as citizens, were rounded up and put into concentration camps hardly a dozen years ago because we were at war with a country many of them had never seen. There are more German Americans in the U. S. than Japanese, but these Nordics were not rounded up wholesale and herded into concentration pens. Brotherhood certainly went by the board then with a vengeance.

Look at the Filipinos. In many West Coast towns before World War II, Filipinos were segregated into the galleries or the back rows of motion picture houses, just as were Negroes. Many public places would not accommodate them. Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos all faced a color bar. Yet many white Americans today cannot understand why Americans are not liked in Asia. Maybe Asiatics have minds like elephants, who do not forget injuries quickly. How can they forget?

Brotherhood has had hard sailing in the Western World for a long time. Judging from Mississippi, it will be quite a while yet before Brotherhood becomes airborne and takes its wings and cleaves the sky and flies like an eagle all across the Republic, South and North, up and down, unhindered by clouds of Jim Crow and bigotry, and unafraid of the rumblings of provincial intolerance. That Brotherhood Week and Negro History Week should occur at one and the same time during the yearly period of Lincoln's birthday is a tribute to some people who are trying to bring about Brotherhood.

Certainly all of us should help in this civilized effort. To that end, I suggest that each and every Negro bestir himself a little bit more this month than ever before on behalf of Brotherhood. Let's try very hard to behave decently to everyone ourselves. Then let's try to show everyone else how much it would be to his advantage to behave decently toward us. Let's try to teach our children to respect other races and other creeds than our own.

Then let's try to get the materials of Negro history into all the schools and all the places where the great record of Negro achievement and Negro culture will help create an atmosphere of greater respect for us in the minds of those hitherto ignorant of what we have given America and the world. Thus let's help educate for Brotherhood. Finally, let's all join the NAACP and support our legal battles for the protection of minority rights in the name of the proposition, in Lincoln's words, "of liberty and justice for all."

Defender Sat. 2-11-56

LANGSTON Hughes

Color In California -- Cold In New York

Defender P. 9 Sat. 3-10-56

When I got on an airliner one morning after breakfast in New York and got out of the plane that evening before dinner in San Francisco, it all seemed like a miracle to me. Not only the swiftness of the flight across the whole of the U. S. A. in daylight, but the sudden change in climate made it hard to believe.

Since I slept practically the entire way across the country, leaving New York in the cold to come down in California on a balmy evening almost three thousand miles from Harlem seemed like a dream. I had had eggs and bacon at home in Manhattan and that night I ordered shrimps on Fisherman's Warf in San Francisco with Pacific waters rocking the boats outside the restaurant windows.

Chicago, Ill.

By midnight I was listening to Kid Ory playing New Orleans jazz at the Tin Angel on the Embarcadero — a quaint waterfront place hidden behind box cars across from the piers. Playing with Kid Ory I found an old friend on bass, Wellman Braud, of Harlem. On piano, was another acquaintance, Henry Star. Bill Gomez was on clarinet, and Minor Hall on drums. The music echoed in my ears when I went to bed at the sedate old Fairmount Hotel atop Knob Hill — less than twenty-four hours after I had slept in my own bed in New York a continent away.

But some California friends of mine, the playwright, Martin Flavin and his wife, were soon telling me about a transportation miracle that surpassed mine. They had recently flown home to California in less than a day from Copenhagen, Denmark, right across the Arctic Circle from Europe, over Canada to the Golden Gate. The Flavins said that as their plane came down they saw what seemed to be garlands of brightly colored flowers circling and moving on the earth beneath them.

These "flowers" turned out to be the tops of the gay and very colorful cars most people own in California — all sorts of brilliantly painted models that would put Sugar Ray's mauve-pink chariot to shame. Aquamarine, rose, purple, coffee-tan cars, violet, scarlet, cerise, and all kinds of two-tone jobs fill the San Francisco streets.

In front of the Booker T. Washington Hotel I saw a gentleman of color roll up in a snow white Cadillac with an ALASKA license plate on the back. Some friends of mine from Oakland came to pick me up for a drive in an orchid colored auto. Other friends drove me out to Minnie Lou Nichol's drive-in cafe in Richmond in a tea-leaf green and cocoa colored two-tone motor that purred over the Bay Bridge at an amazing rate of speed. Almost everybody in California seems to have a pretty car.

In Oakland colored folks of an evening still make merry at Slim Jenkins' Cafe, and on Sundays at the mambo sessions at the California Hotel. In San Francisco there's the Plantation where Wilbur Hobbs, formerly of Chicago, plays music, and a number of little jazz spots or entertainment bars all over town that are so integrated they would drive Senator Eastland crazy.

Earl Hines is playing at one spot, and John Mathis singing at another. Legal after-hours clubs seem to flourish, where no alcoholic drinks are sold, but where patrons bring their own bottles and late entertainment is offered. Sometimes whole floor shows enliven the wee small hours. San Francisco's night life is as lively as New York's. But having come to the Coast to work, not to play, I did not see much of it.

The next volume of my autobiography partially concerns my years of living and writing in California before World War II, so I came to the Coast to check some things I was not sure I had remembered correctly. Since I have never been a lover of cold weather, I was glad my task brought me to the Golden Gate toward the end of a rather miserable Eastern winter, and that I reached California just in time to miss the rains and to run into wonderful sunshine, warm and clear as Springtime with men walking around coatless in sportshirts.

San Francisco's Fillmore Street even in winter looked almost like Harlem's Lenox Avenue in summer, so many Negroes were strolling in the sun, laughing on the corners, or discussing Miss Lucy and Alabama, or Adlai Stevenson and gradualism. From all I could tell, poor Mr. Stevenson seems to have lost every last black vote in California.

Even the white dailies appeared skeptical of him. All the papers were full of race news. On a single day the "San Francisco Chronicle" had something about us — aside from the University of Alabama and the Stevenson faux pas —on nearly every page. On page 2 a large headline said concerning, Montgomery: NEGRO BUS BOYCOTT CALLED BIG SUCCESS. On page 5 another headline announced at the very top: BYRD MASTERMINDS SEGREGATION FIGHT. On page 9 of the same issue: 500 NEGROES HAVE CRACKED BARRIER IN DIXIE COLLEGES. And the "News" was running a fine series of articles on conditions in Alabama. So from Coast to Coast today, colored folks are news and white folks are worried — from cold New York to colorful California.

LANGSTON *Hughes*

Defender P.9 Sat. 3-17-56 Chicago, Ill.

It's All According To Whose Ox Is Gored, Says Simple

"Yes, it's all according to whose ox is gored, as to how gradual you can be," said Simple. "I bet you any money if Adlai Stevenson's son, or daughter, or neice, or nephew, or child, or grandchild was run off a campus with stones like Miss Lucy was run off in Alabama, Adlai would not be for no GRADUAL stopping of such kind of business. Oh, no! If a mob got after his and his'n, Adlai would want something done about it RIGHT THEN AND THERE, not after the elections are over, and not at some way-far-off distant time. Am I right or wrong?"

"I think you're right," I said. "It's very hard for even liberal white people to realize how much something like a decent educated young colored girl's life being threatened by a mob can do to Negro emotions. It's hard for us to believe Southern white men to be gentlemen after that, and almost impossible for us not to think that some of them should have been arrested then and there and restrained THIS YEAR from throwing stones, not in some GRADUAL, dim, distant future when Miss Lucy may be too old to go to school. For once, Jesse B., I agree with you."

"Which proves that we both is race men," said Simple. "Last night in the barber shop I heard the fellows talking about Ike and his vacations down in Georgia, which is right next to Alabama, and how Ike has not said a word about all them Negroes being arrested because they no longer want to ride them Jim Crow buses in Montgomery. Not a mumbling word has Ike said to date, and he is President of the United States. It looks like the President would care something about black as well as white over which he rules, said them guys in the barber shop. But, as much as I like to argue, all I said in that shop last night was, 'Mens, it's all according to whose ox, oxen, or ass is being gored.'

" 'However, gentlemens and barbers,' I said, 'I bet if Mamie Eisenhower had to set on a Jim Crow seat in the back of a bus everytime she goes South with Mr. Eisenhower, the President would have spoken long ago — not only spoken, but hollered out loud, also called out the militia. I bet you he would not permit his wife to be segregated and insulted by no bus drivers living, in Georgia nor Alabama. And if Mamie said she did not want to ride on those old buses nohow, I bet Ike would never let his wife be locked up and finger-printed in the public jail the way they did Rosa Parks. They don't even finger-print the Russians when they come over here, and the Russians are supposed to be our worst enemies, also atheists. But they done finger-printed every last Negro minister of Christ in Montgomery. I'll bet you if President Eisenhower's pastor was to be arrested and finger-printed for trying to put a little democracy on a bus, Ike would go his bail. But Ike attends a white church, not a colored one, and Ike do not ride a bus to get to church, but places it in a limousine.' So I said in that barber shop, 'It's all according to whose is gored. Am I right or wrong?' And every man in there, including the barbers agreed that I was right — so there was nothing more for me to argue about."

"You were, I presume, in a colored barber shop," I said.

"You know I were not in no white barber shop," said Simple. "Which gives me food for one more thought, daddy-o. Just suppose Ike had to get his hair cu in a colored barber shop! Jus suppose when he is in a smal town like Georgia, the Presiden had to run all over town lookin for a colored shop before he coul get his hair trimmed for his gol game on television. Don't yo reckon Ike would be mad? Don' you reckon Ike would wonder wha does all this segregation mean? Man, before you could say Jackie Robinson, the President would have done issued a statement abolishing segregation in barbe shops. Also he would return u North real quick, thinking he could get his hair cut in any sho in the North. Of course, he would be mistaken! Then Ike would really realize what it means to have a dark complexion in this U. S. A. — from back seats on buses and stones in college to no hair cuts except in colored barber shops. And the Civil War has been over almost a hundred years! How GRADUAL can you be?"

"The Supreme Court has not yet ruled on barber shops," I said.

"Neither Ike nor Adlai has much hair, either," said Simple. "But if they was colored, and if they let that little bit of hair they have got grow GRADUALLY until the white barber shops GRADUALLY opened up to colored folks GRADUALLY, Ike and Adlai both would have hair down to their waists. In fact, they would have hair like Sampson, so long they could set on it. You know, by that time the White House, Congress, the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, and the F.B.I. would cry. It's all according to whose hair needs to be cut," said Simple, "or whole ox has GRADUALLY been gored. To tell the truth, they done gored me a brand new one — GRADUALLY."

LANGSTON *Hughes*

Defender Sat. 3-24-56 P.9 Chicago, Ill.

A Brickbat For Education -- A Kiss For The Bedroom In Dixie

If Miss Lucy wanted to go to bed with a white man instead of to college with one, nobody at the University of Alabama would throw stones at her, nor defy the Supreme Court. It is common knowledge in Dixie that some of the Southern politicians who are loudest in defiance of integration keep Negro mistresses, and some have fathered colored families whom they are men enough to support. The millions of mulattoes in the South today are living proof of integration from a long time ago right up to the present.

The "Southern way of life" seems to be a brickbat for education and a kiss for the bedroom —when it comes to whites aiming at Negroes. Miscegenation is an old, old story South of the Mason-Dixon line. If it were not, all of the Negroes down there would be quite dark, African dark, instead of brown, light brown, coffee-and-cream, tan, ivory and white.

Complexions are related to racial heritage, and lots of Negroes in the South are related to white people. Sometimes, as the distinguished Southern author Lillian Smith attests, a man will have a white family and a colored family in the same town — and everybody knows it.

For long standing proof of integration in the deep South, I need go no further than myself. If there were no white blood in my veins, I would not be in color half way between African and Caucasian. On both sides of my family, my white slavery-time great grandparents are clearly remembered.

In my great-uncle's book, "From The Virginia Plantation to the National Capitol" by John Mercer Langston, the white ancestry on my mother's side is recorded in print for anyone to read. Once I was speaking on a Northern campus where all the students were white. One of them was introduced to me as having the family name Langston. I asked the young man where he was from. He answered: "Louisa County, Virginia."

I said, "Why, that's where my great-grandparents were from, too. Perhaps we are related."

The young white man blushed a deep red and, not inclined to pursue the subject further, disappeared. But I'll bet he was a distant cousin of mine.

On my father's side, everyone in the family knows that one of the great-grandfathers who generated my generation was a white slave trader in Kentucky who became enamoured of one of my great-grandmothers. Instead of selling her down the river for profit, he kept her himself — for love. Result, among others, me! I am not proud of this bastard white blood in my veins. I had just as leave I did not have it.

But my ancestry is no fault of mine, nor of my African grandparents living under the ruthless conditions of slavery. I myself, however, am living proof of integration long before the Supreme Court ruled upon the subject. Current Southern hypocrisy in the matter of integration, therefore, makes me laugh. But the bricks thrown at Miss Lucy make cry.

Southern white men in sla time were not the only inte tors, however. Some Southe white women went to bed their male slaves and loved it history records. And a numbe white women married Neg long before the Civil War w fought. There were both male female integrators of the w race way back younder! inte tion is nothing new. Why the w South should raise such a hue cry over it today is beyond Either white Southerners have their minds, or else they are Great Pretenders. I don't k which. Quiet as it is kept, I th they are Pretenders.

Southern gentlemen merely like they are mad when t throw bricks at Miss Lucy. truth of the matter is, they rather throw kisses. And, I exp that that alleged woman in Mis sippi over whom the alleged E mett Till was allegedly ki might really have wished Emm had been just a little older a instead or allegedly whistling, had actually come a little clo to her.

I have known several Southe white women who have follow Negroes out of the South to l with them in wedlock or in in Chicago or Detroit or New Yor Integration is a four-way stree white, black, male, female, vi versa — and has long been a pr ty busy thoroughfare in the US A few brickbats will hardly ma much difference now.

LANGSTON Hughes

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 11-10-56 p. 9

Seven Negro Life Stories Are Published This Fall

How it happens I do not know, but there is a sudden upsurge in Negro biographies and autobiographies this fall, appearing almost all at once in the bookshops. Three are the self-revelatory lives of famous women singers: Miss Billy Holiday's "Lady Sings the Blues," Miss Eartha Kitt's "Thursday's Child," and Miss Marian Anderson's "My Lord, What a Morning." The second Mrs. Walter White, Poppy Cannon, who is white, tells the story of her interracial marriage and describes her brief years with the late leader of the NAACP in "A Gentle Knight."

Miss Pauli Murray, a distinguished attorney, poet, and crusader for civil rights, traces her family history back a hundred years in "Proud Shoes." And the champion boxer, now minister, Henry Armstrong, tells the story of his rise to fame in "Gloves, God, and Glory." My own autobiography appearing this month is called "I Wonder as I Wander."

"I Wonder As I Wander" is my twenty-first book. It was three years in the writing, and is my biggest and longest book to date, some four hundred pages. It concerns my travels all over America and around the world — from Harlem to Haiti, Tuskegee to Tokyo, Mexico to Moscow and Madrid. It is about the people I knew from Mary McLeod Bethune in Florida to Arthur Koestler in Turkmenistan, Dorothy Maynor at Hampton to Josephine Baker in Paris, Richard Wright in Chicago to Bricktop in Montmarte, Teddy Weatherford in Shanghai to the daring colored soldiers in the International Brigades in Spain.

"I Wonder As I Wander" is the only book I know of that gives a comprehensive account of the many young Negroes who crossed the Atlantic to fight on the side of the Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War, and it tells how some of them died there. It also tells the story of the ill-fated motion picture "Black and White" that was to have been made in Moscow, and what happened to the twenty-two Negro men and women who travelled to Russia to make it — a story whose details are not to be found, so far as I know, in any other book. "I Wonder As I Wander" is more than a portion of my life story. It is a record, too, of the international activities of Negroes from Harlem to Cuba and Haiti to China and the USSR as observed them in my travels as a journalist and writer.

But I observed a great many people other than Negroes around the world and became acquainted with a number of customs strange to ourselves. I ate snails in Spain, and learned how folks make love in Uzbekistan — in a fashion quite unfamiliar to the USA—and I got blown out of bed by an air raid in Barcelona, and poisoned by arsenic in Tashkent.

Walking the color line around the world and recording its variations from Savannah to Shanghai is a part of my story. But another part of it is the kind of fun, the kind of music, the kind of dancing and the kind of romance folks enjoy in Mexico City, Havana, Turkmenia, and Madrid, from bull fights to rhumbas, camel sausage to flamencos, Chinese watermelon to French crepe suzettes — for the color of life, the music, the food, and the women vary in fascinating ways from place to place.

So all these things I have tried to record in "I Wonder As I Wander." With so much to tell, the book was almost 800 pages in its early drafts. Some of the good stories had to come out, but all of the best ones remain.

My book goes back only into my own immediate past, but Pauli Murray's goes far back into that of her ancestors. "Proud Shoes" tells a graphic tale of Civil War days in the South, of the Negro's desperate search for learning in the Reconstruction schools, and how the baleful hoofbeats of the Ku Klux Klan at night tried to frighten our folks away from books and teachers and the ballot box.

Eartha Kitt tells with odd charm what it is like to have been poor and hungry and then to become famous and highly publicized on three continents. Henry Armstrong gives a hard-hitting picture of his sharecropper days in Mississippi, his slum days in St. Louis, his hobo travels, and the feel of a gloved fist in his face as he came up the hard way to become a sensational boxing champion.

And with gentle reverence for the memory of a gentle lover and a courageous fighter for civil rights, Poppy Cannon gives new insights into the life of the late great genial Walter White. So, this fall, American readers may take their choice of a very varied fare in biographies and autobiographies in black, brown, beige, and white, from footlights to fist fights, bright nights to civil rights, family trees to world travel, cuddly Miss Kitt to knockout Hank Armstrong. Tell your public library to get all these books so readers who cannot buy them can read them. Ask your librarian to order them now.

LANGSTON Hughes

Defender 31a Chicago, Ill. Sat. 12-8-56 p. 9

NOMINATING A NEW PRESIDENT FOR FISK UNIVERSITY

The late lamented Charles S. Johnson, recent president of Fisk university, was both a scholar and a gentleman, a smart man and an all-round good guy, an intellectual yet a practical administrator, a highly cultured individual with at the same time good common sense. For all of America and the Negro people, his death constitutes a genuine loss. No one else will be found soon quite like him.

But Fisk university will have to have a new president. For that office I nominate Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

Mrs. Roosevelt is one of the world's most distinguished women — indeed, one of our cenutry's most distinguished individuals. She is a cultured person, and a wise person. She has a deep interest in young people, in education, and in the problems of minority groups. Most of the students at Fisk are colored, and the university itself has long had a great tradition of cultural leadership among the Negro people. It has produced many famous graduates and has had on its faculty distinguished teachers, both white and Negro. It is one of America's great educational centers. Fisk deserves a great president. In many ways, Eleanor Roosevelt might well fit the bill.

A college president these days and times has to be good at public relations. For such delicate tasks Mrs. Roosevelt is excellent. By way of the spoken and written word, she has reached million of people all around the nation and around the world. She has an appealing personality. People are drawn to her. I should think any college faculty would love working under her directives.

Also today, when it takes large sums of money to run an educational plant, a good college president has to be an efficient money raiser. Eleanor Roosevelt has wide contacts, moves in the great world of men and women of affairs, personally knows hundreds of bankers and financiers, and has direct contacts with philantrophy and philanthropists, funds and foundations — as had Charles S. Johnson. I think Mrs. Roosevelt could aid greatly in raising the millions needed to keep Fisk going and growing, to expand its facilities, and to make it one of the finest institutions in the South.

With integration coming apace Negro colleges will soon no longer be "Negro" colleges in the old sense. The Fisk faculty has long been integrated, too. The new president of Fisk must be someone who understands and is deeply sympathetic to all the problems which integration involves, socially and otherwise. I think Eleanor Roosevelt has such sympathies and understanding. and the testimony of the late Mary McLeod Bethune bears me out in this. Mrs. Bethune often paid Mrs. Roosevelt tributes of the highest approbation.

Charles S. Johnson traveled a great deal in the interest of Fisk, and on behalf of other educational and social causes in which he was interested. Mrs. Roosevelt is a great traveler, too, has great energy, and does not mind being in New York one day, Seattle the next, and London or Paris a few days later. The energy to stand up under tireless activity is needed in the president of a college like Fisk. A few days ago in New York I saw Mrs. Roosevelt at a public gathering looking as strong, hale, hearty, and healthy in every muscle, sinew and bone — to paraphrase Father Divine — as she could be. I think Mrs. Roosevelt would wear well as a college president and stand the strain of both administrative duties and travel, cultural leadership and fund raising, student contacts and faculty meetings. And as a chapel speaker, she would be brilliant. I would hate to see some run-of-the-mill educator chosen as president. Fisk deserves as its head a great spirit worthy of the great traditions of Jubilee Hall.

LANGSTON Hughes

Defender P.9 Sat. 6-2-56 Chicago Ill.

Simple Produces A Film On An Afro-American Theme

"I love the Mau Maus," said Simple.

"Be careful" I said! "The Mau Mau use violence. You'd do better to love the Montgomery bus strikers who love white folks into behaving themselves."

"I'm praying for all of them," said Simple, "but I love the Mau Maus. They act like a Wild West picture, and are tall as Jack Parlance, gone-tall, and darker than me."

"Of course they're dark," I said. "They're African."

"So am I,' said Simple, "Afro-African. This word Negro that they call me here in America is not my real name, neither am I colored; I am African—which is why I like them Mau Maus. Listen, I wish I was a moving picture man. I would make me a picture about Africa that would not quit — a gone film, Jack! Understand?"

"Gone out the window," I said, "because no white distributor would show it"!

"That would not worry me," said Simple. "I would distribute it myself in Africa in African theatres and it would have some mad scenes that would make the Africans holler and cheer and set through my picture three times, then come back to the show the next day to see it again."

"How come "

"Because it would be an African western," said Simple, "in which I would have them Mau Maus chasing white folks like they sometimes let Indians do in Hollywood — only in Hollywood the Indians never catch up with the white folks. In my picture the Africans would not only catch up with the white settlers, but would run smack-dab over them and keep on galloping. In other words, my picture would have a happy ending!"

"Your picture would be banned before it got started," I said.

"It would have a dark closing," said Simple, "with all them **Africas riding across the screen. But I would be making this picture for me and you."**

"Leave me out of it," I said. "I don't wish to be placed in the position of condoning violence on the screen or off. I'll take the Rev. King's approach down in Alabama!"

"They has no spears down there," said Simple, "neither no head-dresses of horns and feathers. In Africa I would not be worried about riding no buses. In my picture I would get on my horse — which would be fast as greased lightning — and lift my spear and ride, Red, ride! I mean ride so fast on my trusty steed that the camera would have to be mounted on a Thunderbird to keep up with me and photograph my picture. I would play the Mau Mau chief so I could throw the first spear."

"You're a bloodthirsty son-of-a gun," I said.

"I would do this picture in technicolor, too," said Simple, "so you could see in colors exactly what's happening. And my wife in the picture would be like Joyce, chocolate-sweet and all reet — except that she would not be home worring about no budget as Joyce does. That girl would be on that horse riding behind me with her spear upraised, too. We would be two riding Mau Maus! Daddy-o, we would pass you so fast you would not know which way to look **to see if we was gone. Daddy-o, I would be the greatest riding cowboy in Africa, and every time I throwed my spear I would hit my mark. Never miss! Split Spear Simple! Another settler bites the dust! When I throw a spear, he must! Win each battle, do or bust! That's me! Understand?"**

"And what would the end of your picture be?" I asked.

"The riding up to the front of the screen for a close-up in technirama to take my bows," said Simple. "Producer, director, star, script writer and all in one — me! For five minutes you would see my name going across the screen, JESSE B. SEMPLE — produced by, directed by, written by me — Jesse B., starring me. JESSE B. SEMPLE, over and over and over. Then you would see my face again just before the lion roars and the newsreels comes on — me. And that would be the end, my friend, that would be the end!"

LANGSTON Hughes

Defender Sat. 6-23-56 P.9 Chicago, Ill.

Wisdom, A Pearl Of Great Price, Has Sometimes Been A Black Pearl

Great sayings by great people are often worth recalling. And not all the words of wisdom in this world were uttered by whites, as our school books might sometimes lead us to believe. Negroes have been talking and writing for centuries, too, and some of the things they have said have been wise indeed, even though they have not been as widely dispersed in print and by public instruction as have the words of others. For that reason I repeat here what some of us said.

For example, being far ahead of his time, almost fifty years before the 19th Amendment to the Constitution gave women the franchise, Frederick Douglass said, "I would give women a vote, give her a motive to qualify herself to vote, precisely as I insisted upon giving the colored man the right to vote; in order that she shall have the same motives for making herself a useful citizen as those in force in the case of other citizens. In a word, I have never yet been able to find one consideration, one argument, or suggestion in favor of man's right to participate in civil government which did not equally apply to the right of women."

Even before Douglass spoke on this subject, the great Negro woman Sojourner Truth, runaway slave who became a famous abolition worker for the freedom of others, also spoke often for the suffrage of women. At the National Woman's Suffrage Convention in Akron, Ohio, in 1852, quietly sitting in a pew because, being black, she was not asked to sit on the platform, Sojourner Truth listened to the male speakers denounce the women for wanting the vote, saying that they were the weaker sex — in fact so weak they had to be helped into carriages.

The white women on the platform and in the audience were shamed and confused, and too shy to effectively answer the men. Whereupon the tall dark woman rose from her pew and came forward, looked the male speakers dead in the eyes, and said, "Nobody ever helped me into carriages, or over mud puddles, or give me any best place. Ain't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! I have plowed and planted and gathered into barns, and no man could head me. And ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man— when I could get it — and bear the lash as well — and ain't I a woman? I has had five chillun and seen 'em most all sold off into slavery, and when I cried out with a mother's grief, none but Jesus heared — and ain't I a woman? They talks about this thing in the head — intellect. What's that got to do with women's rights? If my cup won't hold but a pint and yourn holds a quart, wouldn't ye men be mean not to let me have my little half-measure full? If the first woman God made was strong enough to turn the world upside down all alone, I guess all women together ought to be able to turn it back and get it right side up again. And now that they is asking to do it, the mens better let 'em."

When freedom came and for a brief while the Southern Negro had the vote — that is, the men — between 1865 and 1897, twenty-two Negroes, including two Senators from Mississippi, served in Congress. They made in the course of their serving, some excellent speeches on all phases of race relations. Concerning Civil Rights, the Congressman from South Carolina, Richard M. C[...] said, "I do not ask any legisl[...] for the colored people of this c[...] try that is not applied to [...] people. All that we ask is [...] laws, equal legislation and [...] rights throughout the length [...] breadth of this land. We do come here begging for our ri[...] We come here clothed in the [...] of American citizenship. We [...] demanding our rights in the [...] of justice, equity, and law, i[...] name of our children, in the [...] of our country."

In a speech at Saratoga, [...] York, in 1876, John M. Lang[...] who later became a Represent[...] from Virginia in Congress, [...] this to say to the Negro people [...]cerning the use of the ball[...] words which are still pertine[...] day, "Perhaps never in the h[...] of our country was there a when the duty of the A[...]can voter to consider well [...] wisely what vote to cast, [...] party to bring to power and [...]port in power, was so im[...]tive. In discharging our du[...] this regard, while we are fea[...] we should be impartial and [...] Let us not make haste to [...]demn unduly, not to accept [...] out wise discrimination the c[...] of any candidate or party. W[...] called upon as intelligent and [...]est, patriotic and devoted citi[...] to determine, each for him[...] how votes given for the Demo[...]ic or Republican party, will [...] to sustain the dignity and p[...] of the Government and con[...] our free institutions under the [...]stitution. Each of us is held [...]sponsible for his own consci[...] posterity and God for the wis[...] or folly displayed in exerc[...] our suffrage—the most sacre[...] it is the most valuable right w[...] we possess on American soil.

LANGSTON *Hughes*

Defender Sat. 6-30-56 P. 9

Chicago Ill.

An Author With 21 Books Must Be Coming Of Age

I have just finished a new book. When he completes a big book, a writer feels, I suppose, much like a contractor feels when he finishes building a house. Or, perhaps more aptly, like an old-time carpenter who constructed a house all by himself — since a writer must write a book all alone. If it is a creative work, it must come out of his own resources and abilities, no one else's. The book I have just finished is autobiographical, so it is peculiarly my own, being entirely about me. It is called "I Wonder As I Wander" and it will mark, I suppose, my literary coming of age, for it will be my twenty-first book.

My first book in the days of the Negro Renaissance was "The Weary Blues," a collection of poems, as was my succeeding volume, "Fine Clothes to the Jew." The first book of poems is still on sale, now in its eleventh printing. But the second book is long out of print and so hard to find that one rare book dealer listed it in his catalogue at $37.50 for a first edition copy. My third book was a novel which I wrote while a student on the campus of Lincoln university (Penn.) and completed during a lonely summer in an empty dormitory all by myself after everyone else had gone home. Called "Not Without Laughter," the story had the background of my childhood, Kansas, but the people in it were mostly imaginative, since my own relatives were not typical of the other folks in our community. My grandmother was the widow of Sheridan Leary who died in John Brown's Raid at Harper's Ferry, and later the widow of Charles H. Langston of the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue group who went to jail for helping a slave escape. She was not at all a typical Kansas grandmother. And my father and mother must have had gypsy blood in them. They were always off somewhere. My father hated Jim Crow, and so left me in its midst to go away to Cuba, then Mexico where he lived for thirty years. My mother traveled a lot, too, in an opposite direction from my father. So I naturally took to wandering as I grew up — and my own wanderings around the world from Topeka to Tashkent, Chicago to Shanghai are what I've just finished writing about in my forthcoming book for autumn.

My fourth volume was a book of poems for young folks, and my fifth a cllection of short stories, "The Ways of White Folks" one of whose tales was the basis of my play, "Mulatto." Then followed more books of poems, then the story of my youth, "The Big Sea," and again more poems, and more short stories. Then came "Simple Speaks His Mind" derived from my "Chicago Defender" columns, followed by "Simple Takes A Wife." In between these books came a series of juveniles about famous Negroes, jazz, rhythms, and colored music makers. Then came a picture book in 1955 with Roy De Carava, "The Sweet Flypaper of Life." This made twenty volumes to my credit, not coun[t]ing translations, anthologies, an[d] paper-bound booklets of variou[s] sorts. Now that "I Wonder As I Wander" has gone down to th[e] publishers — 500 pages of it— won't be long until I'm twenty-on[e] bookwise, in literary age.

The new book will also be m[y] longest and biggest book to date It weighed seven-and-a-half pound[s] in manuscript when I first finis[h]ed it last winter, and ran to a[l]most 800 pages. Being much to[o] long for the high cost of boo[k] making these days, I had to c[ut] it down to six and a quarte[r] pounds and 500 pages. Now th[e] book moves faster and gets aroun[d] the world quicker. I hope it sti[ll] has in it the essence of my so[]journs in the places I've lived an[d] loved from Paris to Mexico City Madrid to Moscow, Harlem to Sa[n] Francisco, Carmel, Chicago, an[d] Cap Haitien where Christophe' Citadel looks down on the blu[e] green sea.

How have I written so man[y] books — and one so long as is m[y] latest manuscript? By not doin[g] anything else much in my life. I writing fun? Sure! Is it lucrative Yes, if you are Frank Yerby o[r] Ernest Hemingway. As for mo[st]

when young writers ask me if is possible to make a living fro[m] writing, I usually answer, "Yes- but not necessarily a good livin[g] I haven't got a Cadillac. I don own a house. I haven't got a wif[e] or a television set. Not even dog. All I've got is a lot of book —with another book on the way.

LANGSTON *Hughes*

Defender Chicago Ill.

Sat. 7-7-56

You May Not Agree With Me

STOP taking all those patent medicines from the drug store, drink more water, get more fresh air, stop drinking so much licker, stop harboring evil thoughts — and I'll bet you'll feel better.

JOIN the NAACP right now. And if you have any money left over, join the Urban League. And if you still have a few dollars, send them to Rev. Martin Luther King, Dexter Avenue Baptist church, Montgomery, Alabama, for those car pools and walking workers who won't ride the Jim Crow buses anymore.

P. 9

STOP carrying a chip on your shoulder for all white folks. Lots of white people don't mean you any harm. But carry two chips on both shoulders for those who would still keep you out of schools, crowded in ghettos, jim crowded segregated from now until gra- and segregated from now until gra-

START buying colored books, and colored dolls and some good colored concert records like those of Roland Hayes and Dorothy Maynor and Marian Anderson for your children so they won't think everything nice, pretty and cultural is white. Start buying them now. Don't wait until Christmas.

STOP playing so many numbers every day. Just play a few, and put the rest of that change in your piggy bank and by the end of the year you can pay yourself a hit from your own bank.

TURN off the television or radio once in a while when everybody is home and just converse a little, just talk, get acquainted with your family and friends again.

PRAY for Floyd Patterson so that when he gets to be world's heavyweight champion he won't end up like so many other colored champions behind the financial eight ball, owing the government income tax, and having to stage sad come-back bouts after his prime in order to earn enough to live. Pray for that young boy, that he will have honest managers, smart lawyers, and good common sense while luck and youth are still with him, and that he will be a fine clean champion like Joe Louis, also that he will pay his income tax as he goes along — so nobody can take it out on his kids twenty years from now.

FORGIVE Nat King Cole. After all, anybody can make a mistake once. If you'd have gotten shaken up like he did in Birmingham, you might have said the wrong things, too. Give the guy a break.

HAVE enough race pride to watch your language in public, if not for your own sake, for your mother's.

STOP wearing toreador pants, if you're a woman, or Bermuda shorts, if you're a man, if you are already funny-looking to begin with, knock-kneed, bowlegged, big haunched or otherwise out of shape. If you're well-shaped, sure, wear them. But why attract undue attention unnecessarily to a sprung, underslung, over or under sized body by wearing Spanish pants or British shorts? They ought to be declared un-American on some people.

STOP tuning up the baseball game so loud on the radio that all the neighbors in the block can hear it. Some folks might want to take a nap or listen to something else. Have a little audible consideration for others, kindly please.

PATRONIZE colored shops as much as you can even if they don't always have everything you want. If they can do enough business eventually they'll have everything just like the big million dollar chain stores have. And we'll be a wealthier race with businesses of our own to be proud of. But it all depends on you.

MAKE a will before you get old enough to die, please. If you have a small pot to leave somebody, put it in writing, so all the relatives won't be fighting over the pot after you are gone, disgracing themselves and your memory. don't die, please, and leave a house and lot for everybody kin to you to claim. Make a will and give it to the folks you name. You'll save posterity so many headaches.

PAY no attention to any of this advice if none applies to you. I know you don't throw garbage out the window or lighted cigarettes or bottles in the street, so I won't even mention those things. Anyhow, let's not do them. If you don't, I won't either. Set me a good example, please. I need your help to do right myself.

LANGSTON Hughes

Defender Sat. 1-7-56

Negro Literature Becomes An Important Part Of American Culture

It cannot be said that the American Negro is an unwanted guest in the United States. He was brought to the New World, not of his own seeking, but against his will, as a slave. It was only when the Negro became a free man in 1863 that his presence was widely resented. His ninety-some-odd years of freedom have been years of continual struggle against political, economic, and cultural discrimination. Until very recently, the Negro was denied the right of the ballot throughout most of the Southern states. And, even now, there are wide areas where custom or intimidation prevent colored people from voting. Many avenues of earning a living are still closed to Negroes and some of the major labor unions refuse to admit black members. Thousands of schools and colleges, in spite of the Supreme Court, will even yet accept no Negro students; hundreds of American libraries, concert halls and theatres bar Negroes. Together, poverty and discrimination have made culture a very difficult prize indeed for colored people to obtain.

Chicago Ill.

However, even in slavery days, Negroes in the United States began not only to imbibe such culture as there was around them, but to contribute to culture themselves. Before the Civil War, Negroes had, for example, already written and published books. In George Washington's day, the black Phillis Wheatley became the best known poetess in New England. In Benjamin Franklin's time, a Negro scientist, calendar-maker and surveyor, Benjamin Banneker, helped to plan and lay out the capital city of Washington, D. C. Before the Civil War, a Baltimorean of color, Ira Aldridge, became a famous Shakespearean actor both at home and abroad. And among the most effective fighters for freedom (and, incidentally, for woman suffage) was the great orator and journalist, the escaped slave, Frederick Douglas.

Taking literature as a reflection of a group's cultural status, the few books written by Negroes during and immediately after the slave period indicate the paucity of education among them. But two great American autobiographies, "The Life And Times Of Frederick Douglass" and Booker T. Washington's "Up From Slavery" were written by men born in slavery. And Negro America's most delightful poet, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, was born of illiterate parents less than ten years after freedom came. The folk poets and story-tellers, of course, were verbally active from the moment the first African slaves set foot on Virginia soil in 1619. They transplanted their animal and nature stories to American shores and adapted many of them to a new language and a new world. More then two centuries later, a white man, Joel Chandler Harris, popularized these Negro slave tales in his "Uncle Remus Stories."

Nobody knows exactly when spirituals first began to enrich the poetry of the English language. But very early in the slave years these "sorrow songs" must have sent their quavering notes and heartfelt words into the Southern night after long hard days of unrequited toil. When death seemed the only means of escape from bondage the slaves sang:

Swing low, sweet chariot,
Coming for to carry me
home. . . .

Or the hauntingly beautiful:

Deep river,
My home is over Jordan.
I want to cross over into
camp ground. . . .

In his poem, "O Black And Unknown Bards," James Weldon Johnson writes movingly of the anonymous creators of these marvelous songs. Lyrically, America's finest folk poetry and, musically, its most infectious rhythms are to be found in the spirituals and the blues.

Of the Negro poets in America writing in the literary traditions of the English language, there has been, in the almost two hundred years since the verses of Phillis Wheatley appeared, a steady stream of colored versemakers. Georgia Douglas Johnson has written some of our lovelist love lyrics. Claude McKay's sonnets rank with any composed in the U. S. A. The late Countee Cullen's poems are cherished by all who love music in words. And today among the younger poets, besides the Pulitzer Prize winner, Gwendolyn Brooks, there are Owen Dodson, Robert Hayden, Margaret Walker, Myron O'Higgins, and Wilma Howard. In fiction we have dozen outstanding names including Willard Motley, Ann Petry, John Killens, and Ralph Ellison. Successful Negro writers reach a large public, and today their books are often translated into the leading European languages. Not even the most bigoted Southerner can any longer say that Negroes are uncultured, or incapable of assimilating culture. When our Centennial of Negro freedom rolls around in 1963 our literature, and our culture will be a firmly entrenched part of the general American culture.

LANGSTON Hughes

Defender Sat. 1-14-56

Looking Back 1,000 Years Through Laughter And Tears

If I had been living a hundred years ago, in 1856, instead of 1956, being colored and in the USA, I might have been a slave. My master might have been beating me all over my head at ths very minute because I did not hoe my cotton row fast enough, or he might have nailed me by my ear to the barn because I sassed him back, or hung me up by my wrists with my toes just touching the ground for not being a good Negro. Or I might have run away like Frederick Douglass to follow the North Star and be free.

If I had been born 200 years ago in 1756 instead of in the 20th century, I might have been George Washington's bond servant, or belonged to Thomas Jefferson's pappy in Virginia. Or I might not have belonged to anybody, because I might have said, "To the devil with slavery," and run off in the night to join the Indians. And I might have married an Indian Chief's daughter and all of my descendants might have been Indians. Who knows?

Had I been on these American shores in 1656 instead of paying income tax today, I might have been one of those packed like sardines in the hole of a slave ship on the Middle Passage from Africa to the Carolinas, not knowing where I was going or why. Or I might have been one of the many captured Africans, who, when taken on deck for a breath of air, leaped into the sea rather than to be a slave in a strange land. I don't know whether I would have lived or died on the way over to the New World. I would not have wanted to be a slave.

If I had been born in 1556 instead of in our present time, I might have been an explorer coming up out of Africa to Europe with the Portuguese or Italians and sailing with them as did some Africans on expeditions in search of new lands. Or I might have been a black sage in one of the great centers of learning in Tumbuctoo. Who knows?

Had I been born in 1456 I might have been a hunter of lions on the African plains, or a herdsman in the highlands, or a pygmy in the jungle, or a king on a throne in Ghana, or a medicine man, or a player of drums for feasts and dancing under the palm trees on the Guinea coast. Maybe, five hundred years ago, I might have been a plam wine maker.

If I had been living in 1356 when Gutenberg completed the printing of the first Bible from movable type I somehow might have wandered into the Mediterranean area and fought with the Turks at Constantinople and set myself up a harem and by now you wouldn't know me or any of my people from Turks. Could be! Or I might have been a Venetian page boy and lived in a great palace and fallen in love with a great lady like Othello did, and let myself be betrayed by a handkerchief. But I do not think I would have been that simple! I think I would have chased Iago all over town with my Damascus sword first. I swear I would.

If I had been around in 1256 and Marco Polo had crossed my path some years later, I might have made my way with him to the Kingdom of Kubla Khan and seen the wonders of the East. Negroes got around in those days just as they do now. I expect there was at least one everywhere. I think I would have been there myself, exploring.

Had I been alive in 1156 I might have been an astrologer telling floks their fortunes from looking at the stars, and if numbers were being played, I would have done my best to divine them — I mean figure them out—which is a hard thing to do today. But I would have tried in 1156 to get the right combinations. All a man can do, even now, is try.

If I had been on this earth in 1056 I might have been converted to the church and become a monk because the monks were almost the only people who acquired any learning, and I darn sure would

LANGSTON *Hughes*

Defender Sat. 1-21-56
Chicago, Ill.

Hope Against Hope For 1956

Having lived 50 years, and realizing how futile it is in this world to hope for too much, I nevertheless hope against hope that on this earth during the year 1956:

OUR WHITE FOLKS WILL SEE THE LIGHT and we black folks will not seem so much of a dark problem to them, nor their democracy so much of a whitewash to us, nor progress in race relations continue to be such a see-saw when one end of democracy goes up and the other goes down. After nearly 100 years of Emancipation, it is about time to strike a balance. These things I hope for democracy's sake as much as mine — because our white folks are way behind.

THE SINGING OF RELIGIOUS SONGS IN CABARETS, THEATRES, AND ON RADIO AND TV "RHYTHM AND BLUES" PROGRAMS WILL CEASE. Religion is one thing. Night clubs serving whiskey and gin, theatres selling entertainment, and disc jockeys plugging records are quite something else. Besides, it's such bad taste making a production of religion. Is public taste really that low? I hope not.

DOROTHY MAYNOR WILL MAKE SOME LONG PLAYING RECORD ALBUMS because I think she is a great singer. And SIDNEY POITIER WILL GET A ROLE in motion pictures because I know he is a fine actor — one of the best and most sympathetic thespians of color to come along since the late Canada Lee and EARTHA KITT WILL GET A GREAT PART TO PLAY ON THE DRAMATIC STAGE because she is a great little actress.

PORGY AND BESS' WILL EVENTUALLY END ITS WORLD TOUR and the fine company of actors and singers will come back home and put on a show that colored folks at home can cheer, too, and that does not open with an interminable crap game and whose leading lady does not have to stand straddle-legged like a cow to sing her arias. Also, I hope that splendid company, after singing American music from Europe to Latin America to the Iron Curtain, and spreading American goodwill and culture over half the earth to the credit of our prestige abroad, have been sufficiently well-paid so that THE COLORED ARTISTS WHO CONSTITUTE THE "PORGY AND BESS" COMPANY DON'T COME BACK TO THE USA WITH "Plenty of Nothin'" as one of their main songs says, but return with some loot to boot. They deserve to have made something out of so long, so arduous, and so highly publicized a tour.

ALSO I HOPE THAT ALL THE NEGROES WHO ARE FAIRLY SAFE FROM BODILY HARM IN HAVENS OF THE NORTH WON'T FORGET THEIR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN MISSISSIPPI and will contribute regularly and generously to the NAACP and whatever agencies are gathering funds to help them fight the economic and job boycotts against them.

POLITICAL DOUBLE TALK WILL CONFUSE NOBODY and that voters will remember that it is not what an elected official says, but what that official does that counts. Don't believe promises. Look at past performances and current activities.

RADIO AND RECORD PEOPLE WILL STOP USING TRILLING CHORUSES AND FLOSSY ARRANGEMENTS behind singers who don't need them, and who can put over a song wonderfully and simply without so much fancy noise behind them.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY WILL BEGIN AT HOME and not in Pakistan, Germany, Italy, India, and other far off places where our statesmen seem to be continually trying to export democracy while letting Mississippi go its own mad way. Why go so far away when there is so much to do right here in Trumbull Park, Harlem, New Orleans, and Money, Miss.?

THE GOVERNMENT WILL GIVE JOE LOUIS A BREAK ON HIS BACK INCOME TAXES since it looks like to me the government should have taken out his taxes when Joe was earning all that money that it seems Joe didn't get — else take those back taxes from the folks who did get Joe's money, and let Joe alone. Louis was a great champion and a great guy and gave the USA and everybody a fine example of American sportsmanship and manhood and gentlemanliness. Why take the bread out of his children's mouths now, and the money for their education away? Good Joes don't come our way every day, do they?

Also I hope that during this brand new year of our Lord, 1956, the white editors and anthologists and publishers who make all the big fine anthologies of American prose and American poetry and American humor for the libraries and schools and colleges STOP LEAVING OUT OF THE ANTHOLOGIES SUCH NEGRO AMERICAN AUTHORS AS JAMES BALDWIN, POETS LIKE GWENDOLYN BROOKS, AND HUMORISTS LIKE DAN BURLEY and will remember that Negroes are writers and poets and humorists, too — also Americans.

And, as one final hope, I hope against hope that the colored colleges of the deep South will steer their student acting groups to doing just one play, at least once a season, by colored playrights, and stop presenting DEATH TAKES A HOLIDAY" AND "ANGEL STREET" AND "LADY WINDEMERE'S FAN" and all those overworked white plays outdated on Broadway they seem to love to stage having nothing in God's world to do with life as any of us know it in Dixie. But some things such as this. I reckon, are just too much to hope for. Let's hope anyhow!

have wanted to know a little something in this world.

But had I been born in 956, a thousand years ago, I might have been a Moor instead and practised Mohammedanism and gone from Africa to Spain and carved arabesques on mosques and made up flamencos and taught the Spaniards to play tambourines and drums and introduced chocolate to Oberia. But I wasn't born a thousand years ago in the distant 10th century. I was born in the 20th century. So, I live in Harlem, and I read about Mississippi, and I write for the "Chicago Defender", which is about to become a daily newspaper thus making new history for the New Year. Negroes have been making history for a long, long time. This year we'll make some more. I'm glad I'm here. HAPPY NEW YEAR!

LANGSTON *Hughes*

Defender Sat. 1-28-56
Chicago, Ill.

Concerning The Singing Of Spirituals Today

When the spirituals came into being one of the trials and tribulations, frustrations and bewilderments of slavery, they must have had an intense and immediate meaning for the people who made them up and who sang them out of their hearts in the dark hours of bondage.

In the log cabins, the plantation churches, and the camp meetings those great songs like "Steal Away" and "Go Down, Moses" and "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" must have been a comfort and a balm to the captured body and the weary soul. Modern medicine recognizes the power of music as therapy for both body and mind.

In the days when slaves had neither freedom nor doctors, song must have been a great factor in soothing the wounds of flesh and soul. That the spirituals today have a power beyond ordinary music is clearly visible at any concert where the artist saves until the end the now conventional groups of spirituals which most Negro concert singers use.

When that group begins, first a rustle then a hush comes over the audience and then a kind of healing happiness, as if folks had been waiting all the evening for the gentle touch of those songs. There is something universal and all embracing and kind and human as love in the spirituals, even when they are arranged as art songs and sung by performers who do not know their meaning.

Because white people who have not liked us have liked the spirituals, many Negroes object to hearing the spirituals sung for white people. I do, too, under such slanted circumstances, for then the spiritual may easily become the mark of the stereotype — the ever singing Negro. But no great artist, folk or professional, really sings for anyone other than himself first.

When the song belongs to him first, then the song is freed as it is sung, and sent into the air, for friend or foe to enjoy impartially. Like all the common gifts of God or nature — sunshine, stars, trees, atoms or rain — the songs may then belong to anyone.

There are, of course, many singers who are not great, either vocally or personally, and who demean any music that they sing, including the spirituals, since they sing for ego's sake, or money's sake, or something other than their own joy in songs and singing. Just as some people misuse nature, so some people misuse songs. But there is nothing wrong about the spirituals themselves. And there is no way of keeping even a Bilbo from loving them.

Fifty years ago in his great book, 'The Souls of Black Folk", Dr. DuBois wrote a dozen of the most beautiful pages ever written about music in our country in his chapter "On the Sorrow Songs". Every young professional singer who dares perform a spiritual in public today should read this chapter. Such a singer should read, too, James Weldon Johnson's moving poem, "Oh, black and unknown bards of long ago," before he sings the songs those bards created.

Heart of the what slave poured out such melody
"As Steal away to Jesus"? on its strains
His spirit must have nightly floated free,
Though still about his hands he felt his chains.
Who heard great "Jordan roll"? Whose starward eye
Saw chariot "swing low"? And who was he
That breathed that comforting, melodic sigh,
Nobody knows de trouble I see"?

A young singer should also read Paul Lawrence Dunbar's "When Malindy Sings". And Sterling Brown's fine introduction to the Folk Literature section of "The Negro Caravan" with its history and interpretation of the spirituals. Then the singer should learn to sing not just a half dozen spirituals for a program, but dozens of the great songs preserved in Religious Folk Songs of the Negro" or the Johnson "Book of American Negro Spirituals" or Mellows". Then from these songs, select those that have a meaning for him and move his OWN soul, before singing for anybody.

Young singers whose racial and religious roots do not go as deep as those of Roland Hayes or Marian Anderson or Paul Robeson or Dorothy Maynor, and for whom the spirituals cannot have the same meaning, may unintentionally make of their singing of these songs "stereotypes", not by design, but simply through immaturity or lack of understanding. The spirituals did not begin as songs intended for entertainment. And when they are sung purely for entertainment, without an understanding of their inner meaning and content, then a little minor crime is committed — not unrelated to such major crimes as imprisoning the forces of nature in an atom bomb to blow up the world. Songs, like atoms, can be misused.

The WCC Viewpoint Ignored In Atlanta

Advertiser Sun. 8-5-56

By Bob Ingram, Montgomery, Ala. P.3-B

GIVING credit where credit is due, Gov. James E. Folsom displayed commendable restraint in his actions at the Southern Democratic caucus in Atlanta Wednesday.

Folsom's invitation to the meeting had stirred up strong protests, many fearful that despite his May 1 rejection at the polls the governor might seek to throw his weight around in Atlanta.

INGRAM

Such is not the case. The people had told him to "stay away in droves" as he aptly had commented earlier, and Folsom did just that.

Folsom had little to say to newsmen when he checked in at the Dinkler Plaza early Wednesday, but he made one promise.

"I'm gonna let the delegates do the talking," Folsom said. "After all, they are the ones who will do the voting at the convention."

He kept his word throughout the long session. While the meeting was closed to the press, it was later learned that Folsom's role in the policy making was all but nonexistent. He stayed in his place, carrying out the negative mandate of the people.

In the meantime, Sen. John Sparkman of Alabama effectively went about his admitted course of action — to choke off any proposals which might jeopardize the nomination of Adlai Stevenson. And his remarkable success in this undertaking was clearly evidenced in the statement of policy released by the delegation at the end of the meeting.

Victory For Stevenson And The Faithful

IT WAS a clear-cut victory for the national party loyalists in general and the Stevenson forces in particular. Lost in the shuffle were the proposals suggested by the outspoken segregationists which were backed by the Citizens' Council chapters throughout the South.

(More than one delegate made note of the Arkansas gubernatorial election of the previous day—Gov. Orval E. Faubus was renominated overwhelmingly despite bitter Citizens' Council opposition. The Council had backed State Sen. Jim Johnson, main speaker at a Montgomery Council meeting a number of months ago.)

Completely ignored by the Democrats in Atlanta was the Council-sponsored plan whereby each Southern state would nominate a favorite son candidate, then use the time allowed for the nomination speech to elaborate on the cause of the South.

The cool reception given this strategy was first noted, and surprisingly so, in an interview with Gov. Marvin Griffin. When asked to comment on the proposal he was both vague and evasive.

"I haven't heard much about it over her in Georgia," Griffin said. "I guess we will go along with what our neighbors decide to do."

While professing to have heard little about the favorite son plan, it's interesting to note it was originated and pushed by the Georgia States Rights Association, and particularly by one of its officials, Roy Harris of Augusta.

Also ignored was Laurie Battle's publicized resolution which would have required a roll call vote of state delegations on controversial matters, if such a poll was requested by a delegate.

Battle presented this plan to the group in Atlanta, but no mention of it was made in the statement of policy.

Thames Is Innocent

AN INDICTMENT returned last Sunday in the Advertiser against Billy Thames charging him (a former Gordon Persons cabinet appointee) with doing business with the current state administration was in complete error. It merits both a correction and an apology.

In a news story by this reporter it was noted that among the sizable expenditures made by the State Conservation Department was the purchase of a considerable amount of lumber from the West Coast Lumber Co., owned by Thames. This information was entirely false.

Thames, owner and manager of the Thames Lumber Co., purchased the entire stock and holdings of West Coast Lumber Co. early this year. However, he did not assume the name of that firm, as had been erroneously reported.

Thames, still doing business is Thames Lumber Co., declared emphatically he had done no business with the current administration. The record backs him up.

Apparently the new West Coast Lumber Co is another of the many brokerage firms which have been created during the present administration, serving as middle-men in the purchase of property for the state.

Meadows Protests

STATE SCHOOL Superintendent Austin R. Meadows has taken issue with remarks made in this column last Sunday in reference to his feelings toward the proposed "Freedom of Choice" constitutional amendment.

In a letter to this reporter Meadows has requested that the following be printed:

"The state superintendent has not officially declared and has not authorized anyone to quote him as declaring opposition to the public school amendment.

"You stated that 'Meadows noted that when he was sworn into office he swore to abide by the Constitution of 1901, and not as it was amended.'

"I have never made such a statement as you quote. When I took the oath of office, I knew the Constitution of 1901 had been amended many times since 1901, including one amendment which I drafted, and that I was taking an oath to support the Constitution as amended since 1901 and as may be amended during my term of office. I could not have possibly said what you quoted."

However, despite Dr. Meadows gyrations to the contrary, it seems fair to cite a news story which appeared on Pg. 1 of the July 25 Advertiser. The opening paragraph said as follows:

"State Superintendent of Education A. R. Meadows declared yesterday that if the voters of Alabama vote for a 'freedom of choice' school amendment to the Constitution on Aug. 28 they will vote to abolish public schools, segregated schools and equal school terms."

Tacit Approval

AND IN THE fourth paragraph of the same story it was further reported:

"While not coming in open-voiced opposition to the 'choice' amendment, Dr. Meadows said he 'took an oath to uphold the Constitution of the State of Alabama, as adopted in 1901' and not as it might be amended.'

"Thus it appears that Dr. Meadows' July 25 interview does not jive with statements made in the letter printed above.

Possibly the news story of July 25 was in error, but as yet Dr. Meadows has not questioned its accuracy. And for a public official who will write a letter of protest on the slightest provocation, his failure to do so after the July 25 story indicates he found no fault with what was written.

FOR ELECTION ADVANTAGE

Advertiser P.5-B

Grant Accuses Both Parties' Leaders Of 'Playing Politics' On Civil Rights

Sun. 1-15-56 Montgomery, Ala.

By BOB INGRAM

Rep. George Grant of Alabama's Second District has charged congressional leaders of both national parties with "playing politics" in their support of the pending Civil Rights Act which comes up for consideration in the U.S. House of Representatives Monday.

Grant, in an interview with The Advertiser, said the only necessity for the measure at this time was that both political parties "are playing for advantage in the congressional and presidential elections to be held this fall."

"This is common knowledge and the action of both bears this out," Grant insisted. "Even the most ardent advocates of the legislation haven't the faintest idea that it will be enacted at this session by both the House and Senate."

BITTERLY OPPOSED

The civil rights legislation, bitterly opposed by most Southern congressmen, provides for the creation of a commission on civil rights and for the addition of an assistant U.S. attorney general who would work with this commission.

The commission, to include six members appointed by the President, would be authorized to investigate any allegation that citizens have been deprived of the right to vote or are being subjected to unwarranted economic pressure by reason of their color, race, religion or national origin.

"This is quite an order for any commission," Grant noted, "in other words, the sky is the limit."

Another feature of the bill, as outlined by Grant, is that the commission may also accept and utilize services of voluntary and uncompensated personnel and pay such personnel actual and necessary travel and subsistence expenses.

ATTRACTS 'DO-GOODERS'

"Under this provision, thousands of so-called do-gooders will flock to the commission to offer their services," Grant predicted. "Who will they be? You well know that this voluntary assistance will come from the NAACP and like organizations."

Grant said it was his intention to offer an amendment Monday to prohibit the use of such personnel, and said if this was not adopted he would offer a second amendment to require every person offering his service to signify in writing what organizations he belonged to or had been a member of in the past.

The Troy congressman also said the legislation provided that any two members of the commission could hold hearings at any place it deemed advisable and issue subpoenas for the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of written or other matter.

"This legislation will annoy, persecute and harass many law abiding citizens," Grant said. "It will cause more class and racial hatred than anything ever proposed."

Grant said that if any witness so summoned by the Commission failed to appear "he would be hailed into court for contempt."

MULTIPLE SUITS

Rep. Grant explained further the bill provides that whenever any persons have engaged or are about to engage in any acts of this nature the attorney general may institute for the United States, or in the name of the United States, for the benefit of the real party in interest, a civil action or other proceedings for redress, including applications for injunction."

"Note the words 'about to engage' and also the fact that it relieves the aggrieved party from any action on his behalf at all," Grant pointed out. "The federal government would file the suits for those who claim they had been aggrieved. This will lead to a multiplicity of suits and will be the source of agents and meddlers working up such suits."

"However, be that as bad as it is, it is also provided that the district courts shall have jurisdiction without regard to whether the party aggrieved shall have exhausted other remedies provided by law," Grant continued. "Federal authority should never be used in such a manner until the state remedies have been exhausted."

"This legislation is treading on dangerous ground," Grant concluded. "Up to the present time the right to vote in accordance with the Constitution has been governed by state statute. This is a field in which Congress has no right to legislate except by constitutional amendment."

Folsom States Negro's Cause Hurt By Haste

Advertiser

Wed. 6-13-56

Montgomery, Ala.

By BOB INGRAM

Gov. James E. Folsom said yesterday he was convinced "some Negro leaders" are pushing so hard toward full integration of the races that "they are hurting their own cause." P.1

He made the statement whe[n] asked to comment on a court injunction granted here last wee[k] to halt the activities of the National Assn. for the Advancemen[t] of Colored People.

"I wouldn't want to say tha[t] step was right or wrong," Folson said, "but I'll just say what [I] have said all the time. There i[s] not going to be any race-mixin[g] in our public schools as long a[s] I am governor."

Emphasizing he had always opposed integration, Folsom added

REFERS TO DEFEAT

"I don't object when they accuse me of bringing the slave[s] over, but I do resent it whe[n] they prove it on me."

This was an obvious referenc[e] to his recent crushing defeat a[t] the polls in the campaign fo[r] Democratic National Committee[-]man, in which the racial issu[e] was used against him by his successful opponent, State Re[p.] Charles W. McKay Jr., of Talladega.

On another subject, Folso[m] again rallied to the support [of] Ward McFarland, state docks di[rector] who lost his civil and p[o]litical rights when convicted of i[n]come tax evasion last week. Fo[l]som emphasized again yesterda[y] that McFarland would remain [in] the position.

Until proved otherwise, Folsom said he will continue under the assumption that McFarland is still "legally" holding the job despite the loss of his civil and political rights.

Advertiser

The docks director was fined $2,500 on the income tax evasion charge in Birmingham last Friday.

P.2-A

U.S. District Judge Hobart Grooms said the court action deprived McFarland of his civil and political rights. McFarland on Monday applied to the State Pardon-Parole Board for the restoration of citizenship.

Folsom, in his first press conference in seven weeks, told newsmen that "nobody has raised the question of citizenship" or challenged McFarland's right to continue as director of the state-owned docks and terminals at Mobile.

Jokingly, the governor suggested that under the "states rights" theory he wasn't sure that a federal court conviction would take away McFarland's "citizenship in Alabama."

And as to the citizenship restoration application filed by the docks director, Folsom said "I don't care whether the Pardon-Parole Board restores his citizenship or not. I'm satisfied with his work."

Folsom spent a goodly part of the press conference time in discussing his new residence on Guntersville Lake. Obviously nettled by the frequent criticism of high living expenses at the Mansion, he told reporters, "the state ain't going to pay nothing at Guntersville."

"We are not going to wear out any state boats, and I'm gonna pay all our grocery bills," Folsom declared emphatically.

The governor also denied a report that a new Conservation Department boat had been taken to his summer cottage for his use.

However, he added, a boat owned by the Marine Sales Co. of Guntersville is being tried out for possible purchase by the state.

"If the state did own a boat there," he declared, "I would use it any damn time I wanted to."

Folsom added he planned to use "my own private boat" while at his vacation retreat "if I can't borrow one from the Conservation Department or someone else."

Folsom said the new boat being tried out, a 36-foot Chris-Craft, was being considered as a replacement for a Conservation Department boat to replace one struck by lightning last fall in an accident which injured State Sen. Smith Dyar of Marshall County.

31a 1956 WHITE (BOB INGRAM)

CAPITOL ROUNDUP

Advertiser P. 3-B
Montgomery, Ala.
Sat. 3-24-56

Favorable Report Given Freedom Of Choice Plan

By BOB INGRAM

The House Education Committee yesterday gave a unanimous favorable report to a measure designed to work with the proposed freedom of choice constitutional amendment in preserving the separation of races in the public schools of Alabama.

The plan, in effect, would set up two school systems in the state, one for whites, a second which would be integrated. In the event a Negro requested to attend a school only for his race then a third such school could be established.

Henry Beatty, prominent Birmingham attorney and a former member of the Legislature, said he was conviced this plan "will legally permit us to comply with the Supreme Court's decision and still keep the races separate."

"The Supreme Court's decision didn't require forcible integration, all it required was that there be no forcible segregation," Beatty explained. "Under this bill, the parents of children will elect whether they prefer a school of their own race or a co-mingled school."

Beatty further explained he felt this measure was necessary to work with the freedom of choice plan, as the latter "is not self executing."

"The boards of education in the various counties and school districts need this protection," Beatty insisted.

Hearing Cancelled

A public hearing on a bill designed to prohibit liquor advertising in Alabama's daily newspapers was canceled yesterday due to the lack of a quorum.

Rep. James Branyon of Fayette, chairman of the Constitutions and Elections Committee, said he had called off the meeting when only six members showed up.

Branyon said none of the supporters of the measure attended the meeting. The bill was sponsored by Speaker Rankin Fite of Marion, and Reps. Bryce C. Davis of Cullman and Emmett Oden of Franklin

Truman Praised

Rep. L. N. Payne of Talladega, in an address on the House floor yesterday, urged his colleagues to take a more cautious approach in the future in handling segregation matters.

After insisting that the Negroes "have to stay in their place," Payne added "the less we can say about this thing the better off we will be."

Jumping from that subject to national politics, Payne declared "Harry S. Truman was the best president the United States ever had" and warned "you cannot save America with Dwight D. Eisenhower."

"Harry Truman used to talk about integrating the races but he never did it," Payne shouted. "Who did it? Ike, that's who."

Calling on the people of Alabama "to bury the hatchet," Payne insisted the Negroes of the state "will cooperate with us."

"But let me say this, they'll never go to school with my little grandchildren, hell, no," Payne concluded.

NAACP Hit Again

Rep. Gregory Oakley of Wilcox introduced a bill yesterday which would require that any employe of the state, including school teachers, who belonged to the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People to be stripped of all rights provided under the state merit system.

The bill was referred to the House Ways and Means Committee by Speaker Fite This committee normally receives only bills relating to taxes and revenue.

Earlier, Rep. Sam Nettles of Wilcox, introduced a bill which would require any individual or group which filed suit against a county board of education to furnish to the boards the names of all persons filing the suit, the names of all persons or groups making contributions to such proceedings, the addresses of such contributors, and a sworn statement that the proceeding was filed by the individual without aid, suggestion or direction from any other source.

This bill is aimed at suits being filed by the NAACP in behalf of Negro citizens within the state.

Nettles' bill was also sent to the Ways and Means Committee by Fite, but after the Wilcox lawmaker protested this unfavorable assignment it was recommitted to the Constitutions and Elections Committee.

No Tallyho

Advertiser P. 4-A
Wed. 5-30-56
Montgomery, Ala.

In Engelhardt's Pursuit Of Meadows, Who Turns And Attacks

By Bob Ingram

STATE Sen. Sam Engelhardt of Macon, watchdog for the Alabama Association of Citizens' Councils, spent most of last weekend trying to tree State School Supt. Austin R. Meadows, but he lost the scent of his prey after a spirited hunt which extended first to the branchhead community of Holly Pond then south through the ridges to Tuscaloosa.

Ingram

Using both telegraph and telephone, Engelhardt sought to trap the elusive educator. But Meadows, apparently warned of what was up, was not about to be caught.

Engelhardt, faithfully striving to do what he considered his Citizens' Council duty, wanted Meadows to use his weight in prohibiting Dr. Ralph Bunche, the Negro Nobel Prize winner, from delivering an address on the campus of the Alabama State College for Negroes here.

THE Council official first wired Meadows at Holly Pond, where the superintendent was scheduled to deliver a high school graduation address Friday night. The telegram never reached its intended target.

On the following day Meadows was scheduled to attend a meeting of the University of Alabama Board of Trustees in Tuscaloosa. But as hard as Engelhardt tried, he couldn't get Meadows to the phone. As a result, Bunche made his scheduled address on the local Negro college campus while Engelhardt made plans to disclose the results of his futile chase.

But Meadows, a clear cut winner in the chase, then turned and gave battle to his winded pursuer. Somewhere during the heated chase he had paused long enough to write the Citizens' Council his feelings on the Bunche affair. Maybe only by chance, but the letter did not reach local council offices until Monday, the day after the program at Alabama State.

IN THE letter Meadows raised several points of considerable merit, particularly so when it is recalled that the note was dictated on the run with Engelhardt nipping at his heels.

"If steps are taken to prohibit the right of assembly guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States," Meadows said, "such steps would stand a good chance to hurt the cause which you and I represent, and that kind of action encourages the opposition."

"If we take steps to deny the freedom of speech before a speech is made, or without having evidence to indicate that such a speech would be against the government or democracy, such steps would hinder the cause of the Citizens' Council," he continued. "There is always a danger of driving organizations underground where they operate more effectively if they feel that they have a do-or-die justification for that organization."

"From what I know, and don't know," Meadows concluded, "I am of the opinion that we will do less harm by not interfering with the Ralph Bunche program."

The chase was over, and just who was panting hardest was not so easy to say.

Man With A Mission

Advertiser P. 4-A
Montgomery, Ala.
31a White
Wed. 7-25-56

State Senator Sam Engelhardt Is Sustained By The Conviction That He Is Right And That Right Will Prevail—Meaning, No Integration In Alabama

By Bob Ingram

THE executive secretary of the Alabama Association of Citizens' Councils has denounced the recent outbreak of Ku Klux Klan activity in this state.

At first glance this denunciation on the part of State Sen. Sam M. Engelhardt, Jr., may appear inconsequential. Certainly this announced position in opposition to the Klan is not startlingly new: he has on frequent occasions in the past expressed identical sentiments.

Ingram

Yet, when some explanation is sought for the remarkable growth of the council movement in Alabama—more than 100 chapters with a total membership approaching 100,000—the most logical answer to be put forward is the high plane on which the councils operate. With but minor exceptions, the councils affiliating with Engelhardt's association have conducted themselves beyond reproach.

At the moment these councils have resolved themselves into a political action committee, and that they are making themselves felt is unquestionable.

No little credit for the thus far good conduct of the councils must be accorded Engelhardt, a man who has probably been the victim of as much misrepresentation as any political figure in the state.

Conviction Without Oratory

TO THOSE who believe as he believes, Engelhart has not the slightest imperfection. When he tells a council rally in his solemn, unobtrusive manner that there will be no integration, his followers believe him without a question. He is the first man sought out by curious newcomers to council rallies—his announced presence at a meeting usually is good insurance of a sizable turnout.

That Engelhardt has a strong grip on his followers is most evident at these rallies. He is no great orator by anyone's standards, nor does he profess to be. But there are few of the silver-tongued talkers who can hold an audience more expertly than Engelhardt.

From his initial greeting (almost always "Howdy whitefolks") to his closing statement on integration ("they ain't gonna do it"), Engelhardt is in complete control of the audience. He seldom speaks more than a few minutes, he almost never gets involved in any technical discussion as to the legality of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision.

To the rank & file council members, Engelhardt is looked upon as one of them.

To his critics—and he has many of them—Engelhardt is a bit bewildering but nonetheless dangerous. To their apparent disapopintment he does not fit the mold which had been reserved for him—the arm-waving, shouting segregationist of the Bilbo-Talmadge type. Thus, in an effort to take up the slack, he has been described as colorless, sinister, dull and even a bit stupid.

Actually Engelhardt in reality doesn't approach either of the descriptions accorded him by the opposing groups. He has pulled some blunders as leader of the council movement, some which obviously have hurt the cause to which he is dedicated. Nor is he the dull, stupid man his critics seek to imply.

No New Issue In Macon

MORE than anything else, Engelhardt appears to be a man with a mission. He is convinced beyond a shadow of a doubt that race mixing in Alabama and the South will not work, nor can it be tolerated. His sincerity of purpose is beyond question. Engelhardt is so sure he is right and so certain of eventual success that the thought of anything other than complete segregation never crosses his mind.

Nothing is more false than the frequent accusations that Engelhardt is using the race issue for his own political advantage. Admittedly today his political standing is somewhat greater due to his council activity, but at the conception of this organization there was no guarantee this would be the case.

Engelhardt is no johnny-come-lately in the segregation fight. "I'm from Macon County, and we've been fighting it over there for years," Engelhardt explains. And it is his belief that his rise to the leadership of the council in Alabama probably stems from his longevity in the front lines.

Engelhardt was born in Montgomery County 44 years ago but very early in life his family moved to Shorter in Macon County where he now resides. Today he manages a 6,500-acre plantation and operates a large gin and commissary. Working on his huge farm are some 75 Negro families, thus creating the rather ironical but not unusual situation of a white man who is very dependent on the Negro labor but at the same time spends most of his waking hours trying to keep them in their place. Engelhardt has a ready answer for this.

"I have worked Negroes on the plantation for years and have never had a bit of trouble with any of them," he explains. "I know what is best for them and so do they."

Engelhardt is married to the former Miss Sara Bonner, daughter of the noted legislator, Sen. Miller (Bull) Bonner of Wilcox, who, like his son-in-law, is outspoken on matters of race. The Engelhardts are the parents of four children—19-year-old Sam III, a junior in pre-medicine at the University; 18-year-old Miller Bonner, a freshman at the University, also planning on a medical career; 12-year-old Sara Marlow and 8-year-old Harriett. Both daughters are students at Shorter.

Lonely Fighter

ENGELHARDT, a graduate of Shorter High, followed by two years study at Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Va., stepped into the political limelight in 1950 when he was elected to the House of Representatives from Macon County.

He immediately opened a fight for the preservation of segregation, but at that time he was almost alone. Engelhardt offered a bill setting up a private school system. It died in committee. He offered another proposal cutting off all appropriations to education if classrooms were integrated. It died on the House floor.

Engelhardt did succeed in one endeavor. He introduced and pushed through a measure which put the slogan "White Supremacy For the Right" on the Democratic primary ballots. Prior to that time the slogan had appeared only on the general election ballots in November.

In 1954 Engelhardt was elected to the State Senate to represent Macon and Bullock counties. In that contest his two planks were white supremacy and segregation. It was late in the fall of that year that he had his first experience with the new Citizens' Council idea—and that initial experience was noteworthy only in that it was a dismal flop.

Engelhardt had sought to organize a chapter in Macon County—where Negroes constitute 86% of the population—but he failed miserably. About 25 persons showed up for the Notasulga meeting, including this reporter. That was the only meeting of any council from which I was ejected. The bum's rush obviously stemmed more from chagrin than anything else—a big turnout had been expected, but they failed to show.

This discouraging experience did not dampen Engelhardt's spirit in the least. He continued to plump for the councils which he insisted was for the sole purpose of "maintaining peace, good will and tranquility" between the two races. That he plumped very well indeed is now history.

'We Are Not Rabble Rousers'

NOT only has Engelhart made a dent on the Alabama scene, but daily he receives requests at his offices here in the Davis Motel for organizational material from interested groups throughout the nation.

"I have sent such literature to at least 25 cities in Michigan," Engelhardt says, "and I have even sent some to California."

Engelhardt's explanation as to the acceptance of the council movement is similar to the point previously made.

"Our acceptance is due to the fact that we have conducted ourselves in an orderly and peaceful manner," he says. "We are not rabble rousers. Our sole purpose is to maintain segregation. That's what we intend to do."

"Another thing in our favor is that today practically all of the councils in

ENGELHARDT

the South are led by outstanding, law-abiding citizens," he added.

Engelhardt said it was his opinion that the council movement had spread for these reasons as well as two other significant developments—the Autherine Lucy case at Tuscaloosa and Montgomery's bus boycott.

"Those two incidents made a lot of people realize that this thing was a lot closed than they had thought," he added.

With Each Threat, More Members

AS TO the future, Engelhardt foresees ever greater growth and more activity by the councils.

"You can expect a lot of suits to be dropped in the courts throughout the South this fall," he said, "and with each suit the council will pick up additional support. You will probably see one of the greatest mass movements of public opinion in history. We are going to win this fight."

31a 1956

BOB INGRAM (WHITE)

Galloping Ghost Runs Both Ways At Once

Advertiser Aug. 9-2-56

Montgomery, Ala. P. 3-B

By Bob Ingram

WITH football season approaching, attention of college scouts should be called to an Alabama public official who in recent weeks displayed remarkable talents as a deceptive ball handler and broken field runner. He was so adept in reversing his field that some of his own teammates were tripped up in the shuffle.

INGRAM

The prospect is also desirable in that no one would fear his having any scholastic difficulties — he already has more degrees than the coaches have assistants.

The All-America candidate's name is Austin R. Meadows, state school superintendent. Football scouts who are interested can locate him in his fourth floor offices of the State Office Building, where he is now recuperating from injuries received in his most recent encounter with the voters of Alabama.

It was in this encounter — in which his side lost by an overwhelming score — that Meadows unveiled his uncanny ability of faking, sidestepping and the like. That he later stumbled, fumbled and grumbled should not be held against him — he looked terrific while being thrown for a tremendous loss.

A Firm Stand On Shaky Ground

CERTAINLY Meadows' role in the Aug. 28 referendum will be remembered long after the election itself has been forgotten. Historians may have a difficult time determining just where Meadows stood on the "Freedom of Choice" amendment, but they can be sure of one thing — he stood somewhere.

Six weeks before the election Meadows wrote all city and county superintendents, summoning them to a meeting at which the amendment would be discussed. This letter was an example of a Meadows fake — it read as if he was opposing the amendment, but he insisted it didn't mean that.

Later, when the superintendents met here, Meadows made like a cheer leader when several school officials spoke against the "Freedom of Choice" plan. Still he insisted (in a three-part installment in this column) that he was not opposing the amendment.

Smeared In His Own End Zone

THEN at the last minute, only three days before the referendum, Meadows committed himself for one and all to hear — forgetting all of his earlier denials, Meadows stated publicly he opposed the amendment.

When the opposing team — namely, the voters — finally determined in which direction Meadows was running with the ball they set their defenses immediately. The result was brutal. Meadows was smeared so far behind the line of scrimmage that his own teammates had difficulty in locating him.

A question which will probably go unanswered is why Meadows went to such great effort to deny he opposed the "Freedom of Choice" amendment only to undo it all in one brief statement.

Nolen Vs. Grant In '58

EVERY two years members of the U. S. House of Representatives are required to run for reelection, and as a result there is no end to congressional campaigning — of necessity, it goes on continually.

Advertiser Aug. 9-2-56

And at this moment no less than four incumbents seem certain to run headlong into opposition when they next make their bid for renomination in May, 1958.

Montgomery, Ala.

Expected to have opposition in the Democratic Primary are Reps. George Grant of the Second District, George Andrews of the Third, Kenneth Roberts of the Fourth and Albert Rains (if he seeks renomination) of the Fifth.

P. 3-B

Of the four, the man considered to be in the most difficulty is Grant of Troy. Only by a slim 2,500 votes was Grant renominated last May, and the man who gave him that scare three months ago has already resumed his campaigning.

Montgomery State Rep. Wilbur Nolen, who came closer than many people expected toward unseating Grant, quite frankly admits he is already pointing to 1958, and he is disarmingly confident of his chances. Nolen carried five of the nine counties in May, and had he succeeded in swinging his home county the young lawmaker would be now preparing to set up offices in Washington.

That Grant is in trouble is no secret among the congressman's supporters. Reportedly Grant has been urged to move his family back to Troy and make like one of the homefolks. Otherwise '58 could be the end of the political line for the veteran representative.

'Free Choice' Plan Will Likely Pass

Advertiser 9-3-B
Montgomery, Ala.

By Bob Ingram

THE 34 members of the Alabama Legislature who convened here in a special session of their own Thursday — relative to the suit filed against them in federal court — were of the unanimous opinion the proposed "freedom of choice" constitutional amendment would be ratified by the voters Tuesday.

INGRAM

While admittedly most of the lawmakers who met here came from South Alabama counties, where the amendment stands to run the strongest, it was the firm belief of all of them that the segregation amendment would be given an overwhelming vote of approval.

Rep. Virgis Ashworth of Bibb County said he felt certain Amendment No. 2 would be approved in his county and in the state as well.

"I expect it to win by a landslide in Bibb," Ashworth predicted, "and I'll be tremendously surprised if it fails to carry most other counties of the state."

Similar views were voiced by likable Jimmy Jenkins, Randolph County's House member.

"The vote will probably be light, but the 'freedom of choice' amendment looks like a sure thing to me," Jenkins speculated.

Opposition Is Busy

REP. SAM NETTLES of Wilcox and his colleague in the upper House, Sen. Roland Cooper, both were optimistic but nevertheless concerned about opposition which has arisen to the plan.

"This opposition has got me worried," Nettles admitted, "but I'm sure the amendment will still pass."

And Cooper's concern over the amendment was evident when he went to the Senate chamber microphone and made a plea for support of the amendment moments before the meeting adjourned.

"We've got to pass this amendment," Cooper declared, "so let's all get to work and see that it is done."

While voicing optimism regarding Amendment No. 2 and No. 3 (the alienation of public improvements), most of the legislators in the Senate chamber were convinced the proposed corporation tax had but a slim chance of approval.

Rather than incur the wrath of educators in general and school teachers in particular, no lawmaker was readily available for quotation on this amendment.

However, one Black Belter noted that the only people he had learned of who planned to vote for the amendment were school teachers.

"There is a serious doubt in the minds of a lot of voters as to whether this money is really needed," a House member noted. "Meanwhile, there is no doubt in any one's mind that sooner or later this tax on the corporations will reach the average citizen's pocketbook."

Take Ad Valorem Out Of State Hands

BARBOUR COUNTY Rep. Sim Thomas is beating the drums for some major revisions in the tax structure of Alabama, the purpose of which would not be to produce any more revenue but merely make the system more workable.

Thomas wants to see the state move entirely out of the ad valorem tax business. He points out that inasmuch as cities and counties get practically all the revenue produced from this tax, then they should collect it. Of the millions collected annually from property taxes, the state retains only 12 per cent.

To take up the slack in the General Fund which would be caused by the loss of property taxes, Thomas favors an overhaul of privilege license taxes.

"Many people don't realize it, but that gasoline station down on the corner which is barely making enough to survive is burdened with all manner of heavy licenses," Thomas said. "Meanwhile, the big department stores down town which gross hundreds of thousands of dollars annually only have to pay an inconsequential store license tax of about $1.50."

"I think it would be fair to base the privilege license tax on the total sales of the businesses," Thomas continued. "That way, those who are able to pay the most would do so."

Thomas reluctantly admits any legislation aimed at abolishing the special privilege licenses now in effect would encounter strong opposition from county officials who are paid under the fee system — these officials get a kickback on all such licenses issued and they quite naturally don't want to give that up.

No Special Session In Sight

DESPITE some reports to the contrary, there seems litle likelihood Gov. Folsom will call any special session of the Legislature prior to the regular session next May.

One reason is that the General Fund couldn't stand the expense of a session, but another reason and one many observers feel is most important is that Folsom is actually afraid to call the lawmakers together.

Should such a session be called, most certainly one of the first pieces of business would be to rescind the conditional appropriations approved last year. It has been the release of some of these appropriations which caused proration. Folsom released although advised that to do so would cause a severe crisis.

Another thing Folsom fears is the possible enactment of a purchasing bill which would require competitive bids on all purchases made by the state — no such law is on the books now, and Folsom prefers to keep it that way. So does Conservation Director Bill Drinkard.

The Court Dissented

ONE of the most remarkable things about the current six per cent proration is the fact that no department head forced to take the cut has questioned the legality of the economy move.

The state law on proration is quite plain — it says in part that if and when such a step is taken it must be done so "without discrimination" to any department. In other words, all must be cut.

Yet, records at the Capitol back up what has long been known — the State Supreme Court took no cut at all, and the Department of Public Safety was cut only three per cent.

There's no confirmation to the report, but according to some the Supreme Court members flatly refused to accept Finance Director Fuller Kimbrell's order of a slash. And Kimbrell is smart enough to know that it's best not to argue with the state's highest court on an issue which at the most is of doubtful legality.

The Tip-Off

World Tues. 1-17-56 P.6

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Treading unpopular ground, and speaking out boldly, and offering a challenge as flavor, Coach George H. Hobson, head of the department of Health and Physical Education at Alabama A. and M. College, spoke at the 5th Annual All-Sports Dinner and Festival sponsored o nlast Thursday night, January 12 by the Birmingham Grid Forecasters at the 18th Street Branch YMCA.

"The number one evil (in collegiate sports)," he said, "is recruitment." He illuminated, elaborated, and enumerated "the evils" as he saw them. "Football has become big business" and as such has strayed away from the bedrock amateur principles of long acceptance. Under the classic amateur concept a player could receive no remuneration direct, indirect or implied.

Recruitment has resulted, in some instances, to highpowered subsidization. This over-subsidization, he said, takes many forms. Among them are too many visits to the home of the prospective high school athletes by sports recruiters; special considerations (televisions and automobiles for the parents of athletes who sign up) and other inducements; and, the (3) corrupting tactices of recruiting agents. He said recruiting agents try to persuade teachers to pad the records so that recruited athletes could graduate.

Mr. Hobson is one of the exponents of honest competition. Hence he wants recruiting and subsidizing to get out in the open. He wants to see sports made a part of the educational process at the colleges and in that way de-business it.

Birmingham Ala.

Sports should be incorporated into the school program for the educational benefit derived therefrom Coach Hobson traced the development of college sports from their beginning in this country to the recent meeting of the National Collegiate Athletic Association at Los Angeles, Calif., where he had been in attendance. College sports began to receive favorable public sentiment in 1850. The Civil War in 1861 interrupted the growth of intercollegiate sports. (Coaches interested in Negro History Week research might do a project in this area to see whether what can be found.)

The year the Big Ten was organized, 1895, the newspaper press broke its silence on sports, according to Coach Hobson. This weekend in Atlanta the National Newspaper Publi hers will be holding their Mid-Winter Workshop at Atlanta University and Friday night NNPA'ers will be guests of the 100 Per Cent Wrong Club's annual banquet .At neither place will the challenge offered to the press by Mr. Hobson likely be considered.

"The idea of recruitment is a dangerous policy and a dangerous practice," declared Coach Hobson. So instead of it he recommends that school sports be designed for the total development of the athlete. He thinks means other than gate receipts should be found to help finance sports.

He related the number of colleges, about 84, which have discontinued sports because of the high cost. or delated reasons. He considered this unfortunate.

Newspapers, the speaker said should get on the firing line and let the public know the kind of leaders we have (in the field of school sports). He listed some of the ugly practice growing out of over-subsidization. But the Alabama A. and M. College suggested that the press seems to be falling down on its job of exposing the evils.

The visiting coach-speaker listed two improvements being tried in recruitment. the grants-in-aid and the letter of intent. In the former, the athlete signs an agreement and in the other he writes the school of his preference. Coach Hobson raised the question of whether these forms of assistance did not, on a rigid interpretation, violate the amateur code.

He advocates sports scholarships and offers an argument in support. The athlete has skill just as the musician has talent. When scholarships are provided to musicians and withheld from athletes, this represents discrimination.

Aid to athletes is a method of letting them share in the gate. If sports are part of the education enterprise then the school sh... share in the expense of pro... it.

Mr. Hobson is not a part of either the Hutchins concept (Chicago University) concept or the Johnson (Howard University) philosophy. He believes in sports and does so strong enough to advocate that the school promote sports like it does intercollege debating.

Fresh from the NCAA convention, Mr. Hobson was able to intersperse his speech with prestige reference and intimate comment from some of the grand old men of sports. He made an excellent speech and dared to wade out into cold water of where the fearful fears to swim. The banqueters liked it but it remains to be seen how the sportswriters will react to the challenge.

The Tip-Off

World 31a

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Tues. 1-31-56

"America is in a state of revolution against the status quo," writes Harry A. Bullis, chairman of the board of General Mills. P.6

He reflects: ". . . Let's pause to take a close look at the individual members of the university population. In the first place, their alma maters have offered them thorough and sound education. How much of it they will retain only time will tell. **Let me be very practical and urge them to maintain their education by continuing to study, by reading more and by constantly digging to uncover new facts and by ceaselessly striving to understand people and their prejudices.** This is the era where success and responsibility are the reward of incessant study and the courage to question."

Birmingham

This week Alabama's only state-supported university has a marvelous opportunity to gracefully become a part of the healthy change which is sweeping over our glorious land.

Ala.

Mr. Bullis points out: "If our great universities are to live up to their tradition, then out of the classroom must come leaders—men and women of vision and judgment, fearless thinkers never content to rest upon unrefreshed laurels. They must make use of their sharpened talents and go forward with intelligent action. No one doubts that theirs is to be the era of the highly educated man."

Great universities are the centers of scholars. They are not the camping grounds of shrivelled minds and withered hearts who view life sourly and tightly. Scholars search for truth and not for the support of bigotry. A bigot would be worthless exchange for a scholar, even in jail.

President Eisenhower once said: "That any man who seeks to deny equality among his brothers betrays the spirit of the free and invites the mockery of the tyrant."

When the two young ladies seek enrollment at the University of Alabama this week they will not be asking that this institution of freedom open its door merely to a new group, but that the university open its eyes to its possibilities as an instrument of liberty.

Let's leave that.

The other day in Atlanta, Ga., there were a series of things which happened which I wanted to kid the Atlanta Daily World about: (1) Managing Editor William Gordon reported the speech by Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, made at the Hungry Club Dr. Mays discussed the Ford Foundation grants in aid. A question period followed at which he explained the so-called "bonus grant" given to about 126 college. Had Mr. Gordon cared for the story he could have found out that there were about five Negro colleges (two in Atlanta) included in the achievement consideration.

(2) George Coleman who handled the publicity on the 100 Per Cent Wrong Club's banquet could have checked with Atlanta University to see whether Branch Rickey who made the feature banquet speech has been invited to make the commencement speech at A. U. Some other colleges would like to land Mr. Rickey for commencement oratory after they heard his sermon against bigotry.

Assistant Sports Editor Joel Smith did not get an opportunity to attend the All-Sports Jamboree and therefore he could not move around where the tongues had been relaxed by a big dinner. Had he been the scene likely he would have picked up the information that B. T. Harvey, selected as one of the "Big Four Coaches" of the half-century plans to renew his campaign to revive a post-season football game in Birmingham. Mr. Harvey is tussling with some new ideas.

The Tip-Of

Daily World

BY EMORY O. JACKSON Atla

UNIVERSITY, Ala. — (SNS) — The two young women seeking through legal action to become students at the University of Alabama were due here January 26 to check on completing their registration. Actually, the two-day mid-term registration is set for Feb. 1-2.

31a

This perhaps was a reconnoiter trip planned by their legal counsel to explore and test the state's university's intent on the matter of admitting them to pursue courses of study in accordance with a ruling of the federal courts. Legal action, it seems to me, should have never become necessary to get an American university to do its full duty as an institution of freedom.

All of this began to dawn upon me as the words spoken by Branch Rickey, the statesman of sports, at the 100 Per Cent Wrong Club banquet in Atlanta, Ga. surged back to my mind. Mr. Rickey through an astounding grasp of human history marshalled facts, events, law, ethics, religion and common sense to show that selection made purely upon the basis of skin is without standing in life's grinding process of quality and excellence.

Atl. 1-28-56

Before packing off to this university village I thumbed through three magazines on my desk. One was "The Bulletin," organ of The Birmingham Negro Teachers Association. It contained an article, among other things, by Mrs. Bessie Sears Estell on her tour of certain countries of Europe, Asia and Africa. Those who travel know that racial discrimination, except under colonialism, or

The Tip-Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

World P. 8

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"Look Toward the Future" is the mimeographed, magazine-style annual report of the 36-year-old Tuskegee Civic Association. It is in a sense the story of what the Tuskegee or Macon County community is trying to do to help improve the life of the people.

One paragraph from the statement of the president, C. G. Gomillion, which serves as the foreword, says: **"Cooperation with the NAACP on the local, State, and National levels has been very close. Locally, our officers and members have helped stimulate and facilitate voter-registration. Cooperating with the NAACP on the State level, our Association has raised $300.00 as a token of our appreciation of the financial sacrifices made by Miss Autherine J. Lucy and Mrs. Polly Ann (Myers) Hudson, who have been trying for three years to enter the University of Alabama. Our objective is to be able to present to these two women at the beginning of the second semester of this school year the sum of $350.00, which might ease their financial burde nas they represent us in the University. On the National level, we have paid the second installment on our NAACP life membership."**

The Gomillion statement as relates to the two young women seems to sum up the admirable spirit and aching longing for wider educational opportunities by this neglected and dispossessed group. Taught to want the best, one can understand why any upward-minded youth would yearn to enroll in the University of Alabama. It's Alabama's only state-financed university. It is richly enmeshed into the proud state history.

"The Negro History Bulletin" for January, 1956 on William Hooper Councill, founder of Alabama A. & M. College, written by Earl E. Thorpe, of Southern University, Baton Rouge, La. This article provides one with a glimpse of Alabama's history which one could never read in textbook history. To read the story of how one born in slavery and self-taught was able to hold his own and build in a hostile society does not speak well for those who insist on racial notions for justification of trying to shackle others.

What is news today could be history tomorrow. So I can here try to record any news made and to be a witness to any history in the making.

Two weeks from now schools, churches and other organizations will be celebrating Negro History Week. The second semester of the University of Alabama will be less than two weeks old at that time. History should begin to take on a wider meaning and the new historians should be able to remove a handicap which has distorted, blurred and warped textbook history in many instances. This is especially true of some of the textbooks used in Southern public schools.

One day all of the tax-paying citizens of Alabama will be able to call stately and honored University of Alabama "Our University" and mean it. The tide is turning.

Alabama people have the maturity and the spirit to measure up to the new responsibility. At least, I believe that to be the case.

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The Tip-Off

World P. 6

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) — "Montgomery, 'Cradle of the Confederacy,' is a tense symbol of Dixie Divided," wrote Carl T. Rowan and Richard Kleeman in the Minneapolis Sunday Tribune, January 22 in the first unit of a three-article feature story on the Montgomery bus protest.

Tues. 2-14-56

More evidence of this division — between change and conformity — came the past weekend. On Friday night, Feb. 10, what could be called "The League of Intolerance" held a rally at the Montgomery Cow Coliseum Saturday morning, what could be termed the Council for Goodwill, met on the campus of Alabama State College.

An estimated 15,000 attended the rally of the White Citizens Councils at the Coliseum. Only about 300 were in attendance the annual meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

The WCC meeting was all white. The ACHR was interracial. The WCC meeting barred Negro reporters. The ACHR opened its meeting without barring any reporters.

Both meetings took place in Montgomery less than 12 hours apart.

Dr. Walter D. Agnew, retired former president of Huntington College, was the climax speaker for the ACHR and Senator James Eastland of Mississippi was the clean up orator for the WCC.

Now let's leave the contrast and begin the concentration. Dr. Agnew was a dramatic, friendly, and captivating figure as he came forth to place himself on the side of sense, science and soundness. He riddled the false and exploitory doctrine of "white supremacy."

The venerable scholar, Dr. Agnew, asserted that the two pillars or misconceptions upon which the erroneous doctrine of "white supremacy" rested were the belief in racial superiority and racial inferiority. Both of these false ideas have to be uprooted to pay the way of one's worth to be disassociated with race, he said. He pointed out that the Bible was on record against the doctrine of false supremacy. "Science has caught up with the Bible," he said by its findings. He listed the blood bank as one exhibit of this. He rattled up a long list of social sciences which back up the teachings of the Bible. He counselled members of the Negro group to throw off any feeling or belief in racial inferiority.

Mrs. Earl Andrews, another afternoon speaker presented, announced the "Fellowship of the Concerned" had set a meeting for March 7 in Montgomery. This will be an intergroup, inter-faith and inter-racial gathering. This is an all-women's group which uses new techniques in the field of social goodwill.

At the morning session there were brief speeches by Mrs. Fred Couey, of Montgomery; Dr. L. H. Foster (president of Tuskegee Institute), and Rabbi Charles Martinband, Hattiesburg, Miss. After their formal presentation, there was a question period.

"Race relations begin where you live," one speaker said.

Most of the questions were directed to Dr. Foster who discussed "The Role of Leadership." One questioner wanted to know the role of leadership at the University of Alabama during the days of mob excitement. Dr. Foster did not care to comment on that situation, as such. But he ventured into the area of crisis leadership, or how good leadership might operate before a crisis develops.

Rabbi Mantinband wrestled with a thorny question on whether the NAACP should be condemned. He related some of the contributions made by the NAACP and also explained the program of the Southern Regional Council.

The Tip Off

World B'ham Ala.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Wed. 10-17-56

Let's look over the campaign situation for the first time in the past 24 years the Negro vote is likely to be so widely divided as to become ineffective this means that the balance-of-power strategy is likely to evaporate in those pivotal states and so-called queen cities.

P. 6

Negro leaders nationally have failed to come up with an over-all program. There has been a steady and unrelenting effort to reduce curtail and minimize the effectiveness of the Negro vote nationally.

This was tried through proposals to tamper with the electoral college. The Dixiecrats have tried by maneuvers aimed at tossing the presidential vote into the House of Representatives. The political parties have sought to chop up the Negro vote so that its chunk value would be no more.

Both parties adopted watered down planks on civil rights. Each major party is blaming the other of failures to enact a legislative program in the field of civil rights. this mutual negativism is masqueraded as obstructed militancy. The truth is there is enough strength in both parties that could be combined for victory if the civil rights advocates really meant business.

Building the two-party system in the south really means restoring the Republican party as an actual political competitor. Yet the source material for building a party lies in the large number of potential voters who are either prevented from voter-registration of left without any real inspiration for voting. Hence party-building means working for voters and presenting a program for dissatisfied voters.

To Win voters for a political party seeking new supporters one must run candidates for political office. It is not enough to wait for the presidential election every four years and beat the bushes for voters. The Birmingham Post-Herald on Oct. 8 in the "Washington Pipelines" reported: "Old Guard (in Alabama) who control party have done nothing to follow up their 1952 gains. Party's going nowhere this year."

Soon after the bar-be-cue-eating session held by the GOP on President's Gettysburg, Pa. farm a release came to the desk from Richard L. Tobin, director of public relations for "Ctizens for Eisenhower-Nixon" which said in part: "Top Negro leaders were told here Wed. that Republicans in the South 'stand 100 percent' behind the forthright civil rights planks of the Republican Party's platform adopted at its recent San Francisco convention."

Everybody by now should know the truth - that is that neither the GOP nor the Democratic Party adopted strong civil rights planks. Secondly, the Alabama delegation came back boasting of the part the state Republican leaders played in helping to weaken GOP plank on civil rights. Likewise did the Alabama Democratic leadership boast. Alabama Republican leaders certainly have not made civil rights a campaign argument.

Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League has pointed out: "Thus far no solid assurance has come from either Democratic or Republican sources that the next adminstration will offer planned leadership and constructive advances in handling the school (desegregation) situation. And yet everybody knows that if it is not handled with courage and dispatch before many months have passed by, matters can slip back to the point where they cannot be handled for years to come."

The point I am trying to emphasize is that two-party dual negativism on civil rights is no substitute for a positive program. How will the GOP seek to stop a filibuster on civil rights? How will it overcome the power and influence of the "manifesto" Democrats and its few GOP law makers from the South?

Alabama needs leaders, political and otherwise, who can articulate a healthy philosophy while actuating a hopeful program.

The humble man is in a new mood for a new break.

Some parts of the program outlined by the leadership of the Alabama Republican Party at the recent all-white Montgomery GOP workshop does not seem to fit in with the so-called "new look" or dynamic Republicanism. Alabama is still the only state which there is a total absence of Negro participation in the official party activities.

At the Montgomery GOP workshop, Mr. Claude O. Vardaman, of Birmingham, chairman of the Alabama Republican Executive Committee said "The people in Ala. interested in preserving segregation have but one logical choice and that is to vote for Mr. Eisenhower."

Adds Mr. Vardaman: "Some people have tried to say that the platforms of the two parties are the same on this subject (of civil rights) but let me tell you that this is not so. The Democratic platform contains a clause urging that the right to filibuster in the U. S. Senate be abolished, and let me tell you if that happens, then all sorts of civil rights legislation will be enacted into law."

The Tip Off

31a

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

NORMAL, Ala.—(SNS)— Almost anyone who visits Alabama A. and M. College quickly recognizes and feels the friendly spirit of this hillside campus.

Daily World

This college is part of the history of this state. Much of the story of the Negro group in Alabama could be developed around its founder.

Thur. 10-25-56

One could find inspiration for serious research by studying the not - yet - completely written biography of W. H. Council, a contemporary of Booker T. Washington. Council worked politically in the Democratic Party while Washington was a power in the Republican party.

P. 6

When I visit the Normalite campus the intoxicating friendly spirit, the picturesque setting, the scenic loveliness, the fascinating history tend to grip me. Physical improvements are everywhere on the campus. The campus has a newness and the atmosphere a fragrance which stays with you long after you leave.

Posted on one of the bulletin boards here Saturday was a notice inviting voting students to a meeting of workers in a political party. This is a healthy sign of a developing interest in politics by young people.

Talking with some of the faculty members they relay the impression that Alabama A. and M. College is attracting a better quality of students. Looking in on the after-football-game dance, there seemed to be noticeable improvement. It is at the dance, in the dining room, in the stands at athletics contests that one usually forms some kind of judgment of a student body, although these may not be valid indices.

In mentioning improvement at the dance, nothing should be taken to suggest that the conduct was below standard in other years. Rather the students seem to realize that as a striving segment they must try to be at their best at all times, reflecting social excellence and acting the part of first-class citizens.

It seems that faculty members expect drop-by guests after football games. Hence a grid official newspaper reporter, or friend finds himself turning up at some faculty home when he lingers after the football game. Usually at the after-game affairs you have an opportunity to discuss current events, to pitch around ideas, and to get a briefing on things of helpful interest.

So I piled into a home where there was a pot of icebox stew. Some others went where the host was serving chitterlings and slaw. These campus people are not unlike the community people.

When you eat in the college dining room and ice cream is on the menu, you are likely to comment about it, although you know from the social graces that might be a slight violation of good manners. The college makes the ice cream it serves its students and it is better than any you can buy.

With the campus football games behind, the school folk are looking forward to November 10 when the A. and M. Bulldogs clash with the Alabama State Hornets at Legion Field in Birmingham. This game, perhaps, whips up more interest than the homecoming skirmish.

A large percentage of Birmingham students are enrolled here. I asked one at the dance in what fields or activities were the hometowners outstanding. This student thought they rated slightly ahead of those from other sections of the state in scholarship, outclassed them in dancing, and wore more expensive sun glasses. We have more dancing facilities in Birmingham than the kids in other sections and naturally should excel," I was told.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World P. 1
Atlanta, Ga. 31a

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Fri. 10-12-56

HUNTSVILLE, Ala. — (SNS)— From the TVA district came the only Negro leaders ever to serve from Alabama in the United States Congress.

The three included Benjamin S. Turner (42nd Congress), James T. Rapier (43rd Congress) and Jere Haralson (44th Congress). A total of 20 Negro leaders from various sections of the nation, mainly the South have served in Congress.

It was from what is now the Eighth Congressional District that three Negro Congressmen were elected. It was from Madison County that came one of the three last Negro delegates elected to the Alabama Republican Convention. Since 1922 no Negro has served in an Alabama State Republican Convention.

Atlanta, Ga.

One other Negro delegate came from Montgomery and the third from Mobile.

One of the four persons to offer for public office in Alabama during 1956 lives here in Huntsville. L. C. Jamar, educator - journalist, made his second unsuccessful bid for the Huntsville City Council. He did not fare as well in 1956 as he did in 1952.

He made charges that during the campaign threats were made to scare him out of the race. He stuck it out. Four years ago he received no threats and actually polled a surprising number of voters from all segments of the population.

In Prichard, Ala., the Rev. Joshua A. Barney, clergyman-carpenter, made a bid for the Prichard City Council. Bullets were fired into the door of his home when he refused, after several threats, to pull out of the race. He also claims that a voice warned him over the telephone not to appear at the voting booth unless he was ready to die. Still he voted. He did not receive the backing at the poll that some expected.

Atty. Demetrius C. Newton and Prof. Varnard F. Thomas made a try for the Fairfield City Council, a city in Jefferson County. They made it to the run-off where they lost after an anti-Negro letter was circulated against them.

Both Pritchard and Fairfield have more Negro persons than white ones. But the number of white voters is larger than the number of Negro voters. If you think that the cry of bloc voting is made out of a passion for clean government and purity in politics, let a Negro candidate run and check the voting results. In the Fairfield city election none of the other candidates, in my opinion, presented better qualifications for the offices sought than Mr. Newton and Mr. Thomas. Both conducted a high-class campaign and presented a sound program of action.

In 1922 in Alabama, the Negro group was just about finished off in politics. The group's decline came fast upon the adoption of the 1901 Alabama constitution. Both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party began to whiten the electorate and to blacken the disfranchisement. The Democratic primary became white only and the Republican convention became lily-white. So far as I know, the Alabama Republican Party has not in fact even today removed the barrier against Negro participation in various party units.

The Democratic primary is open and four Negro candidates ran in 1956 in such primaries in three different Alabama cities. Two Negro political leaders—Alex Herman and Clarence H. Montgomery—serve on the Mobile County Democratic Executive Committee.

Negro leaders in trying to advance the group forward have worked in both major parties in Alabama since the War for Freedom. They were found in the Populist Party and with the various progressive splinter parties.

The new scholars in the South are continuously unearthing lost history. These new scholars have helped to create and motivate a new ardor for first-class citizenship. Useful scholarship serves as a vehicle of social action as well as a display of mental excellence. It is from these new scholars that one can find information which will help to light the pathway he must travel.

Now a general election approaches. In that election I intend to vote as I see fit. No man is able to either dictate or deliver my vote which belongs to me. I have neither personally nor professionally endorsed either the Democratic Party or Republican Party. I have made it clear that as an individual I intend to pursue a course of political action which suits me. Let no man try to impose his political views on me, an individual and an American citizen. This is my declaration of political independence and upon it I take my stand and stake my future.

As to the two major parties, I could not use their civil rights records or their declared goals in this field as a basis of choice. Civil rights are related to every issue in the campaign. It is not a separated, isolated and tangent issue. Until the presidential candidates rework and integrate the civil rights issues into the fabric of their total program I would have to select other factors as basis for determination.

Two-party politics is desirable. But voter-registration is the soul of politics. Tell me what the two major parties are doing in Alabama to expand political suffrage? Look at Wilcox and Lowndes counties where there are no Negro voters. Those who care to may work on the two-party system but as for me I am going to confine what I do to voter-registration.

The Tip Off

Daily World Fri. 10-19-56

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta, Ga

Alabama is one of the 14 "third party" states. The movement was launched b ythe "Alabama State's Rights Independent Electors", with a giant advertising campaign.

Over a period of 146 years, beginning in 1805 third-party movements have participated in 30 successive presidential candidates. None has been successful in electing a candidate.

Minor political parties have served as a testing place for unpopular issues The two major parties usually adapt such issues when they show merit.

However the present third-party movement seems to scoop up many of the voter-rejected issues and cling to political philosophy no longer suitable for the changes that have swept over America.

The Alabama wing of the third-party drive is featuring as its theme "Segregation and States' Rights". Segregation is no longer legally valid and is without moral standing. States' rights based upon the "Southern Manifesto" and the interposition theory are incompatible with the historical concept of constitutional government. States' rights based upon the never-accepted notion of co-rights is a dead doctrine. It was legally stillborn.

Eight years ago the Dixiecrat wing of the Alabama Democratic Party used the party machinery in its revolt against the party's presidential nominee. Many of the Alabama Dixiecrats supported the Republican presidential ticket in 1952. Currently dissatisfied with both major parties, the amalgam of states' righters, WCC-ers and right-wingers have federated behind slates of independent electors.

Warnings have been sounded in this state that the third-party leaders are hardly making their most effective contribution by splitting the ultra-conservative vote. These third party critics argue that the dissenters could contribute more by lining up with the Republican Party.

Eventually, it seems to me, the third-party leaders and the GOP old guard in Alabama will converge to form a real challenge party in this state. Out of this political wedding would come a two-party system. Dissidents groups who make common bond with a lethargic group with machinery build new political parties. In New York some of the independent political parties have vanished as their followers drifted into the stronger parties.

The third-party lists in its membership some of those well-heeled, well-oiled and with prestige names. But much of the third-party program is negative, restrictive, narrow and backward. As an example the Alabama third-party group try "to block efforts of both the Republican and Democratic parties to force on us their vicious all-out Civil Rights programs. . . "Yet civil rights are implemented constitutional rights. They are neither group nor racial rights but personal and individual rights which belong to all alike.

But the third-party sponsors dare not openly state that they oppose the personal rights of citizens. So they try to spray taint and fear on the phrase "civil rights" to frighten American citizens away from backing their own rights. States' rights should mean the enforcement of civil rights in terms of every resident citizen, it seems to me.

Some unexpected and unplanned good might come out of this movement. It could serve to arouse and awaken the non-voters and the apathetic voters. These third-parties could become so extreme that they will disgust the electorate and embarrass their admirers. Negative appeals based upon prejudice, blindness and primitivism will expose the Dixiecrats as being less than the champions of "the Southern way of life."

Finally some of the influential leaders who never before have been known for what they really are will be revealed.

Hate is certainly not helpful.

This new right-wing third party movement has attracted a crude mixture of vari-purpose negative leaders ranging from bigots to hardshelled constitutionalists. They stand upon one common platform—they are against progress and at war with change. Especially are some of them embittered and frustrated over progress in human relations.

THE TIP OFF

World P. 6

By EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham Ala.

Wed. 12-12-56

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) —Change is in the making.

One sense it everywhere he moves in this once docile, static, aimless city.

The year-long bus-riding protest by a segment of the population merely dramatizes the change in feeling in leadrship, and in size-up. The week-long Institute on Non-Violence and Social Change was merely a means of advertising, textualizing and emphasizing this change in thinking.

Something is being worked for rather than just asked for. The protesting segment is working for the right to occupy any vacant seat while riding the bus.

Emory O. Jackson

This is certainly a different objective than seeking to sit next to anyone. Unfriendly expositors try to make it a campaign to sit next to some one.

The walking segment has been working for the right to remain in a seat once it has been occupied. No campaign is being waged to keep or have anyone sit next to anybody else. But the resisters try to pin such a motive on those who do not want to be forced out of a seat to make room for a late-comer because of frivilous discrimination.

As paying guests the pigmented segment wants courteous, civic, safe and polite treatment. They would like to seek members of their ethnic group employed as bus operators.

The change is that this segment is working for change. There is also change in the methods of resistance. Leaders are jailed and fined. Workers are bumped from their jobs. City officials join the White Citizens Council. Ku Klux Klans walk the streets in robes.

About the change in feeling. Gone is the paternalistic attitude. Vanished is the false friendship. A mutual new look is being taken. Out of this has come thinking and soul searching. Some are mixed up, others confused, and a few have made up their minds. There is a type of clandestine communication between the timid on both sides of the fence. Still there are bold, open, pure lines of exchange among those who believe in free enterprise in human relations. In the latter group lies the spiritual vehicles of change.

Montgomery's new leadership is symbolized by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Montgomery Improvement Association and pastor of historic Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. He is the gem of spiritual leadership. For the moment, the traditional leadership is enunciated collectively by the White Citizens Council. The traditionists have yet to produce a calm, clear, cleansed voice.

Dr. King is the leader of the moral forces on both sides in Montgomery. Perhaps this is the first time any minority has risen to such a lofty, unique, purifying role. For in the absence of potent moral leadership among the traditionalists, he, by default of the latter, was catapulted to such a peak.

Miss Lillian Smith, the Georgia novelist, in her speech prepared for the seminar has described without specially saying so, why Dr. King has ascended to the unsought role of moral leader of Montgomery. The middle-of-the-road, moderation, or traditionalists leaders abdicated in the face of crisis, or change. She puts it this way:

"Most are doing nothing. That does not mean they are not worried. It means they are suffering from temporary moral and psychic paralysis. They are working harder to be moderates and neutrals than they are working to meet the crisis. They are driving straight down the middle of the road with their eyes shut and you know what happens in traffic when you do that. But they are trying to believe there is no traffic. They are telling themselves nobody is on the road but themselves. They are, you see, trying very hard not to be extremists, they are trying to be neither good nor evil."

She believes there are two kinds of "extremists"....the "extreme of love" (as represented by Dr. King) and the "extreme of hate" as represented by the WCC. But she reminds us that these "two extremes ...cannot be put in the same moral category."

Should one care to re-read the Sept. 18, 1895 controversial speech of Booker T. Washington made at the Atlanta Exposition, he would find this idea of "this way...of good will and intelligence and truth, and love" advocated by Dr. King and ignored by the South. For the immortal educator urged both segments to cast down your bucket "in making friends in every manly way of all of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded."

Bear in mind that Booker T. Washington advocated making friends "in every manly way" and certainly "manly" friendship could never be made on a basis less than dignity, love and good-will.

THE TIP OFF

World P. 6

Wed. 12-19-56

By EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) — The Institute on Non-Violence and Social Change threw into the spotlight the quality of leadership working on many fronts to bring working on many fronts to bring the American practice in line with the American principle.

.. Scholars no longer confine their work to either the campus, the classroom, or the community. His workshop has become as wide as the world.

I thought about this as a group of us bunched up at the home of Dr. Mose Jones for sandwiches and talk. Ted Poston, feature-writing reporter for the New York Post was there. He was trying to windup his work that he could plane over to Clinton Tenn. He has covered race-friction stories in many of the tension spots of this country.

Poston is a trained journalist who could hold down a desk at a university.

Carl T. Rowan, the book-writing correspondent for the Minneapolis Tribune and current United Nations reporter for his newspaper was one of the seminar speakers. He holds two scholastic degrees and has served as a traveling lecturer in Asia and Africa under government sponsorship.

Journalist Rowan is scheduled to deliver the feature address at the Periclean Club's Negro History Week forum in Birmingham in 19951 when he toured ham about Feb 15. He came to Birmingham in 1951 when he toured Dixie and ater extended his features into the book, 'South of Freedom". This book should be required reading for those who desire to get a behind-the scenes or candid view of the dual-role leadership in the South.

Whether it was in business or research the trained leadership was on display. T. M. Alexander of Atlanta, Ga. delivered the banquet speech at which the drivers in the court-halted car pool were honored. He represents the scholar in business. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the Ph. D. president of the Montgomery Improvement Association and pastor of elegant Dexter Avenue Baptist Church is a scholar in the pulpit.

But from the followish has come newness, vitality creative humor and that blending human touch. Some of them are unschooled but not untrained Or they are what Sterling Brown, the poet teacher at Howard University, Washington, O. C. called illiterate but not unlearned". Surely they have furnished the inspiration which is a kind of electricity for the man spirit. Some where Ralph Waldo Emerson describes it as "authenic inspiration."

join hands change begnis to break

When scholarship and followship join hands change begins to break through. Custom must melt before change and the KKK and WCC in the process only as friction does to a machine. Negative forces in the long run fall beneath the positive.

To me attending the institute was more a relaxing than a relearning experience. Yet I was able to store away valuable background material still too sensitive to share. It afforded me the opportunity to revive conversation with Carl Rowan and Ted Poston.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Sun. 12-16-56

Atlanta, Ga. P. 4

MONTGOMERY, Ala. —(SNS)— This was not a celebration, one spokesman for the Institute on Non-Violence and Social Change said.

Describe it, then, as a re-dedication to democracy and Christian ethics.

Yet the sociologist-clergyman the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy director of the institute and vice-president of the sponsoring Montgomery Improvement Association said "it was a movement to prepare people for the crucial days present and ahead."

Resisters to change are angrily trying to protect outmoded Jim Crow patterns, practices and systems. Jim Crow is on the extreme of justice, you see.

Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York speaking Dec. 7 to a Washington Hebrew Congregation put it neatly when he observed "Those who constitute themselves the defenders of segregation — the ones who advocate white supremacy—have mobilized not only to throw back any advance, but to wipe out the painfully made progress of the past 25 years."

Emory Jackson

So the seminars were schools for change which is now in the making, that is visible, within reaching, and desirables. It was a school without textbooks but not without text. Civil rights have reached the crisis stage in America. Hence, the institute was for stimulation, inspiration, and motivation toward the furtherance of goodwill, friendship and creative change among neighbors, human beings, and Americans.

Resistance to change has taken the form of tighter racial restrictions on the ballot. Free man can best protest his freedom with

The Tip Off

World Sat. 12-15-56 P.8

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

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Resistance to change has taken the form of tighter racial restrictions on the ballot. Free man can best protest his freedom with the ballot. Senator Lehman says, "The Negro must be assured of the right to vote in the South, so that democracy can work." For unreasonable and unjust disfranchisement endangers democracy and weakens the electorate.

Likewise the same two points were made by Dr. Martin Luther King, MIA president, in his anniversary message at the opening of the seminar. He asserted: "Now it is true, if I may speak figuratively, that old man segregation is on his death-bed. But history has proven that social systems have a great last-minute breathing power, and the guardians of the status-quo are always on hand with their oxygen tents to keep the old order alive. Segregation is still a fact in America. We still confront it in the South in its glaring and conspicuous forms. But if democracy is to live, segregation must die. Segregation is a glaring evil. It is utterly un-Christian. It relegates the segregated to the status of a thing rather than elevate him to the status of a person. Segregation is nothing but slavery covered up with certain nicities of complexity. Segregation is a blatant denial of the unity which we all have in Christ Jesus."

He went on to say, in part: "In communities where we confront difficulties in gaining the ballot, we must use all legal and moral means to remove these difficulties." He suggested further that the would-be voter "should go to the Courthouse with pencil and stay there until you get registered."

Dr. King could by re-reading Henry D. Thoreau's "Walden" find additional spiritual support for his plea to obtain and use wisely the ballot as a tool of change and reform. An anti-slavery advocate, Thoreau argued that "only his (the citizen's) vote can hasten the abolition of salvery who asserts his own freedom by his vote." Thoreau added: 'Even voting for the right is doing nothing for it." Hence he seems to have felt that ballot action plus moral force action had to be combined in the campaign against undemocratic limitations on freedom.

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THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

World Sat. 12-29-56 P.8

B'ham Ala.

Some one asked Bola Adewumni, the Nigerian journalist, why he came to Birmingham.

A small group of us was stirring around at the time in the master suite of Gaston Motel where the African reporter was being entertained.

He was visiting under the auspices of the State Department of the United States of America. He was in America to observe democracy working, citizen relations, and the American capitalistic system. But no Southern city or state was included on the itinerary.

Journalist Adewumni wore the honorary membership emblem of the JAYCEES on the lapel of his coat. If he lived in Birmingham or any other Alabama city he could hardly hold membership in that organization. . . . .

Mr. Adewumni said that he had heard about the "Lucy Case," the "Montgomery Protest" and the attack on Nat King Cole and for those reasons wanted to visit Alabama, especially the hometown of Mrs. Autherine Lucy Foster because her experiences at the University of Alabama had been headline news in his native country.

Yet he was uncertain about what he would run into in Birmingham and therefore scheduled the trip on his own. He said that he did not know that the State Department was aware of his making the trip since he came to the United States under the condition that he would be free to travel as he saw fit. . . . .

The visiting Nigerian reporter said he had chatted with Nat King Cole about the attack incident in Birmingham. But he was careful not to reveal anything that went on in that conversation.

However he revealed that he was a bit concerned about making the plane trip to Birmingham and so planned it that he would arrive about night, look around the airport, and get out early the next morning. He said that he had been given the opinion that members of the Negro group were so limited in freedom, and conditions in the South so hostile toward the Negro citizens that they would be afraid to walk the streets. Here again he did not tell the source of his advanced impressions, which he discovered to be wholly false.

To his surprise, he said, he was met at the Birmingham Airport by a delegation which included A. G. Gaston, the Rev J. R. Darnell, pastor of St. Paul Lutheran Church; William A Stewart of the National Conference of Christian and Jews; and John J. Drew. Apparently information of his trip to Birmingham had been sent in advance with instructions to show him the city's bright side.

Birmingham was not included on Mr. Adewumni's schedule, yet some one went to great strides to see that he was shown Birmingham at its best. Mr. Adewumni asked many questions about racial segregation, about the church and Jim Crow, and the status and showing of the Negro group in the South. Time and again he would say, when one tried to explain the irrational, the illogical, the foolish and evil system of racial segregation, "I do not understand this in a democracy and a Christian country.'

He whispered to me, "is it true that certain hgh-placed Negroes in the South actually want the segregation system because they can fatten on it?' He said he had been given this view. I told him he could find the answers in Carl T. Rowan's book. "South of Freedom."

I added: "The enemies of the Negro group have circulated this view to divide and deny the group on the one hand, and to try to convey the impression that the Negro leader benefits from it. No Negro with much understanding wants segregation for himself just like no white man wants the slums for himself.'

His face flushed with pride when I mentioned Rowan whom Journalist Adewumni said he met while the prize-winning, lecture-touring, book-writing American reporter came to Legas, Nigeria, Africa during a foreign tour. "He is a great man,' the African journalist commented about Reporter Rowan.

Mr. Adewumni, a member of the Episcopalian faith, comes of missionary parents. He inquired strenously of the church racial practices because he had been converted to the Christian faith and was interested in missionary work.

Some one suggested that Mr. Adewumni visit the Holy Family Hospital in Ensley. There he saw the all-Negro facility, a church-supported institution, in America which boasts of being the leading democracy in the world but where white patients were excluded. That Sunday he visited the St. Paul Lutheran Church. Here he asked more questions which he used deftly to put church practices before the test light of Christian doctrines and ethics.

At St. Paul he made a brief talk to the assembled Sunday School group in which he stressed brotherhood. "We believe in live and help live,' he said. He had told a small group of us earlier that he came to America because he thought Nigerians could learn something from Americans and Americans could learn something from Nigerians.

He is working out of the newspaper office of The Courier-Post Camden, N. J. while in America. He said he planned to do a feature article on his trip to our city.

The Tip-Off

World Fri. 3-9-56 P. 8

B'ham, Ala.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

WCC political designs grow clearer as their noisy strength increases.

Black belt politicans who have been losing ground because of population and political changes are obviously seeking to stage a grand come back on rumor, race and raucous.

The first White Citizens Council organized in Dallas County where members of the Negro group are politically and socially helpless, as is the case almost everywhere else in Alabama.

Not longer afterwards the councils began an amalgamation in Montgomery. Several combined into an over-all set up. Racial tirades became the trademark. Almost forgotten political leaders began to drag back from.. retirement. They saw their chance thee motion, intolerance and ignorance.

Many have fled the Black Belt. That has reduced the population. This has meant a decrease in public revenue for the entrenched politicians who could count, let's say, school dollars by the number of heads. Both white and Negro farm hands deserted to the city, the East and other places. Nearly all white persons of voting age were already on the voting lists.

Hence the Black Belt is trapped in its own narrowness. Any Black Belt politician seeking statewide office starts out with a formidable handicap. Their chances under the changed circumstances almost eliminates them automatically in a bid for state office. Yet they want political power and are without the population to bid for it.

The WCC knows what it is trying to do-slip the Black Belt back into power unnoticed and under the blinding power of racial hate. In 1900 a program like this worked and set up the present system by which the non-Black Belt counties for most part are under-represented in the state Legislature. Again in the 1920's it proved useful. The same was true in 1948 when the Dixicrats rode a wave of bigotry to power.

In the middle twenties the KKK began to grab away at power. Jews Catholics, Negroes and Wall Street were made the whipping boys. This time the Supreme Court has been added; the NAACP is targeted, and the Communist are listed. The Negro group, and a religious group, are also targets of the revived attack.

It is an old axiom of Alabama politics that team work in the past by Jefferson County and the Black Belt assured certain political victory. Organized labor since 1935 has played a role in reducing the effectiveness of the Birmingham-Black Belt coalition. The race issue skilfully used can divide the trade union. If that strength is split and the old combination holds, the Black Belt is back in the saddle.

What more you ask? The WCC with the scare-and-skin technique can present itself as the rescuers of customs and the hamstringers of the constitution. When racism plays out or runs into jams the WCC will have to look around for new targets. A divided, disturbed, and weakened trade union movement in this instance would be the most likely target. Some of the minorities omitted in the beginning could be seized as scapegoats in the second round up. It happened that way under KKK rule.

Feuding is already evident between two different WCC factions. At bottom of it all seems to be an anxious, nervous, panting rivalry for political power. The WCC has now mushroomed inta a motley political action crusade with hateful fervor, evil dynamism and frightful goals. Fear seems to be spreading as the WCC spreads.

One other thing. The WCC program seems to play into the hands of those who have been critical of industry migrating to Alabama and other Southern states. For if a group sets itself above the Supreme Court would not it be tempted to place itself over.. industry?.. Investment leaders seeing such an arrogant power-minded group would likely be hesitant to consider locating in Alabama.

Rule by rumor is foolish rule, it seems to me.

The Tip-Off

World P. 8

Fri. 3-30-56

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

DETROIT, Mich. — (SNS) — Almost before greeting me at the Willow Run airport, Reuben Napper and my brother, Lovell, both formerly of Birmingham, began reviewing for me an article about Birmingham which had appeared in the March 21 issue of the Detroit Times.

B'ham, Ala.

Jim Bishop, feature writer for the Hearst newspaper empire, had done a quickie series on cities of the South. He let the Southerners talk their way, and in the Birmingham piece raised a few questions of his own.

Napper had lived in Birmingham long enough to know the city thoroughly. Lovell was Birmingham-born and has not been here long enough to wear the magic smoke off his skin.

"Did you see the article on Birmingham"? I was asked in the lobby of Gotham Hotel. Reporters from all the Detroit dailies and the Negro press were at the press dinner and besieged me.

Reporter Bishop was guided thru Birmingham, his article says, by a "thin man" who is a topflight reporter on the afternoon daily of that city and a "policeman ...... who works the Negro district." They rode Bishop, showed him, explained things to the visiting journalist, who jotted down.

Bishop said he rode "through Titusville and on up to the steep little hill where the rich Negroes live in their modern ranch homes with the matching Cadillacs in the driveway and are waited on by Negro servants from down in Tuxedo Junction."

He writes: "Children play in front of the houses of prostitution only in daylight hours. After dark, they are indoors, eating or studying or sleeping — three and four to a bed in drafty rooms separated from other rooms by a faded cotton curtain. By sight and sound they learn much more at home than they do at school."

That's a sampling of the type of reporting done on Birmingham by roving Journalist Bishop who was assisted in gathering his stuff by "A good reporter ...... (who) ..... has been covering the Negro district of Birmingham for 14 years."

The article does not indicate whether any of the homes were actually visited. Apparently none of the "Cadillac" district home-dwellers were interviewed. Tell me the names of those "rich Negroes" who live anywhere in Birmingham. Only one Negro person in Birmingham has been mentioned as nearing the millionaire class and by prevailing standards of wealth only a billionaire would be placed in the "rich" class.

Birmingham, writes Reporter Bishop "has its white citizens councils, whose purpose is to frighten the Negro into remaining exactly where he is." But could you get the WCC which is said to be made up of the respectable people to admit that the nice people who claim to be friendly toward the Negro want to "frighten" a friend and peg him under? In Detroit you get asked questions about all of this.

Much of the stuff Bishop reported in his Birmingham dispatch seemed to have had specks of WCC propaganda and rumor on it. First, the "Cadillac" angle. Second, the vice stigma. Third, the "I know the Negro" nonsense. Implication by WCC standards is that the deprived group does not rate first-class citizenship. " .... The North does not understand the Negro, and the South does", the visiting reporter said he was told.

I brought along with me some WCC literature. It came in handy in light of some of the items quoted in the Bishop piece. Crime statistics prove nothing racially. They are being dragged out to refute the right of one American to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness just like another American. But citizenship rights are personal rights.

That night at the hotel I wrestled over what kind of a presentation to make at the noon-time press banquet. I did not have in mind discussing the Bishop article because the visiting reporter in skillful way at the tail-end of his feature raised such questions as to shed light on the situation. He sought to clear up things.

Napper came to the press luncheon. Dr. L. F. Swan, formerly of Birmingham; Ernest Shell, also formerly of Birmingham, Dr. A. B. (Todd) Henderson with whom I worked on the Maroon Tiger, student publication at Morehouse College; Arthur Johnson, executive secretary of the Detroit Branch NAACP (who grew up in Ensley), were among the packed audience.

That evening I was guest at the meeting of the Howard University Alumni Club. The alumni group wanted to hear about the "Lucy Case," the Montgomery bus protest; the menace of the White Citizens Councils and Negro voting in the South. They asked me many questions and I tried to correct some of the false impressions, twisted reports and segregation salesmanship being imported from the South up North.

THE TIP-OFF

Daily World

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — (SNS) — Sam Adkins, the star feature-article reporter of the Louisville Courier-Journal in his "A Report on Alabama" relies heavily on interviews for the material he used in the seventh article of his series.

Outside reporters looking for an explanation for the expulsion of Miss Autherine Lucy from the University of Alabama have apparently asked help of persons who under different circumstances would be reliable sources. Since a mob drove Miss Lucy from the campus and the board of trustees expelled her, to the shock of many and the surprise of others, there has been an obvious campaign underway by some unidentified persons to shift blame. In other words somebody in Alabama apparently has given visiting reporters an analysis of events which are hardly based on facts and records.

Star Reporter Adkins in his piece says: "..according to witness .on her first visit, she showed up here in a shiny, new Cadillac." That is

THE TIP-OFF

World P. 8
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Star Reporter Adkins in his piece says: "... according to witness... on her first visit, she showed up here in a shiny, new Cadillac." That is not true. She was motored to the university by a minister on February 1 when she registered. This minister does not drive a Cadillac. Miss Lucy made a total of four trips to the university during February and one during January. At the time she registered there were three reporters from the Negro press among those from the daily press, wire services, radio, television and the collegiate press. Among the three Negro reporters there was no photographer. I know, for I was there on the scene.

"When Miss Lucy paid the $67 50 due for fees and the like", Adkins writes she did so with a brand new $100 bill. It has been said she went around flashing hundred dollar bills. This was the single instance I could verify."

But what are the facts. Miss Lucy had been notified by a scholarship foundation that awarded her a full scholarship that money for her fees had been forwarded to the University of Alabama. She inquired about the scholarship while registering and was informed it had been returned to the foundation.

Miss Lucy did not have any money with her, so she was able to get the bill in question from among friends.

The bursar or cashier wrote on the receipt the denomination of money by which the fee was paid. Wheather such was the procedure for all students who registerer, I do not know. I was an eyewitness reporter who was able to cover the registration process on the scene. It would be interesting to have Ace Reporter Adkins check this angle.

There are other details with reference to this scholarship money which was returned that would cast further disturbing light. They were not revealed at the time and will not be mentioned now or later unless bad reporting draws the facts into battle.

The Adkins account is filled with other defects, distortions, and inaccurancies which may be written off as the varied versions of persons interviewed. A reporter turns into a story the information he finds, but when the sources are concealed he is left with the load.

Criticism of the legal strategy used to try to get Miss Lucy restored to class had been wide. This is like discussing the strategy of a football coach or a baseball manager. It is an area of speculation, of assumption, and of deduction for the layman.

I have had the opportunity to interview some of the lawyers of record who served as legal counsel for Miss Lucy. Originally after the exclusion for alleged safety they sought to find a formula for getting her reinstated in class. They had to try to find a strategy which would insure security and at the same time overcome tactics for further delayed admission to class.

Should one review the lawyer's handling of the case in the light of their aims, a different view might be taken. Still undecided is the validity of the board of trustees' use of charges made under the circumstances to deny one re-admission to class.

Had those charges not appeared in the Lucy complaint, would the University of Alabama have invited her back to class?

4-4

not true. She was motored to the university by a minister on February 1 when she registered. This minister does not drive a Cadillac. Miss Lucy made a total of four trips to the university during February and one during January. At the time she registered there were three reporters from the Negro press among those from the daily press, wire services, radio, television and the collegiate press. Among the three Negro reporters there was no photographer. I know, for I was there on the scene.

"When Miss Lucy paid the $67 50 due for fees and the like", Adkins writes she did so with a brand new $100 bill. It has been said she went around flashing hundred dollar bills. This was the single instance I could verify."

But what are the facts. Miss Lucy had been notified by a scholarship foundation that awarded her a full scholarship that money for her fees had been forwarded to the University of Alabama. She inquired about the scholarship while registering and was informed it had been returned to the foundation.

Miss Lucy did not have any money with her, so she was able to get the bill in question from among friends.

The bursar or cashier wrote on the receipt the denomination of money by which the fee was paid. Wheather such was the procedure for all students who registerer I do not know. I was an eyewitness reporter who was able to cover the registration process on the scene. It would be interesting to have Ace Reporter Adkins check this angle.

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The Tip-Off

World P. 6

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Tues 3-20-56

Some parts of the speech made by Gloster B. Current, of New York, director of branches of the NAACP, before a tee-off membership campaign gathering in Montgomery, Ala., have been widely quoted. In his speech he mentioned that racial discrimination exists in the North as well as in the South. Up North it takes on subtle, disguised, and slick forms. In the South it is legalized, customized and enforced.

B'ham, Ala.

Some other striking points made by Mr. Current did not evoke reporting and editorial interest by the press which seemed to be trying to show mutual guilt of the two competing sections of the country on the treatment of Negro persons, and the Negro group.

Here are other portions from Mr. Current's speech:

"THERE IS A DISTURBING TENDENCY ON THE PART OF OUR LIBERAL FRIENDS AND OTHERS TO SPEAK OF THE EXTREMISTS ON BOTH SIDES. They erroneously equate the N. A. A. C. P. with the White Citizen's Councils. The NAACP does not consider itself an extremist group. The program we are following is a loyal American one, does not use violence or any other illegal practice.

We abhor violence and always work within the democratic framework. This is more than can be said about the White Citizens Councils in their present activities.

"A third tactic used by the opposition is to discredit the leadership, and to smear the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as communist. If they can breed suspicion and mistrust against the NAACP, the preachers and teachers who are in the forefront of this struggle against the status quo hhold the battle to frustrate us will have been won."

"It should not be necessary for me to defend the NAACP. It was organized in 1909, eight years before the Russian Revolution and the formation of the International Communist Party. The NAACP has always worked through the courts, the legislatures and through use of public opinion to obtain its objective. In our efforts, we have had the active cooperation and sometimes the support of many prominent citizens connected with Federal and state governments. The Association's important meetings and conventions have been greeted by letters from Presidents and other high officials and, on two recent occasions, addressed by the President of the United States."

"President Truman addressed closing session of the NAACP Convention in Washington in 1947. President Eisenhower addressed the Freedom Fulfillment Conference in Washington, Mar. 10, 1954, launching the FFF campaign.

"To those who call the NAACP 'Red,' we merely state that neither President would have spoken before the NAACP were it considered a communist or communist-front organization. Each of these Presidents in their talks encouraged the NAACP to pursue its program and objectives. Mr. Truman in his address in 1947, said: "Our immediate task . . . is to remove the last remnants of the barriers which stand between millions of our citizens and their birthright. There is no justifiable reason for discrimination because of ancestry, or religion, or race, or color . . . We must and shall guarantee the civil rights of all our citizens." From this speech derived the civil rights program which Mr. Truman espoused throughout the remainder of his term.

"President Eisenhower in speaking to NAACP agreed with Lincoln on the proposition that all men are created equal and expressed the belief that the vast majority of Americans "want to make these concepts a living reality in their lives." Futher, he pledged that "wherever Federal authority clearly extends, I will do the utmost that lies within my power to bring into larger reality this expression of equality among all men.

"I could go on to name other great Americans who have endorsed the NAACP including Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, the late Philip Murray, J. Edgar Hoover, who said: "Equality, freedom, and tolerance are essential in a democratic government." The NAACP has done much to preserve these principles and to perpetuate the desires of our founding fathers.

"Then there are some who attempt to discredit the NAACP by labeling it as a Northern organization. At the same time these individuals have declared that southern Negroes don't want integration, that their plight should be left to their "friends" who know them and will always take good care of them.

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The Tip-Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Four reflections surged through me during the program Jan. 1 in celebration of Emancipation Day at the Sixteenth St. Baptist Church pastored by the Rev. Luke Beard. **Attendance was better than I expected. Much of it came from Sardis Baptist Church and Enon Ridge. Most of my grow-up has been on Enon Ridge, a community I joined at the age of 10.**

Twice to my knowledge, my pastor, the Rev. R. L. Alford, had mentioned from the pulpit the Freedom Celebration program and the fact that a member of Sardis was among the feature participants. He had also talked it up at other times and in other places.

Even until the time I rose for my part on the program I was tempted to mention Sardis. My notes were heavy and my task delicate. Failure to mention Sardis got me in tough with some members of my family who felt that no matter what the circumstance I should have said something about Sardis. The point is they think I can say somethings about Sardis which will both encourage and inspire. They have often heard me tell the Sardis story on inspirational occasion.

The singing of the Fairfield Industrial High School Chorus under Mrs. LaVerne Eaton Smith had thrilled me. Music is not my favorite but good music grabs me. I watched the energy, the movements, the execution of the director. One boy on the front seat in the chorus shared everything she did. You could follow him and tell when Mrs. Eaton smiled.

One learns from contact. He can learn from contacts with ideas, opportunity, excellent human being. At FIHS the students in the choir have contact with an excellent music instructor and they show it. Good music is one of the pillars of culture. First-class music helps to make first-rate culture. This is significant today because civilization, culture, and quality are not measured by negatives.

The Young People's Choir of Sardis Baptist Church exhibited also what trained youth can do. The young people had a bigger part on the ninety-third Emancipation Day program than is usually the case. They deserved it.

Miss Zela Mae Johnson of Fairfield Industrial High School recited from memory the Emancipation Proclamation. She did it flawlessly. As I listened to her beautiful recital of the grand heritage document the thought came to me that the slaves had to be free in order to free the nation. I have read the Lincoln-authored freedom document many times but the way Miss Johnson handled it shot new reflections through my mind.

Mrs. Pollie Myers Hudson and Autherine J. Lucy, two of the five honored guests, were the real centers of attraction. They are immediate symbols of the implications of the Emancipation Proclamation, the bedrock of the new freedom. The program came two days after the U. S. Court of Appeals had affirmed the right of Negroe persons to be admitted to the University of Alabama without regard to race or color.

These two young wmoen have opened a new area of learning. They have made a splendid contribution to democracy. They have helped to create an opportunity.

Largely the Emancipation Day program in Birmingham is supported by the church. Directly the program is sponsored by the Emancipation Association of Birmingham and Vicinity with the Rev. J. L. Ware, pastor of Trinity Baptist Church, the president. This year the program was an all-local event. But with the two choirs a young orator recite the Emancipation Proclamation,, and five honorees to support the program, it had pulling power.

Patterns of such programs vary. In Gadsden, Ala., former slaves were guests; in Montgomery, Mrs Anne Arnold Hedgeman was visiting and in Mobile, a white lawyer, John Bolt Culberston of Greenville, S. C., was the feature speaker.

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

The Tip-Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Six of those participating on the funeral program for the late Rev. P. L. Matherson at St. John AME Church Dec. 30 used poetry to help get their message over.

Among them was the Rt. Rev. I. H. Bonner who delivered the eulogy although he said he did not care for it to be labeled as such. Pat Matherson, as he called him, was his friends and so Bishop Bonner just wanted to speak as he saw fit.

Yet he delivered a "speak as I please" that was itself a funeral oration. Only those who know one are in the best position to deliver an eulogy. Bishop Bonner and the fallen AME presiding elder came out of Wilcox County.

Bishop Bonner landscaped, figuratively speaking, life in Wilcox Co., in his boyhood days and gave a reflection of it as now. Wilcox County is one of those awful places. Negro persons who outnumbered white persons can't vote in that county. Its politicians are angry advocates of "White Supremacy"; some 'respectable"citizens organizers of the Dallas County White Citizens County; and the county has a teacher restrictive tenure measure and an anti-NAACP license law.

Alleged peonage still exists and the rights of the most numerous are suppressed as a segment. Physical brutality has been reportd and threats of violence rumored against Negro persons who indicated a desire to register to vote.

The presiding prelate did not list the full Wilcox record in his account of the adversities faced and fought by Rev. Matherson as he overcame these obstacles to become a minister, a leader and the father of a family which he educated. He overcame the Wilcox conditions, circircumstances, restrictions and bigotry.

When Rev. Matherson grew up in Wilcox schools ran only three months and the pupils had to build a brush fire in the yards for heat, the bishop said. Ministers of that day would be looked upon as 'ignorant" preachers by the fastidious of today. Poverty was widespread.

His eulogy was equally a sermonic expose of Wilcox County, it seems to me. No one was better able to relate the story than Bishop Bonner, a former school teacher and pastor in Wilcox and one of its other illul strious sons. Bishop Bonner has also had the opportunity to view life in Africa, having served on that continent as a bishop.

Use of poetry by the speakers on the program reminded m eof James C. Morris' book, "Cleopatra and Other Poems" of which I had just completed reading. There are 64 poems in the 64-page book. Nine of the poems had interested me more than the others. They include 'Death of A City,' 'Hunger in Town,' 'Fulton Street' in Brooklyn,' 'The Blues,' 'Black Rock Mines,' 'Experienced.' 'Snow Thought,' 'Canataga County, Ga' and 'A Black Brother's Prayer.'

In the latter poem the poet says: It is hard to be hated and not hate, to turn the other cheek, to shift the weight and smile as if I neither feel nor care and though my face burn, a million fires flare. Lord, open my own mind and heart as well, for I, too, sometimes worship in hate's citadel."

It came to me that some creative spirit who had migrated from Wilcox County might do a ballad. a poem or some blues based on the terrible. unfriendly and unchanging patterns of Wilcox ounty. It is always a shocking recollection for me to recall the experiences I have had during trips to Wilcox County.

The Tip-Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

As I toured the railroad and bus stations observing the manner in which the 'ICC's de-segregation order" was being handled, the poem "Memory of a 'Jim Crow' Car" published in the book of poems "Shape Them Into Dreams" by Mrs Ariel Williams Holloway of Mobile, drizzled through my reflections.

Many of the newer writers have included the "Jim Crow Riding" theme among their creative works. Langston Hughes, one of the freedom poets in the poetic surge of the 1930's had used it. And the newcomer-poets find that aching experience in such riding that releases itself in an overflow of powerful feelings trapped in words.

Her poem says:

"I am riding tonight
In a 'Jim Crow' car-
Old, steam-engined
'Jim Crow' car:
Cinders falling,
Odors mingling,
Noise -
Laughter -
Lunches -
Flies -
Stocking caps,
And bedroom slippers
'Where you gwine, Daughter?'

"Shape Them Into Dreams" by the teacher-poet is a delightful bundle of poems. They read like rhythmic links making up the poetic biography of Mrs. Holloway. The poems seems to be as close to experience as blood is to beef.

No one seemed to have been bothered about the change-over. That is, the travelers who pay the bill did not seem worried or excited. The thought came to me in this connection that where there is a doubt of whether the order applies locally, a friendly test suit might be initiated in the federal courts to settle the matter.

Some years ago when this question of the eventual passing away of stigma laws was discussed at a human rights meeting, I suggested that travel hints be prepared in booklet form to assist those who wanted self-improvement. The new circumstance will demand new standards. Each traveler has the added responsibility of helping to win friends in the new adjustment. Self-improvement is the key to mutually respect, it seems to me.

The matter of luggage, lunches, conversation, seat courtesy, and good taste are some things the traveling public such be alerted

The Tip-Off

World

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Birmingham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) — The sacrifice-for-self-respect program here which is being labeled as a "boycott" has aroused world-wide attention.

Publicity given to the conditions here which brought on the refuse-to-ride urge among the identified segment seems to be getting under the skins of some of those who have posed as "your best friends."

One detects that in reading the editorial comment of the city's daily produced newspapers. Especially did that seem to be true in the case of Carl T. Rowan, a distinguished journalist and author, who came here on assignment, along with a fellow reporter - photographer for Look magazine. Rowan is Southern born and isn't easily fooled.

The White Citizens Council has tried to sell the propaganda line that some of those refraining to ride did so out of a fear. Yet the WCC has apparently failed even after offering a $100 reward to establish factually the allegation.

What has been the commendable quality about the protest is its discipline, the sustaining humor it has evoked and the type of creative orators it has brought to the front and the limelight. This is in addition to unifying the leadership, bringing together the ministers, and awakening the latent longings in the hearts of the masses of one-standard citizenship.

Montgomery has produced for the moment what at times is referred to as "felt leadership." It has demonstrated the power of mobilized purchasing power. A wise use of spending power can take many forms . . . savings and support of friendly forces. The dollar can be made to perform a double duty in a democracy, it seems to me."

Many leaders are now beyond the buss-riding class. And they have to call back bitter experiences of days when they had to board buses. Bus-riders pay the same fare but some of them are treated differently, unequally, segregatedly. Meantime because of the racial identity of a certain group certain jobs of the bus company are closed.

Some civic leaders here say only five Negro persons are employed by the Montgomery City Lines, Inc. which under normal operations receives approximately 75 per cent of its patronage from the job-discriminated segment. Job denials based on race, religion and ancestry are wrong from a democratic, moral, economic and ethical stand points. The five Negro employees, these civic leaders say, are all engaged in the lowerning, fixed-status and menial jobs.

Hence the union to which the bus drivers belong is also one which bans on the basis of race.

Tues. 1-10-56

The Montgomery Improvement Association is seeking a (1) policy declaration on better treatment, (2) better seating arrangements and (3) the employment of Negro bus operators on lines serving heavily populated Negro areas.

As now developed the seating arrangement proposed is optional, voluntary, flexible segregation. Yet the city officials have blaked on this plan which embraces all of the objectionable and despicable features of racial segregation. It is not as unsightly as the racial boards in Birmingham or the partitions in New Orleans, La. But it has the same cramping effect on the spirit and the same stigma of second-class citizenship, it seems to me.

In fairness, however, it should be pointed out that the Montgomery Improvement Association has been trying to relieve a condition of alleged unfairness within the operation of the exisiting laws. It has tried to use economic bargaining power but is now obvious that the structure would not like for the group to find a new tool in its buying power.

In Montgomery, as elsewhere in Alabama, the Negro group lacks ballot box power. Hense this segment is without the strength of political communication. Such are the facts of democracy and the groups leadership needs to learn a lesson from them.

about as a matter of personal interest, it seems to me. The record made will influence the kind of respect won.

Here are my findings on the "ICC Order" made Jan. 10 at the four major interstate terminals:

At the Terminal Station all racial signs have been removed with one exception. There are signs over the two entrances of the old Negro waiting room marked "Colored Intrastate Passenger Waiting Room."

All racial signs are down at the Louisville and Nashville shed except one designating "Colored Lunch Room."

One racial sign is on display at Trailways Depot with an arrow inscribed "colored" which directs Negro traffic to the old colored waiting room.

No racial signs seem to have been removed at the Greyhound Bus Terminal with seven in open display saying "Colored Waiting Room" two with "colored baggage room" and four with one word 'colored' on the four doors of the two entrances to the old colored waiting room.

There is no waiting room at the Terminal Station designated for white intra-state passengers.

The Tip-Off

World

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Fri. 1-20-56

ATLANTA, Ga.— (SNS) — The "white council" movement in the South, following the Mississippi wave of violence which shocked the civilized world, is shifting tactics.

Women are now being admitted. The "white" is being dropped from the title. They are organizing on suburban basis in the large cities and forming district organizations. The suburban councils are being grouped into a federation of councils.

Birmingham, Ala.

But the WCC program is basically unchanged. Its objectives are to curtain freedom, control thought, restrict the franchise and to freeze racial segregation into the pattern of Southern life.

WCC is able to use prestige spots for its meetings such as the court house, the city hall, the school, the public park and the public recreational center. It is able to give governmental glamour to its program by having as speakers elected city, county, state and federal officials.

Openly the WCC has announced that it was anti-Supreme Court, anti-civil rights, anti-Negro, and anti-history. Through use of the "economic squeeze" such as in Mississippi; the economic pressure in South Carolina, the boycott of some national products and the intimidation of business and political leaders in Dallas County, Alabama.

The WCC does not have the KKK hood but it seems to have the latter's heart, with exception. The exception is that some white minorities who were persecuted by the klan are welcomed into WCC membership. Like the KKK, the WCC is secret. Like the KKK, the WCC is political. It says that it is non-violent, yet often inflammatory. Its propaganda creates a setting in which frustrated emotions become unpredictable. WCC whips up a kind of spiritual violence which begets political and social violence, it seems to me.

P. 8

WCC leaders, as was the case at a recent meeting held in Birmingham, are saying "the answer (to halting the implementation of the U. S. Supreme Court's civil rights decisions) lies in organization."

The Black Belt speaker said: "To be effective, we must combine our forces together into a powerful organization to wage our battle. Today the Citizens Councils are the only organization actively fighting integration at every corner."

WCC is organized "to wage .. battle" against progress as spelled out by the U. S. Constitution, and recognized by the U. S Supreme Court. WCC is organized "to wage.. battle" against the law of the land, against the morality as expressed in the Christian teachings and confirmed by the social sciences, by man's thics and by the basic sciences of the solid scholars of the universe.

At the Birmingham meeting a radio negativist who had conducted a program for the Alabama State Rights Association was introduced. However, the radio program some weeks back for some reason was dropped by the station which carried it. Representatives of two local unions which bar Negro persons were also presented.

One of the locals recently sent a resolution to Birmingham city officials urging the City Commission not to employ Negro policemen. The other local pulled away from its parent body over the question of liberalizing its membership qualifications.

WCC has tried to present itself as composed of "respectable citizens." But do respectable advocate obeying the law or breaking it? Do respectable people advocate respecting another's dignity, personality and civic rights?

THE TIP OFF

Daily World 21a
Atlanta, Ga.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Fri. 8-3-56

The South has become the region of fear, feeling and frustration.

It fears the implementation of the Civil Rights Amendments. It has hot, irrational, squeamish feelings about the May 17, 1954 ruling of the United States Supreme Court in the school cases. It is frustrated over the two-party political system of which it is only one part, solid, nervous, and unhappy.

P. 4

There is negative competition in the South. Politicians compete over ways to negate the Supreme Court's equal rights decisions. There is hateful battling over methods of group control over Negro citizens, native-born Americans. Organizations such as the KKK, the WCC and the States' Rights Association vie over schemes to restrict other Americans along racial, religious, and political lines. The South is both angry and fearful.

Yet in this same South is coming on the scene a pathfinding leadership which is full of faith, grounded in hope, and committed to the weapons of love, law, and the ballot. Against all of these stand the embittered, fanatical, and militant negativists. Using the new tools of leadership are organizations like the Montgomery Improvement Association, the Mobile "Committee of 100" and the Tuskegee Civic Association. Birmingham has two yet-to-be-tested organizations — the Jefferson County Betterment Association and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights.

The two-thirds of the Negro group which live in the South are about 98 per cent American-born citizens. At the time of the school decision 17 of the states in the South had inflexible two-class school systems. Intermarriage is prohibited in only 21 states, most of which are in the South. Factually on the basis of such observations the Southern point of view is not the dominant American attitude in the areas of sensitive social relations.

Edward B. Orr, writing "concerning the American race problem" in the July 28 issue of The Christian Science Monitor points out that "in states without such legal bars marriage between the races is so rare as to be almost unknown." Hence the blind argument that equality before the law means an invitation to the marriage altar is bogus and silly. Segregation permits the stronger group to exploit in many ways the weak group who have no equal protection at law. Romantic exploitation is no less wicked than economic exploitation.

The nation's freedom-for-all leadership is among the erasers of the color line in the day-to-day activities of American life. Legal distinctions based wholly on race and color are forbidden by the American constitution. What a majority or region thinks is not a valid consideration by which one may be deprived of his claims in this country simply because he is a member of a visable minority or an unpopular group. Regional passions are not superior to constitutional principles.

This is the golden age of Negro leadership. North and South, East and West, in the ranks of the humble, at the peaks of the learned and well-heeled, there is capable times-at-bat leadership. Collier's magazine in an article entitled "The Negro Voter", Aug. 17 says "American Negro leaders have become aware of their strength; and they are determined to use it this year."

Collier's adds, in part: "Any white American in whose mind the image of Negro leadership is still yesterday's fuzzy picture of Booker T. Washington is today completely out of touch with reality. A whole constellation of action groups has matured among Negroes of the North in the past 10 years of progress; they operate on every front of what Negro leaders like to call 'the power structure of America'. The NAACP is the senior, legal arm, prying open opportunity after opportunity through the courts; the Urban League fights on the industrial front, wrenching open closed jobs in field after field; the Negro church has come alive, vibrant, passionate, inflaming politics with religion; prosperity has brought the Negro community businessmen of wealth and prominence; the labor unions have trained and educated men of depth and drive; a Negro press of constant and effective indignation amplifies and magnifies them all among their own people."

The group's leadership in those states with the unfettered ballot has an opportunity to use it for liberation. Political suffrage is smothered in Mississippi," the NAACP is inactivized in Alabama; professional training in the public universities is thwarted in Georgia; the Democratic party leaders in the Senate scuttled civil rights proposals and Dixie leaders are out to block the inclusion of strong civil rights planks in the platforms of the two major parties.

THE TIP OFF

31a

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Some years back a few of us talked of recapturing lost economic ground and rebuilding the civic business and cultural leadership of Birmingham.

In those days I listed local artists Eugene Johnson, Felix B. Gaines, Augustus Williams and etc., and tried to catalogue the creative writers. Art exhibits were sponsored. The poetry of local writers was reviewed. Fulton D. Matthews a social columnist for the Birmingham World, was hammering away at society ladies. He tried to elevate the social taste, raise the dance standards, and inspire a new desire for a better society.

Some of us wanted to see economic reform, improvement in business, and a new launching of enterprises. We talked of sinking our talents into industry, of trying to get into production, and organizing financial institutions. We wanted to see legitimate, respectable, growing business. But Birmingham had soured on Negro-directed business because of the awful stories of failures. Almost every oldtimer had a discouraging story, a tale of dishonesty, or drama of the collaspe of some enterprise.

Number racket leaders flourished in the 1930's and when I swung out after them I was warned to lay-off. This was the wrong kind of business and I kept awinging with the full backing of the news paper. Illegal business is a bad foundation upon which to build. We had discussed much of this type of business in our economic classes in college, a field in which I had concentrated.

Business depends upon trained employees for much of its success. The untrained manager is less likely to succeed than the trained one. Much of the distance between the group's business and the general business is related to training. ..

If a member of our group wanted to enter the big time real estate field, he had less opportunity for getting training in that field in Alabama than a member of the other group. Which meant the other fellow had a chance to get a start ahead of him so big that he would be lost in the struggle. If he wanted to study law, he could not have an even brake. The other fellow could get a quicker start, have the advantage of study which could never be overcome, and then be provided privileges out of reach.

Business and the ballot go hand in hand. Stripped of political suffrage, the groupe's businesss man was disarmed. He could not protect what he had as well as the other fellow who had the ballot. His claims had less consideration than the other fellow who had the ballot.

Business depends upon customers. Those without money to buy or credit on which to rely hardly make customers. So when members of the group made less than the other fellow who did the same amount of work that cuts him down as a customer. When there is not a fair wage field for a group there is not a fair business field for that group. The wage is a part of distributed production.

All of those fronts - education political suffrage, wage fairness, job opportunity - had to be worked on in trying to rebuild the group business leadership in Birmingham. Slight is the accomplishment but the recognition of the need is substantial. Therein lies the hope, the challenge, the direction.

It is essential that this running review be given with the advent of the Citizens Federal Savings and Loan Association of Birmingham. Chartering and capitalizing the association is easier than operating it in rugged competitive field.

Our business leaders have a stake in the opportunities for training employees. If the other fellow needs the University of Alabama and Alabama Polythenic Institute to train their workers, no less is true for the group. In this new venture, our business leaders are going to be placed before the civic mirrors. Others will watch the kind of support they give. One can hardly expect others to support him when he supports nobody.

There is such a thing as business citizenship. As a business a concern has an obligation to the community. As competitive business it must use competitive ideas, tools and programs. Besides begets business. Unless the new savings and loan association can inspire, create, and bring forward by-product business it will not fulfill its total mission.

Leaders of the new asssociation have said much about there will be no throwing weight around by members of the board of directors. That sounds good but some weight might have already been thrown. Otherwise there might not have been the first board itself. That should be kept in mind when the board is expanded, it seems to me.

Our leaders need to renew the achieving spirit. Working together the groups leadership can usher in a new economic day. It's purchasing power is powerful in Birmingham. Buying power is the group's unused tool in the struggle for new dignity, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

World P. 1
Wed. 9-26-56

By EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala.

The Montgomery daily press continues to play up the so-called

The Tip Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 9-12-56

Non-union and trade union workers make up the American labor force.

In some instances the Negro worker is banned from non-union as well as union jobs. He must try to make a living outside the labor force. Call him a no-'count worker. Charge him with wanting government handouts.

The American economy is supposed to be a competitive economy instead of a closed one. Yet a competitive economic system draws its basic strength from a competitive political system.

On Sept. 3 the afternoon daily in Birmingham carried a story that Avondale Mills had settled a strike which grew out of white workers objecting to Negro workers being upgraded or employed at skilled jobs.

The Avondale Mills hired some Negro workers as "doffers" (skilled workers who change bobbins in the cotton weaving machines). A spokesman for the company, as reported in the daily press, said "We prefer white workers on the job, and have always hired them." But the company hired the Negro workers to keep the mills running when an adequate supply of white workers was not available.

Yet the company bowed to the prejudiced demands of the white workers who hardly realized that the products they produced were also sold in Negro markets. Buying power of the Negro group in this country is estimated at around $16 billion.

A company willing out of necessity to hire Negro workers on skilled jobs is thwarted by hostile white workers who apparently are not mindful of the economic changes going on.

The Avondale Mills workers are not unionized. So that illustrates how management seems to be helpless to deal with a situation in a non-union situation and also in a Right-to-Work state. It has been argued by management and industrial leaders that the Right-to-Work laws protected the workers. What workers, let us ask?

Southern Crafts, Inc., a newly-organized sectional union which believes in dual-type unions has announced plans to discuss the formation of "Negro locals." SCC leaders brought the new union into being in protest with the authentic trade unions which were opening their membership to all workers in the same union.

In a luncheon speech before the National Urban League Conference in Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept. 3, Stanley H. Ruttenberg, research director for the AFL-CIO asserted that organized "labor by its persistent efforts in big mass production industries has broken down discrimination against colored workers."

He went on to say "Equal status for Negro workers, the right to promotion, the right to equal job opportunities, while not completely won is well on the way toward being broken down. And the labor movement can take no small amount of credit for its efforts."

Mr. Ruttenberg adds: "The merger of the American Labor Movement has resulted in a united drive to attain equal rights and opportunities for all citizens. The contitution of AFL-CIO is clear cut in its pronouncement that there shall be no discrimination because of race, color, creed or national origin. The AFL-CIO Civil Rights department is engaged in the daily task of carrying out this objective. We are out in the forefront with other groups in fighting the White Citizens Councils' attempt to offset not only the historic Supreme Court decision on desegregation in our public schools but also in its efforts to further divide the White and Negro. Many enemies of the labor movement as well as friends have said AFL-CIO's continued efforts in this regard will result in splitting the ranks of organized labor in the South. But in spite of these warnings the AFL-CIO has moved along in taking the leadership in the South against the White Citizens Councils."

He goes on to say:

"As justification for our decision to push ahead we point with pride to the fact that attempts to split the ranks of organized labor in the South over this issue have failed. We are stronger and more united than ever in our efforts to continue the fight for equal social and economic rights for all.

"Attempts to divide our ranks at various plants and in various areas of the South have fizzled. Last spring an attempt was made in the plant of Hayes Aircraft Company in Birmingham, Ala. After months of extravagant claims they have failed to enlist any substantial number of the 3500 employees of that company. Last June the local leaders of this same group announced that they were going to call a mass meeting for July 21 in the Municipal Auditorium in Birmingham forthe purpose of a "Southern Con- have been launched as a rival to the AFL-CIO. Widespread publicity throughout the southe attracted less than 150 persons for evening session and fewer than 60 to the afternoon session. This attempt as well as others to split the ranks of organized labor in the South have failed dismally.

"The AFL-CIO will, in spite of all attempts to stop it, continue to fight for the improvement of the economic, social and welfare status of all Americans as we strive for the goal of equal opportunity for all."

"Gray Draft Case" in both front-page stories and in editorials.

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All one needs to do to fully understand the background of the "Gray Draft Case" is to study the evilology and methodology of the WCC. Read the WCC literature in which repeated angled stories on Atty. Gray were published. It is obvious that some ugly forces wanted Gray removed from the scene not so much because of patriotic impulses, but as a lesson to other upstart Negro leaders who may get out of line.

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It is "a corruption of meaning" to say that anything about "a breaking of faith' when one observes that the Board of Registrars in Bullock County resigned August 14, 1954 after the late Federal Judge C. B. Kennamer ordered the board to stop discriminating against Negro applicants seeking to register to vote. Six PTA units, three of them in Montgomery, have withdrawn from the state and national PTA in protest over the national body's desegregation policy.

Resignations and withdrawals are not new types of action used by those who want to thwart the progress of democracy and restrict the advancement of the Negro group. Yet, the resignations of draft boards help to keep the "Gray Draft Case" in the public eye and provide an opportunity to present Atty. Gray as being shielded by "the Washington government's dodging the draft of Fred Gray, the sudden preacher, husband, father."

On the contrary, some groups gathered some new facts and presented them on behalf of Mr. Gray, and his induction was halted by the national level of Selective Service.

31a 1956 EMORY O. JACKSON (NEGRO)

THE TIP OFF

Daily World, Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 7-18-56

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

While some factotums of the National Fraternal Council of Churches, USA, Inc., complained during the latter's 23rd annual meeting here about the reported failure of some invited local trade union figures to show up for a panel discussion, it should be pointed out some failures of the council. Two failures do not balance up to success.

A re-reading of the 17-point state ment adopted by the council reveals that it made no mention of the labor movement and totally ignored the plight of the working man in the South. However, the document contained a statement regarding civil service employees.

It is hard to see how any accountable leadership during these trouble days in the South could overlook the problems of the working man in this region, and the nation. Labor leaders have played an important role in showing how men and women of various religious and racial backgrounds can work together for their common interest and welfare. Church leaders would do well to look at organized labor's record in workers' relations.

M. R. Ross in an article in The Nation magazine (July 7, 1956 has presented some of the problems, situations and challenges faced by trade union leaders in the "open-shop" South. They include "the recent anti-union offensive and secessionist tactics of the White Citizens Councils." The Negro group's upper-hand leadership does not seem to be as familiar as the needs demand with the labor movement. The local unit of the American Federation of Teachers tossed in its charter when the national body insisted on the Birmingham Federation of Teachers complying with a widened membership policy. None of the Negro teachers came forward to pick up the turned in charter. Nothing was heard from the upper-crust Negro leadership. This is cited merely to sharpen and dramatize a problem facing organized labor.

In April of this year the Southern Aircraft Workers, Inc., came into being. The Southern Fabricating and Steelworkers Local No. 1 tried unsuccessful a few days to organize a plant here. These splinter unions are organizing the white workers and chipping off relationship with the major unions. The Southern Federation of Labor, sectional and lilywhite, claims 17 units in Alabama. Hence, if these off-shoot unions win plant control, the Negro worker will be left unprotected and the labor movement factionalized.

(2) Certain key unions cannot attain their full potential growth without organizing labor nationally. (4) The WCC is gunning for the labor movement behind the smokescreen of anti-Negroism. (6) An organizing drive in the South will help labor in the East. Organized labor has a vital stake in the events of the South. The race issue is the biggest and best weapon the anti-unionized.

Ross, in his Nation magazine article, observes: (1) ". . . An unorganized South is a danger to union standards and to organized memberships in the rest of the nation. The menace of runaway plans looms over every bargaining session in the North. Economic gains are often stymied because of low-wage competition. The increasing proportion of new-plant investments going South endangers the future growth of a national labor movement." ion forces have. Both Negro and white workers can be deceived and divided by it.

"Race relations", writes Ross, "undoubtedly present the most sensitive of all the complicated problems of organizing the South." He adds that "so long as Southern workers are underpaid and unorganized, no Northern workers' pay envelope is safe."

Just as the WCC through its political action program is trying to knock Negro voters off the poll rolls, the all-white unions are bound to seek to kick Negro workers off the shop payrolls. The WLU (White Labor Unions and the WCC (White Citizens Councils) are ideological twins, neither meaning the decent man any good. While all of this is happening there is what Ross calls "that vast silent South which has been virtually paralyzed by the unchallenged assault of the White Councils against the law of the land."

Not even the powerful Natonal Fraternal Council of Churches saw fit in its statement of policy to lift its voice on the side of the blue-shirt man. Whether you travel to Dothan or Linden, Fayette or Arab, Talladega or Tuscumbia, you will observe that most of the plants and factories migrating to Alabama are not providing much employment for Negro workers. In those places with a hostility to organize labor you do not necessarily find a friendly becoming to Negro workers.

The Negro worker is caught in a squeeze. He needs to start telling his story and winning friends, not as a lesser worker or cheaper man but as a productive, dependable, useful employee, it seems to me.

The Tip Off

World P. 6 B'ham, Ala.

Presidential nominees of both of the two major parties in their acceptance speeches tried to link themselves with a bright tomorrow filled with good things for everybody.

Democratic Presidential Nominee Adlai Stevenson envisioned a "new America" while Republican Candidate Dwight Eisenhower projected an America of the "future." But where will the America noy meet the "new America" and the America of the "future"?

Wed 9-5-56

Since these two speeches has come an announcement by top spokesmen of organized tlabor of a planned educational program devoted to changing the thinking of the South on trade unions and civil rights. Shortly after this announcement was made, the ideologist of a new sectional, restricted, and independent union movement, Southern Crafts, Inc. made a bid by letter to members of railroad brothers.

Southern Crafts, Inc. is opposed to either the closed or union shop, open membership, and the basic trade union philosophy. SCI leaders point out that they are opposed to organizing workers as workers and favor the so-called right - to - work laws. The arguments used by

SCI is important because it lends support and casts new light on the hidden purpose behind the so-called right-to-work. Of the 17 right-to-work law states, 10 are in the South.

George Meany, AFL-CIO President, announced organized labors new approach to the problems of expanded organizing in the South at a news conference at the Unity House, the Pocono Mountain summer resort of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Mr. Meany suggested that labor leaders have come to realize that the obstacle to successful organizing "is the whole mental attitude of the South . . . We feel we've got to change that attitude." He added that the project would be a long range approach and would deal with aspects of civil rights and the trade union philosophy. The project he pointed out will be directed not only at employees but also businessmen and others in an effort to convince them that "trade unions" make sense for the community in general as well as the workers.

Going further, Mr. Meany observed: "If the economy of the entire country had just kept pace with the Southe in the last twenty-five years, we certainly would not be the leading country in the world. We feel this does not affect just the workers, but business too. This (campaign) is not in the nature of a war, but education."

(It might be inserted here that one would find by reading the article in FORTUNE magazine, September by Emmet John Hughes, "The Negro's Economic Life" a fresh analysis of facts and factors which tend to lend weight to Mr. Meanys thesis)

At the meeting where the new-type trade union educational project was discussed and revealed was A. Philip Randolph, one of the far-looking labor leaders. About the same time the AFL-CIO peak leadership was making its announcement the "Black Worker," official organ of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters which Mr Randolph heads, was announcing a new gain.

George V. Carraway, a Canadian Pacific railroad car conductor, was accepted as a member of the Order of Railroad Conductors. He was the first Negro worker to gain employment as a sleeping car conductor on a major Canadian railroad. His. ORC membership is through the union's division, 717, of Toronto.

This conductor's union has moved away from the past and is bringing the future to the present. What these new, isolated, spurious unions of the South are doing are arraying themselves against the future and tying their fate to a way of thinking which is being discarded.

Spotted progress in the trade union movement indicates a healthy trend. In St. Louis, Mo., the major taxicab companies have hired 20 Negro drivers. The Teamsters Union cooperated with the new step. Greyhound Bus Lines' eastern division has employed 4 Negro drivers. The transit company in Tallahassee, Fla., as a result of the riders' protest, has hired two Negro bus operators.

Under the merged union machinery one should expect widened opportunities. The AFL-CIO represents 15 million workers. It is composed of 141 unions, 109 AFL international unions. There are 50 AFL state organizations and 46 state unions.

These are signs which point to a "new America" and to the America of the "future." It seems to me. Both candidates of the two major parties seem to reflect the changes which are sweeping over America. Certainly there is ugly and sometimes violent resistance to the new America which is in the making.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World Wed. 9-26-56

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta Ga.

The Montgomery daily press continues to play up the so-callec "Gray Draft Case" in both front-page stories and in editorials.

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THE TIP OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

World B'hm, Ala. Sat. 9-1-56

Labor Day will be local oratory day in a number of cities where the tradition movement represents voting power.

Two Alabama Negro union leaders hold high office today with international unions. Perry (Tiger) Thompson, the ex-prizefighter of Bessemer, Ala. is international vice president of the United Steelworkers of America. Asbury Howard, also of Bessemer, is international vice-president of the United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

Labor leaders have moved into bold political action and also taken the battlefield. The late Sidney Hillman introduced new ideas of political action into the trade union movement.

Issue were given bread and butter meaning. Abstract political doctrines were were given concrete interpretations. The ballot was made the symbol of liberty and lift-up Grass roots leadership was developed. Political action because the wheel by which democracy was made to work for all.

Today two Negro labor leaders are members of the 29-man executive committee of the AFL-CIO, namely, A Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Willard S. Townsend, president of the United Transport Service Employees of America. They are over a million and a half Negro workers in the trade union movement. Over 50 Negro trade union leaders hold top level positions in their internationals.

In 1930, five years before the rise of the CIO, some 22 national and international unions refused membership to Negro workers. Today only five major unions with a total membership of 442,000 erect the color bar against Negro workers. They include the potal transport workers and the four railroad brotherhoods.

In most of the Southern states, Negro trade union members serve on the executive boards of the state CIO and AFL, which two groups are merging in some of these states.

Corenelius Maiden, representative of the International Chemical, was the first Negro trade union leader to serve as vice-president of the Alabama State Federation of Labor. Alabama was perhaps the first Deep South state where the AFL gave such recognition to a Negro union member.

Perhaps the South, nor any other section, ever produced an unsung labor leader to equal the late Walter Jones, representative of the United Mine Workers of America. He was succeeded by Hartford Knight. United Mine Workers made a major contribution in helping to organize the steel workers in Alabama.

Ebb Cox of Fairfield, United Steel Workers; B. B. Glover of Anniston, moulders Jesse Thomas of Mobile; Mrs. Fannye Neal of Montgomery, clothing workers; James Hampton of Sheffield, construction workers; George Schley of Montgomery, bricklayers and James Mayfield of Huntsville (no longer with the labor movement) were among names which glittered in the Alabama labor movement.

In Montgomery, Ala., the Rev. J. L. Jackson is serving as business agent for Local 784 of the construction workers. This is the first time in the local's history, I am told, that it has had a Negro business agent.

A number of new faces are showing up in the rank-and-file trade union leadership. But many of them do not seem to be reading widely and deeply in the field of organized labor. Some Negro-led unions seem to be passing up an opportunity to hack out new paths.

Perhaps the most vocal, the best known, and certainly the most fearless Negro labor leader in Alabama today is E. D. Nixon of Montgomery, who is recognized better as a civic and political action leader. He is one of A. Phillip Randolph's lientenants. He has headed the state NAACP, is president of the Montgomery Progressive Democratic Association has run for membership on the Montgomery Democratic Executive Committee and is one of the indicted Montgomery protest leaders.

Another Randolph lieutenant is Willie Richardson of Birmingham, who at one time was president of the Vinesville Civic League.

Unlike the Maidens, the Hamptons, the Ebb Coxs, many of the Negro leaders in organized labor today have failed to build their names in the public mind as trade union leaders. Yet it is in the leadership and political action filed that it seems the trade union movement has made its finest contribution.

The Tip-Off

World P. 8

Fri. 3-16-56

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) — Here in the "City of Tired Feet" the protest leaders are waging a campaign for 10,000 NAACP memberships.

B'ham, Ala.

The Montgomery Branch of NAACP kicked off its membership campaign at Bethel Baptist Church (the Rev. H. H. Hubbard, pastor) with about 900 memberships Sunday afternoon. Gloster B. Current of New York City, director of Branches for the NAACP made the headline speech.

Montgomery's ambitious membership campaign is under the direction of the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, pastor of First Baptist Church and the No. 2 man in the bus protest leadership. Working side by side with him is the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., minister of fashionable Dexter Avenue Baptist Church and president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, the engine of the bus protest.

According to Dr. Abernathy, at least two churches plan to begin payment during the membership enrollment campaign on $500 life memberships. Others are expected to follow.

The campaign will climax with a speech by Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr. of Detroit at First Baptist Church. The Montgomery NAACP, organized in 1918, is the oldest NAACP branch in Alabama.

PROTEST SURVEYS

Survey teams continue to come to the city of merry walkers to study the bus protest movement. One team came last Sunday from Orangeburg, S. C. where the White Citizens Councils have allegedly been applying economic pressure on Negro business leaders.

Protest leaders are telling visitors that one can't see or understand what they are doing. They claim that tourists can see empty busses and walking people. That's all. "You have to come here and feel what we are doing," protest leaders tell you.

Rev. King and Rev. Abernathy are the powerful and precise verbalists of the protest but they are not the only voices. Just about all of the ministers speak the same language, exude the same spirit, and convey the same message.

SENSE OF HUMOR

One of the sustaining qualities of both the leadership and the followship is the stimulating sense of humor. It's original humor. Negro ministers, one preacher said, have the only "free pulpits in Montgomery." To back up their observation they point to the "silence" of the white pulpit on the morality of the issue at contest. "Our white brethren in the ministry can only read the Scripture and take their seats," another minister twitted.

The Montgomery group is proud of its bus protest. They believe in religiously and confide to visitors that they see in the movement hope for eventual shearing away of segregation and discrimination. Loudest applause during speeches comes at the suggestion of liberation from the brutalities and humiliations imposed by state-propped customs.

Most frequent question one hears from those coming here to observe the Montgomery story is where the idea can be utilized as a new device to help a hindered group pull itself up. Whether it can is something to be developed by events. One thing is certain. It has served to open the eyes of the Montgomery group as to its moral, economic and civic importance.

LEADERSHIP AWAKENING —

A great awakening is underway here — among both Negro and white. False distinctions no longer fool deprived groups, if ever they did. Experiences with the protest campaign show that intelligent leadership can be developed at all levels if you believe in the idea of shared leadership. Sharing of the leadership instead of hogging it seems to be one of the virtues of this protest. Each member of the group no matter how humble or how high he is, seems to feel a mutuality of leadership.

White leaders have seen that no longer can they put forward catspaw Negro leaders who can command or win a following or hearing among the Negro group. They have seen that no longer can they divide and destroy. They have seen that no longer can they go over the heads of the authentic, front-line reliable leadership elected by the weak group itself. They have seen that by persecuting the suffering group's leadership has served to endear and fasten the followers to them.

Whether the organized walking campaign, or pocketbook protest is a new spiritual and economic instrument for a weak group to use which is struggling for equal freedom, is hard to say. But the leadership lessons are obvious if any group is interested. Weak groups too long have had leaders who did the biddings of the strong instead of the battles of those they were expected to lead, it seems to me.

The Tip-Off

World 3/0 negro

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) A three-way legal attack on state-imposed segregation is underway here.

B'ham, Ala.

All of it grows out of the bus protest. It has widest support from among the deprieved group which is making the frontal attack. In a way the challenge in the court of the oppressive laws and their maladministration was pushed upon this group.

Tues. 3-13-56

One attack arises directly out of the case involving Mrs. Rosa Parks who was convicted of violating the seating pattern laws. Her conviction is an appeal where the constitutional validity of the way under which she was arrested and fined is being contested.

Mrs. Parks and some others who alleged injury to their civil rights have gone into the district court in a frontal attack on the city and the state laws. This is the key case and the one which could wreck Alabama's whole segregation system. For it was in the field of transportation that federal sanction was first given to the "separate but equal doctrine."

The third instance is the boycott indictments in which through demurrers all the Montgomery and Alabama travel segregation laws are being attacked.

One can understand the fury with which the custom-and-tradition leaders are storming forth with threats, defiance and bitter oratory. They see the handwriting on the walls for a way of life that is passing away.

Something else is disturbing those who believe in the divine rights of custom. Out of the protest movement has emerged a spiritual leadership which is using new tools. This leadership is winning the admiration of persons outside of Montgomery, Alabama and the South. The spiritual protest movement is being examined as a new weapon to blend with legal and political action. This leadership is displaying the transforming power of the truth.

An example of how the non-malice, economic self-defense, lift-by-love program is catching fire is the nationwide hour-of-prayer dedication advocated for March 28. However, instead of an hour of prayer one national weekly has suggested that each sympathiser send an hour's wages to the protest movement.

Another angle is the attention which is being given to the parent corporation which owns the local lines. Trade union leaders are examining the situation for any new lesson which might be of help. Perhaps it should be thrown in here that the Negro riding public most times when bus workers were involved in wage and welfare controversies threw their support to the employees.

Indictment of the protest leaders because of the circumstances, conditions and causes behind their actions has in a way placed them on freedom's honor roll. Their calm behavior, intelligent promotion of their cause and resort to the American process for settling grievance has won for them a new respect and has given democracy fresh vitality, it seems to me.

Outside of Montgomery the question is raised whether the protest-by-prayer idea is adaptable for other places where a dispossessed group is without its rightful political power, understanding public officials and healthy social climate. Some think it can and are trying to absorb all of its inner, finer, and refined points. The Montgomery plan is being appraised as a new civic tool for under-privileged groups.

One discovery which seems to be overlooked is that it was found that the group's established leadership was lagging behind the demands of the masses. For, when the leaders began to espouse, express and symbolize the faith, the hopes and the longings of the masses they began cement to them.

At one of the masses meetings here a woman moved to speak, told the gatherers that this protest "has cemented us together." She said she was happy to be a part of it and glad that she had lived to see some leaders come along that "all of us can trust."

identified with the protest have gone to jail along with some 75 others in support of the program which the masses of people indicated they want.

The Tip Off

World P.6 Tues. 4-24-56

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala.

Normalites in Birmingham heard their president, Dr. J. F. Drake of Alabama A&M College, make a report to them at the inaugural "Fellowship Banquet" held Friday night April 20 at the 18th St. Branch Y. M. C. A. The inspirational, first of its kind for the alumni, here or elsewhere, was sponsored by the Birmingham Chapter of the Alabama A. and College Alumni Association of which J. T. Hudson is the president.

Dr. Drake, the fourth president of the 81-year-old institution, spoke mainly in the vein of a pep message to the former students and friends of the college. Yet in the speech he did more than report to the alumni, bring them inspiration, and key up their hopes. He reworked his philosophy of education into the report, explained the role of the institution in today's challenges, and told what was expected of AAMC graduates.

He said that the future of A&M is tied up with the future of all other American colleges. He implied that it had no sectional, no isolated, no narrow role, but the broad role of the American college at its best. Dr. Drake said that there were "signs of vitality and growth" at the mountain-side college. He mentioned the new buildings, the community services, and the non-campus school-related work of the faculty. Among the latter was serving as consultants in career conferences, a teacher project, and professional activities.

On the matter of faculty, he projected something which spoke something he was able to get over without saying it. Dr. Drake pointed out that faculty members would have to possess the highest training, be able to do research, write books, and above all have good character. On the latter point, he made slight gestures, and emphasis. One thing which runs through all of Dr. Drake's speeches, conversations, and life is concern about sound and rich character. When he speaks one can feel his fine character sparkling in his speech.

Before he made his speech other alumni figures gave brief messages. Luther Lawlor saw the fellowship event as an "adventure in friendship." C. G. Christian searched back to turn up what the college on that rocky hill had meant to him. Mrs. Mary Clark of the class of 1902 told of her recollections under the administration of the founder, William Hooper Councill. No one was on hand to tell of the administration of President W. S. Buchanan.

Toastmaster C. A. Howze who was at A&M in 1924 during the administration of President T. R. Parker gave an interesting account of those days on the friendly hill when the school had but few buildings. He was at Normal, he said, in 1927 when Dr. Drake came there to head the institution. Mrs. Annie Minniefield of the class of 1955 told of recent developments at the North Alabama college.

L. R. Patton, the school's chief finance officer, lauded Dr. Drake and related his fine association with him during his seven years as an administrative officer at the college. Mr. Patton envisioned the time when there would be a "Builders Day" to supplement, the observance of "Founder's Day." He seemed to have tried to stimulate thinking on the contributions of those who build on that which is founded.

Mr. Hudson introduced Dr. Drake with a flush of admiration and verbal embellishments. He could not conceal the obviously deep impressions that Dr. Drake made on him during his days at Normal, as the A&M grads like to say.

I nhis report, Dr. Drake reminded the alumni as he reviewed briefly and cautiously, the history of the college that a leader should be viewed, in part, on the basis of the times in which he lives. This could have been an unintended challenge for the students and graduates to read the history of Alabama, the South, of America, of the world, as they go through the biography of Founder Councill.

He mentioned that the founder was criticized severely when he moved the college from Huntsville to Monte Sano or Normal. Lightly touched on some of the early struggles of the founder. He also mentioned that the school was authorized by the State Legislature in 1871 but was not organized until 1875.

Happy to share the event, Dr. Drake revealed the role of a competent college president who must look ahead to plant expansion, have plans ready, and add to that which he finds. He told the group they must inspire those who come under their teachings to (1) know the world in which they live, (2) build self-respect, (3) develop enlightened pride, (4) become world citizens and (promote desirable human relations. He counseled them to learn some language other than English" and suggested that the school curriculum should be improved to require no less. He said to understand the other man one has to learn to talk his language "If you are going to compete with people you need to communicate with them," he added.

Mrs. Ethel Bracy, on behalf of the local alumni chapter, presented Dr. Drake a token of appreciation, a Cavalier List Finder.

The Tip Off

World Fri. 4-27-56

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala.

AME Zion leaders last Sunday April 22, conducted corner-stone-laying ceremonies at the third rebuilding of 71-year-old Metropolitan AME Zion Church. P. 8

But what is there about the occasion that would justify other than conversational discussion? Metropolitan is one of the three rebuilt churches in the downtown area. The other two churches are St. Paul Methodist and St. John AME. Two of the other churches which formerly made up the "Big Six" of the downtown area have rebuilt. They are Thirgood CME and the First Congregational Christian Church.

((More recently the 17th Street A. O. H. Church of God pastored by the Rev. J. Roby, purchased the Synagogue at Sixth Avenue and 17th Street No.

Among speakers on the program were Bishop W. A. Stewart of the Sixth and Eleventh Episcopal Districts of the A. M. E. Zion Church, who currently lives in Washington, D. C.; A. G. Gaston, who is spearheading the movement to organize a federally-charter savings and loan association and Dr. E. W. Taggar, grand district deputy, District 14 of the Alabama Prince Hall Masons. Mr. Gaston, a candidate for a general office in the AME Church which is holding its General Conference in Miami, Fla., and Dr. Taggar, who served as treasurer of the Alabama Scholarship and Educational Fund Committee which directed the activities leading to the winning of the decision to broaden the admission policy of the University of Alabama and a CME layman, both incidentally represented the two big sister of the AME Zion Church.

These three key speakers on the program, to me, represented and symbolized power. They are products of the Black Belt. Bishop Stewart was born in Monroe County; Mr. Gaston breathed first in Marengo County and Dr. Taggart eyed the light in Pickens County. Bishop Stewart is one of the highest officials in what has been labeled "the Negro's Freedom Church." The AMEZ Church boasts of such freedom immortals of history as Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman.

To them one could, if he cared to do so add such names as the late Bishop Gordon and Bishop Taylor, who were serving in Alabama at the time of their death. Both lived and worked in the spirit of freedom history of the powerful AME Zion Church. In the short time the two fallen bishops were in this state they practically worked themselves to death trying to help liberate the group. They were trying to do this by bolstering the quality of church leadership. Bishop Taylor made his home in Montgomery, Ala., where he could throw his prestige, his presence, his influence and his heart behind the struggle.

Neither Bishop Gordon nor Bishop Taylor were native Alabamians. Yet they identified themselves closely, intimately, solidly with the hopes, aspirations, and longings of Alabamians, not merely the members of their church. They conducted themselves as the apostles of Christian freedom. You never heard either ever say, "let the community go, and stick to your church." For they made the community as much their concern, their interest, their field of work as they did the churches which came under their supervision.

The 160-year old African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church was on the scene battling long before there was a Negro press which spurted into being in 1827. It is older than the Emancipation Proclamation and the two major political parties. Freedom is in trouble in Alabama and the AME Zion Church is the "Negro's freedom church." The ballot is the symbol of freedom. No Negro is allowed to vote in Wilcox, Lowndes and some other Alabama counties. Religious freedom is the mother freedom and the ballot is the pillar of political freedom.

Masonic men represent the finest of manhood. In Jefferson County Prince Hall Masons number approximately 5,000. Presumably most of them are heads of families and among the community leaders. Yet how can one account for the low percentage of Negro voters in Jefferson County?

Savings and suffrage must go hand in hand to built a solid citizenship foundation. It is like hitting and pitching in a baseball game. You need both to win.

All of this leaked through my recollections as I watched the three acres of leadership in talkative action at the stone-laying program last Sunday. I had just read Dr. Henry Edmond's column on "Progress" in which he pointed out: "We had to learn that God was behind and in the process and that every step forward has cost and must cost 'blood, sweat and tears'."

The church, the fraternal order, the business enterprises, as corporate citizens, no less than human citizens owe something to the fight and struggle for expanded and freed freedom, it seems to me.

31a 1956 NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON,)

THE TIP OFF

Daily World

Jun. 7-8-56

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta Ga.

P.4

For a long time the "Southern liberals", organized labor in the South and the "silent" spiritual leaders of Dixie have been praised for their work toward expanding freedom and exploring new frontiers of the fuller life.

Now the position of this tri-type of leadership is being re-examined. There was little to work upon until these aboved described labels of leadership began to explain their positions in writings. Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, in his weekly column June 28 in the California Eagle, Los Angeles, Calif. ,tactfully exposed the so-called "Southern liberal."

He writes: "The term 'Southern liberal', however, is misleading because it describes not a group of people who are liberal in their social beliefs, but a group are moderates in their prejudices. A 'Southern liberal' is apt to be a man (or woman) who deplores active hatred and cruelty who unhappily recognizes the depths to which the Jim Crow system has deagged this out, and who would like to see racial relationships improving so that Jim Crow can be eradicated from American life."

Granger then moves to one of the dangerous false concepts being circulated by the "Southern liberals." Of this he observes: "The concept assumes that Negroes deserve a better chance but only at the point where Southern lberals (white, that is) decide that it is fair and safe to provide that chance." Granger points out that about one-fourth of the South's population is of Negro group. Hence the so-called "Southern liberal' has a population blind spot and seems to want to schedule social change to suit his timetable rather to satisfy the democratic compulsions, ethical stimulation and legal change.

He describes the "moderate" as "'the individual who is willing to put off solution of the Southern race question until a majority of whites in that region are ready to accept integration."

At this point it might be well to call up an article by Lewis M. Killian entiled, "Hypocrisy of 'Delay,", which appears in the current issue of New South, organ of the Southern Regional Council. Killian points that "the slogan of those who take this position (of delay) is, 'Give us time - we're not ready'. It is not an attitude of defiance toward the Supreme Court or of disagreement with the principle of the Brown decision. Yet, in the long run, the position of delay may prove more detrimental than will a posture of defiance."

Too many so-called "middle - grounders," "moderates', "go - easy ites" actually belongs to thecamp of delayers of change, it seems to me. Killian says that "gradualism must be associated with progressive compliance in good faith." The Killian yardstick would seem to eliminate most of the self-styled gradualists. Killian claims "that gradualism now implies acceptance of the decision and progress toward compliance is recognized by the avowed prosegregationist." That should explain the attack by the White Citizens Councils on the NAACP.

Now let us return to Granger He observes: "The true moderate' is that person who wants change now, but with little upset as possible. This kind of moderation does not criticize a Negro for being militant, nor excuse a white man because he is emotionally wedded to the past."

Some have seen the role of the 'moderate" as the referee between two contending groups, trying to get both to shut up for the sake of the South's good name. Or on the other, trying to compose differences of attitude toward the law, those who want to obey it and those who are determined to defy it.

Finally, Granger makes this telling point: "The NAACP and the White Citizens Councils are not as (C. A.) McKnight seem to imply (in his June 22 Collier article) balancing evtremes of American behavior. The NAACP is merely preaching basic Ameri canism; the White Citizens Councils are denying its validity Militant groups may err on strategy, but the opposition is in error in their whole concept of what it means to be an American."

THE TIP OFF

Daily World P.6

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Wed. 7-25-56

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(SNS) — Organized labor infused fresh vitality and the folk touch into political action.

Atlanta, Ga.

The industrial worker as an occupational class, the wage-neglected masses, and the easily-identified minorities were victimized by the poll tax, the registration system, the closed primary, and emotional politics. Until the industrial union movement took root in the South there was scarcely any political action in the interest of the wage-earner.

The late Sidney Hillman, father of the CIO's Political Action Committee, taught that politics is the science of making democracy work. He taught politics in terms of general welfare, decent wages, improved housing, better medical care, participation in the affairs of government and a balanced democracy.

Job rights and voting rights are the bedrocks of civil rights. And civil rights are common rights. They belong to the rich and poor alike, the Northerner and Southerner, the learned and the ignorant, the farmer and the factory man, capitalist and laborer, and to white and black. Voting is the most precious of all the civil rights in a democracy.

Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP, Washington Bureau rightly says that " . . . voting is the cornerstone of civil rights." He believes that "increased registration and voting of colored persons in the South will take the race issue out of politics."

Race issue politics is used to disguise vital labor issues. It is used to blind voters to economic issues. It is used to hide and becloud civic issues. It is used to protect and fortify those who desire to keep labor weak, voiceless and diverted.

Check with any trade union leader in Southern states and he can relate to you the obstacles faced by wage-earners in trying to get their names on the voters' list. The remaining six poll tax states are in the South. List those who helped to get the right-to-work laws enacted in 17 states. Who helped to get the bans in two states against labor's political action?

The race issue is again being used to split the ranks of organized labor. The race issue has been successfully used to suppress labor. The White Citizens Councils are the masterminds of race-issue politics. This includes restricting suffrage and making leadership conforms.

The labor movement is no stronger than those who make it up. Any member of organized labor or the working class wrongfully denied the ballot weakens the working man's cause. The voting issue is broader than the race issue because it ties in with the common interest of all Americans. America is the sum of all of its sections the total of all of its groups.

New York Senator Lehman in arguing for the civil rights bills pending before Congress observed: "I am convinced, on the basis of reports I have heard, that subtlethreats, difficult and questionable registration practices, economic pressures and general community climates are among the factors which help to keep Negro citizens effectively disfranchised."

"These practices can be thoroughly documented. They have been thoroughly documented. There are hundreds of circumstantial reports of such coercion and such intimidation. It is, I believe, a general condition in some parts of the South where there is an active discouragement of voting on the part of Negroes. In some places the discouragement is mild and passive. But it is as obvious as the difference between day and night that in some parts of the country, including some parts of the South, Negroes vote in large numbers — in as large numbers proportionately as White citizens — and that in other parts of the South, especially in rural areas, and also in some cities, Negroes do not vote. They are prevented from voting."

"Whatever forms of discouragement are used, Federal Statutes guaranteeing the right to vote and penalizing coercion in whatever form, will surely have the effect of permitting a free franchise to all citizens."

"I do not believe that any member of this Committee will argue that Negroes should not be permitted to vote. I do not think that anyone here will dare argue that Negroes are not part of the body politic, and that elections should not reflect the views of the entire body politic to the maximum extent possible."

"The disfranchisement of major segments of the population is intolerable. It results in the frustration of democracy."

The consequences of full Negro participation in voting throughout the South may be unfortunate for some political figures. But it will have a beneficient effect upon democracy itself. There can be no excuse or justification for denial to some citizens of the right to vote. You will not be able to stop the process in any event, even if you refuse to pass this legislation. It will come. The most sensible procedure is to enact this legislation; to bow gracefully to the inevitable and to adjust actions to the new circumstance that will then pertain.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Wed. 7-11-56

Inability of the program makers for the twenty-third annual meeting of the National Fraternal Council of Churches, U. S. A., Inc., to find outstanding local trade union leaders on program educators to appear on program as speakers came as a surprise to some of the community church leaders, it was disclosed.

The Rev. J. L. Ware, one of the host pastors, contacted both Negro and white labor leaders of the

community and sought their services as panel speakers. This was a broad, forward, refreshing step by the church leaders. years ago in the Birmingham area some union leaders were critical of ministers or management. Of course this was not entirely true.

For a number of churches opened their doors to union meetings, granted organizers space during services to make appeals and even solicited families of suffering workers who were trying to establish unions in mines, plants, shops and factories. Some of the best organizers were ministers who became professional representatives of the trade union movement. In this area some rank and file union leaders are pastoring churches, like Rev. James Davis of Westfield, who attended Morehouse College.

The union movement is in trouble in the South. It is beset with ridiculous right-to-work laws, frustrated by the White Citizens Councils, hampered by the Dixiecrats, and often misunderstood by a public which knows too little about the soul and service of the trade union movement. Yet the church leaders say they could find no local labor leaders who would appear and tell the union story to them.

Organized labor in the South, regardless of its faults and mistakes, has been one of the potent forces for sound human relations. Its political action, purchasing power and economics, and enlightened concern for man's total needs, have helped a South that was poor, neglected and exploited. It was beginning to find a new friend in the Negro church which has often scoffed at the extravagant claims made for the trade union movement in the field of desirable race relations.

Dr. W. H. Jernagin of Washington, D. C., at the opening session had turned his welcome response into a fervent keynote speech, setting the stage for the vital panels which did not take place as planned. He told of his first trip to Birmingham in 1902 at a meeting where Booker T. Washington was the speaker, and the tragedy that followed an outcry which was misheard. He said the united church group was organized in 1933 "to speak as one voice for the people." He warned that real leaders "must not be afraid to go to jail" that freedom can be unjailed. He declared that held-back groups had died on foreign battlefield for democracy and should not flinch if they have to "die here for the rights of our people."

One of the council leaders said he was disturbed when some approached leaders in public education shied away from participating on the program. He did not elaborate but suggested that it should be determined just what happened that they became unavailable. A number of local teachers have shouldered heroically the full burden of freedom and first-class citizenship in this area. Hence it seems to me that some names should have been revealed, which was not the case.

Two days later I happened to check through the July 6 issue of The Montgomery Advertiser and read an advertisement of The Montgomery (White) Citizens' Council which is trying to get the job of Dr. Clarence M. Dannelly, superintendent of city - county schools of Montgomery. The WCC is a thought-controlled organization which seeks to compel persons to conform to its narrow, bigoted, hateful way.

Dr. Dannelly resigned the vice-presidency of the Judiciary Council of the Methodist Church after being elected at the 1956 General Conference held at Minneapolis, Minn. The conference had elected J. Ernest Wilkins, a distinguished American, Assistant Secretary of Labor in President Eisenhower's cabinet. But the WCC didn't like this and in its ad tries to build its case for getting Dr. Dannelly fired.

This, the WCC ad says, is why it wants Dr. Dannelly separated from his job.

" . . . In Dr. Dannelly's own words used in introducing a (N)egro speaker to a church conference at Minneapolis. Dr. Dannelly is quoted by the Daily Christian Advocate for May 7, 1956, as having said, in presenting the (N)egro."

" 'He is held in high esteem by the Council members. He is held in high esteem for his unusual effectiveness. In addition to entering into deliberations fully, in the discussions of the Council, he is an All-American secretary, and if he continues in that position as long as Bishop Oxnam did as Secretary of the Council of Bishops, I am sure his associates will present him with the Paul Revere bowl.' "

" 'I present a valiant associate, the Honorable J. Ernest Wilkins, prominent Chicago atttorney and at present Assistant Secretary of Labor in President Eisenhower's official family.' "

" 'Mr. Wilkins.' "

Hence the WCC is after Dr. Dannelly because he told the truth.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World

Wed. 8-8-56

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta, Ga.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (SNS) — Rebelling is going in the South in the midst of the world revolution which is visible everywhere.

Certain negativists in the South are bearing arms against the forces of change. The Southern politicians caucus in Atlanta against change. Alabama picks a stand-by committee. Texas names a "favorite son" candidate. The Southern Congressional delegates formulate a "manifesto" for the status quota. Second and third "manifestos" are drafted.

P. 6

The White Citizens Councils blue print a program. The WCC wants each Southern state to filibuster in the Democratic Nominating Convention by each of the resisting states nominating a candidate as party standard bearer. The WCC wants the various delegations polled on the civil rights plank. The WCC wants a Dixie bargaining bloc. The WCC wants to become the guiding power in the Democratic Party, it seems.

So the rebellion spills over into the labor movement. A sectional labor movement is attempted. About 200 persons from Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina met July 22 at City Auditorium here to draft a "Manifesto of Southern Labor" and spade the formation of the Southern Federation of Labor. An off-shoot known as the Southern Aircraft Workers, Inc. was established in April. Still another group, Southern Crafts, Inc. was incorporated Aug. 1.

Like the WCC, the break-off unions are based upon a ritual of bigotry. These off-shoot unions are lily-white. They are formed rebelling against the history and direction of the trade union movement.

When Samuel Gompers helped to organize the American Federation of Labor, there was no exclusion based upon race. When John L. Lewis, the late Phillip Murray and the late Sidney Hillman formed the Congress of Industrial Organization there was no restriction based upon race. So these spurious unions come into being fighting history. The direction of labor is toward merging instead of splintering. The FFL-CIO has merged.

Sectional unions will find it difficult to operate successfully under the current trends. In the Bester W. Steele Case the principle was established that no labor union with bargaining rights can be allowed to injure the rights of any worker because the union will not admit him to membership. Industry-wide bargaining just about eliminates the effectiveness of localized unions.

The established unions look with disfavor upon dual unionism. Wildcat unions cannot command much strength at the bargaining tables. Likely they could not produce any substantial benefits for their members. Given the choice between benefits and bigotry, the wise union member will take the benefits. The leaders of the spurious union movement seek to capitalize upon emotion, hate, distortion, and fear.

The Federal Government is taking the lead in wiping out employment discrimination. Unions which cater to bias will hardly be able to work on government contracts. Bias unions spots themselves up as blots on the trade union movement.

The United Steelworkers of America have just approved a significant contract which is likely to set the pattern. It carries the union shop feature without the so-called escape clauses. This will throw up a road block to dual unionism. The right-to-work law has been repealed in Louisiana. The AFL-CIO in Alabama have worked out merger terms.

The WCC and the KKK are believed to be aiding the formation of the spurious and clandestine unions Some of the same forces which have fought organized labor are said to be working in the background while the break-away unions are being set up .

Birmingham seems to be the headquarters of the spurious union movement. The Dixiecrat movement kicked off here in 1948. This was the spot of the revival of the KKK in Alabama in the 1940s. Birmingham has been the warring ground of two WCC factions. The revolting negativists seem to select Birmingham for their starting place, it seems.

The Tip-Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Mid-way observance of Negro History Week came the announcement from New York City that Dr. John Hope Franklin, Oklahoma-born, Fisk-trained and Harvard-Ph. D-ed historian had been invited to chair the history department of Brooklyn College. He will earn $11,000 a year and have a full professorship.

Dr. Franklin, 41 years old, is currently professor of history at Howard University. He wears the Phi Beta Kappa key and is the authority of a number of books which touch upon the subject of the Negro group in history. Among them are "From Slavery to Freedom" and "The Free Negro in North Carolina." He is currently writing a book on the South.

Commenting upon the appointment Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, president of the college said: "I know that our students and faculty will welcome our new history chairman. chairman."

He observed: "Maybe it will help the University of Alabama students see that color is not a bar to scholarship."

Dr. Franklin is among the new scholars of the group. They continue to emerge and multiply. The coming the springboard fo rthe predominantly Negro college is begroup's new scholars to mave up the ladder. Scholarship in the widened areas of America history increasingly is finding a new demand. Hidden history is making its way to the heights.

About hidden history, can one produce proof. One of the national Negro weeklies recently published a feature article on a speech Thomas Jefferson, then in retirement, delivered to a group of erring students at the University of Virginia.

The story, as published by the weekly, was told by Edgar Allen Poe, the poet.

It relates how in 1825 the students of the University of Virginia went on an orgy of crimes. Assault, thefts and rape were committed on slave women and the daughters of poor whites. A Grand Jury investigated the crimes and a knot of guilty students fled to the woods. Jefferson heard about the incident and drove his coach from Monticello where the indicted students were barricaded.

Jefferson, an old man at this period, delivered a bristling speech to the young college men on the meaning of democracy. They questioned him closely on his ideas of equality. He admitted differences between persons but argued they had no bearing as such on essential equality.

He suggested differences were products of handicaps and that had all men enjoyed equal opportunities through the centuries handicapped people long ago would have vanished.

Poe in his story gives this account of the Jefferson speech to the misbehaving U. of V. students:

"We poke fun at our African slaves," Mr. Jefferson said. "At their ignorance; we insist that they're inferior people. OF COURSE THAT WAY! But I dare you to free them and give them equal opportunities They will rise as high as the white men as surely as God reigns."

"All men are created equal; give them a chance, and give it to them long enough, and they will prove it. The best blood and the best families merely refer to those who got ahead because our system of life particularly favored them."

"Of course there's a difference; what more would you expect when everything that you have done has been designed to produce a difference that amounts to a handicap. But you will never correct the handicap until you change the conditions. That's what we're fighting for, and we insist on the start being made now!"

These two events edged through my memory as I read the twice-delivered convocation speech by President O. C. Carmichael of the University of Alabama on "recent happenings and their implications" at the state's university. The speech did not seem to come to full, bold, challenging grip with the basic issue.

He pointed out: "The University of Alabama has encountered many crises in its 125 year history. It has met all of them with courage and fortitude and has grown stronger and stronger from decade to decade."

The

World BY EMORY

No matter how many flag-pole speeches, cross-burning, midnight marches, and hate yellings, I continue to believe that the University of Alabama students are a part of the spirit of what makes us proud as Americans, as Southerners and as Alabamans.

All of this I believe because of those I know and admire who are graduates of our university and of the bull session I had the day I visited the institution. Talk with even those in lowly labors to say nothing of the fine scholars there and you come away with that high impression. College and university students often like to test ideas, go radical, and break through the popular and conventional.

But young people are basically friendly, clean-minded, fair and above those mean and harden prejudices which stir and sour many oldsters. Young people are the children of change by virture of their youth. Their idealism, optimism and open-mindedness make them a natural and normal part of friendly action.

I have in my possession a note a university person handed me as I went the registration rounds with a new student. I reads: "Congratulations, many of us are with you all the way."

When Robert E. Johnson of a national news-picture weekly magazine phoned me from Montgomery and I related to him the happy experience he rushed to the city with his photographer William P. Lanier. Cliff MacKay, editor of the Afro-American newspaper of Baltimore, Maryland, who was passing through Birmingham enroute back home from Montgomery decided to stay over to go to the university. Bob Johnson grew up in the Ensley community, graduated from Westfield High School, grabbed a bachelor of arts degree at Morehouse College and scooped up a master's degree in journalism at the Unveirsty of Syracuse. He had served as city editor of the Atlanta Daily World and MacKay had been editor of the same paper.

On February 3 they journeyed to Tuscaloosa to see for themselves. The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, pastor of Bethel Baptist Church (Collegeville), who also made the trip sent me a telegram which read: "Miss Autherine J. Lucy in class. Everything fine." All of this seemed to have confirmed my first impressions.

Then my mind shot back to an essay I had read by Dr. Harry V. Richardson, president of Gammon Theological Seminary entitled "What The Negro Wants" which was published in the January, 1956 issue of New South, organ of the ... in part:

"Today in the colleges and schools of the South, there are Chinese, Japanese, Philippine, Indian and other students, all members of different races. Only one group is barred, and the members of that group are native Americans who have shed their blood in every war for the freedom and independence of their homeland."

"Let us be clear. Here in the South we do not want Chinese colleges or Japanese colleges or Philippine colleges or schools or any of that. What we want is schools, good schools, to which every person who desires to learn may be able to go and to have open access to the wisdom of mankind."

"We have made astounding progress in the last two decades, but we still have much to do. The millenium is not yet. We still have to fight the rabble rouser and irresponsible politicians who at every point have tried to hold progress back and who still are ready to sell the new South short. They are the ones who make it difficult for real statesmen to arise and survive in the South. They are the ones who tie politics to hatreds, who ride into office on the Negro's back and then turn around and kick him. They are the ones who play on our hatreds and lead us into acts of national disgrace.

Dr. Richardson sums up what the Negro wants in "four simple forms," namely:

1. He wants that every Southern child shall be able to live and grow and learn in the South, without having the stigma of inferiority stamped on his skin or burned into his soul.

2. He wants the right to secure any kind of work of which he is capable, without being denied because of his skin.

3. He wants acess to evesy public privilege or serviie to whih a citizen is entitled, without having to crawl in through back doors or to stand behind screens like an outcast or a dog.

4. He wants an American's participation in the processes of his government, receiving all rights and protections, and bearing all responsibilities.

"This is what he wants, this is all that he wants, and he believes that under God this is fair."

The Tip Off

World BY EMORY O. JACK

On Dec. 15, 1955, a number of organizations held rallies commemorating the 164th anniversary of the ratification of the Bill of Rights.

Civil rights have now become a political issue. For civil rights are a part of one's personal, political and natural rights in America. The civil rights issue is destined to play an integral role in the coming political warfare between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party.

Traditionally, the Republican Party has been the party of civil rights, dating back to Abraham Lincoln. Yet the GOP and also the Democratic Party have faltered on civil rights.

Conditions in the South have served to stress the need for spotlighting the status of civil rights in this region, and elsewhere. Take the Till case in Missippi, the Lucy Case in Alabama, the Supreme Court defiance in South Carolina, the interposition program of Virginia; emotional outbursts of political leaders in Georgia, and the rise of the White Citizens Councils.

Emory Jackson

The World Tip-Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

DOTHAN, Ala. — (SNS—Weapons of the White Citizens Councils, which are springing up and spreading in this state, are beginning to protrude from behind the WCC propaganda wall.

At first the WCC appeared as merely a thought-control group using economic pressure, advocating racial restrictions in voting, defying the Supreme Court, and verbalizing on retention of the dual school system.

Changes came fast structurally, first. Attempts were made to eliminate the "White" in the official title of some councils. Membership was opened to women. Children became spectators of literature. WCC cells seemed to have been established in some institutions. Two types of meetings were held — public and closed.

At this point it should be pointed out that the highest law of the land now makes local law on two-tone schools unconstitutional Hence the WCC program rests primarily on something which no longer has the sanction of the basic law of the nation. The WCC program is tied to an illegal system.

When it is asserted by the WCC that lawful and peaceful means will be used to defend, to continue, to preserve a system already declared contrary to basic law, such arguments tend to fall shy of logic. Illegality lacks the force of legal action.

Robert S. Bird, correspondent for The New York Herald Tribune, who has been in Alabama to observe the tension scenery on Feb. 19 said the WCC assert "the disavowal of violence and in the same breath flat defiance and challenge of both the Supreme Court and all Negroes who want desegregation." He quoted a WCC leader as saying the White Citizens Council is "going to be smart so they can't pin anything on us."

So the new turn in technique begins to evolve and their adoption to emerge. Racial rumors are heard. Rumor has been the basis of conflict. Check the history of modern race riots in this country. The fact that rumor has not set off conflict in a certain area of Alabama is a tribute to the daily press which was alert. The newspapers tracked down the rumors. False they found those rumors.

An effort has been made to weaken and to remove independent, forthright and authentic leadership of the group. The situation in Montgomery is a good illustration. The masses have been urged by some of their "friends" who have never championed their rights as free Americans to "revolt against the leadership." The doctrine of divide and defeat has been rushed back into use. Voices are heard urging leaders to speak up for customs under which their rights have been suppressed and their hopes crushed.

On February 26 ,The New York Times in a dispatch date-lined Tuscaloosa, said in part: "The (trade) union leaders concede that a small minority of their members were among the fanatics on the subject of racial integration who would engage in violence to support it. But they said there was nothing they could do about this."

Trade union leaders who know the meaning of struggle and who have had to combat bias against unionism as strong as racial bias should understand the lessons at issue. The present status of organized labor in Alabama is an object lesson in the possibility of education for change.

Verbal violence begets physical violence, it seems to me. Insistence on defiance of law and order is an invitation to violence and anarchy.

Public officials sworn to uphold the law in some instances are found on the membership rolls of those organized to defy the law. This is a tragedy of such emotional resistance. It is this kind of identity which gives law-defying organizations a feeling of protection.

The WCC would impose the suffer-as-a-whole doctrine which tends to penalize groups on the basis of false distinctions. The Supreme Court on the other hand has ruled that civil rights are personal and present rights. Both Christianity and democracy are based upon the dignity and worth of the individual. Freedom is a whole thing or a no thing.

What does all of this suggest? A program of understanding needs to be promoted based upon facts and truth. Rumor must yield to reason. Change must be allowed to make its stormy way. Persons of good will need to come forth and lift their voices on the side of fair play.

In a number of spots in the South the ballot is wrongfully denied certain persons. Two advocates of the ballot were shot to death in Mississippi. A third was seriously wounded while promoting the work of first-class citizenship.

A Leadership Conference for Civil Rights is scheduled for March 4-6 at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C. Some 50 or more national organizations are expected to be represented. The conference is being organized with the assistance of the NAACP.

Labor's Daily on Dec. 17 summarized the following areas of interest of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights:

1.—Set up an effective federal FEPC to prevent discrimination in employment.

2.—Make federal funds for education, housing and welfare available only to those programe and projects that comply with constitutional bars against segregation and other forms of discrimination.

LYNCHING FEDERAL CRIME

3.—Make lynching and other assaults by public officials OR PRIVATE CITIZENS, acting either in concert or individually, on persons or property because of race, color, religion or national origin, a federal crime.

4.—Wipe out interference with the right to register or vote in primary or general federal elections, and abolish the poll tax. (This last phrase is the only one mentioned on the agenda put forth by Sen. Lyndon Johnson, Democratic Senate leader, for the next session of Congress. The Republicans have mentioned none so far).

5.—Create a civil rights division within the Department of Justice, headed by an assistant attorney general, with authority to protect civil rights in all sections of the country.

6—Establish a permanent federal commission on civil rights to make continuous appraisals and to recommend action with respect to civil rights problems.

7—Eliminate remaining segregation and other forms of discrimination in interstate travel.

8—Establish true majority rule in the Senate and House of Representatives.

The Tip-Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS)— Two speeches last week—one by a politician and the other by a newspaper editor cast light upon the current situations which are extracting world-wide attention in the South.

Speaking at MacMurray College's Jacksonville, Ill.) third annual newspaper conference, Turner Catledge, managing editor. The N. Y. Times, urged editors to "let facts and reasons prevail" in discussing the issues of desegregation. He noted that this country is being "torn apart by the issue of desegregation" and suggested that it be met with light calmness and dedicated understanding.

He said: "Here certainly is the test for us as editors—whether we will first ourselves let fact and reason prevail in our newspapers . . . so that they may then exercise their influence over the readers."

In Alabama some editors seem ready to boldly take up the challenge of promoting sound and democratic understanding among human beings and the groups to which they belong. This is the most hopeful sign to show itself recently in Alabama during these troubled and trying times, it seems to me. Editors and other workers on mass and public media have great responsibility as organs of freedom to assert their mission and do their duty as instruments of democracy.

The politician—Adlai Stevenson (also a newspaper publisher) in a prepared speech at a Jefferson - Jackson Day dinner in Hartford, Connecticut, made some utterances which should help to clear the way for broader understanding. Here are significant portions from that speech:

"We sometimes forget, when phrases become familiar, all that they mean. And their real meaning must be in terms of the problems each generation faces.

They mean in terms of the most crucial issue within this beloved land of ours today: equal rights for all—regardless of race and color.

"America is nothing unless it stands for equal treatment forall citizens under the law. And freedom is unfinished business until all citizens may vote and live and go to school and work without encountering in their daily lives barriers which we reject in our law, our conscience and our religion."

"The Supreme Court has reaffirmed this essential doctrine of democracy in the school desegregation cases. Those decisions speak clearly the law and the conscience of this land. But they recognize that a time for the adjustments that have to be made. But they do not recognize or permit repudiation or rejection of these decisions of the court and of the people.

INTERPOSITION IS OPPOSED

"And I would say a word directly tonight about the re-emergence in a few states of the doctrine called interposition—the doctrine that a state has a right to interpose its power against the decision of the the properly constituted authority as to the law of the land.

"I recall here in all gravity Andrew Jackson said in his proclamation of Dec. 10, 1832:

"I consider then," Jackson wrote, "the power to annul a law of the United States assumed by one state incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letted of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded and destructive of the great object for which it was formed."

"That was essential democratic doctrine—and American doctrine — 120 years ago. It is essential Democratic and American—doctrine today.

"We are as a people, at the very dawn of our brightest days — the day of full democracy in our public schools. This may well be one of the greatest accomplishments of our generation, not as Democrat but as American, not as candidate but as citizen. I pray to God that this day may not be marred nor this achievement poisoned by the bitterness of any who would assert views, no matter how deeply felt, against the laws of the land and of humanity.

"Equal rights for all must mean just that—the right of everybody to live according to the laws and freedoms which are the meaning of America and the modern Christian civilization."

The Tip-Off

World Tues. 4-3-56 P.4 B'ham, Ala.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

LOUISVILLE, Ky — (SNS) — Arriving in the city for the Louisville Pan-Hellenic Council Forum sponsored by Theta Omega Chapter of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity at Plymouth Congregational Church, Sunday, March 25, I ran into a flurry of questions about the "Lucy Case," the "Montgomery Bus Riders Protest" and Negro leadership in Alabama.

Jesse H. Lawerence, an outstanding mortician of the city, former two-term Kentucky state legislator, and a top-level Republican leader, met me at the airport as I planed from Detroit. He told me about smoker the Omegas were giving and also about a radio disc jockey who mentioned an invitation to record my views on the Alabama "story." Dr. C. H. Parrish, professor of sociology at the University of Louisville, had forwarded to me a memorandum of the format of the forum and also included clippings of a series of articles running in the Louisville Courier-Journal, signed by Sam Adkins, a topflight journalist.

However I had not taken time to read the articles before the smoker, and did not understand the kind of questions popped at me. Omega men in Louisville doubtless had absorbed the still-appearing features and were trying to pick from me comment on some items and details which troubled them. I know that at the forum the program was modeled after the "Meet The Press" radio shows.

Dr. John Ford, professor of philosophy, Bellarmine College; Weldom Janes, editorial writer for the Courier-Journal and Dr. Parrish were listed with me on the forum. But I was to give the main presentation and then let the others together with members from the audience ask me questions.

Yet at the smoker the hostmen insisted that I discuss certain topics which had made headline news all over the world. Some details and background which most likely would not be covered at the forum were revealed. Among those at the smoker were leaders in the NAACP, political leaders, race relations experts, business men and educators.

Let's cut off this part of the discussion and take the "Seventh of a Series" by Topflight Reporter Adkins on "A Report On Alabama," which had to come up at the forum. He quotes some high-spaced Alabamians about "the apparently inept way the (Autherine) Lucy case was handled" by the lawyers of record and the NAACP.

Here are the chief alleged "clumsy tactics" and "badly botched" efforts made in the Lucy Case: (1) The Adkins sources question whether the NAACP "really wanted to have Miss Lucy admitted to the U. of A. as just another student." (Of course, from what I know of the case both Mrs. Pollie Myers Hudson and Miss Lucy themselves made the decision to enroll at the university. All along they insisted that they desired to attend the state-supported university as a matter of personal choice and to further their training. Transcript in the case may be consulted to document this observation if one cares to do so).

(2) Another view reporter by Mr. Adkins that the NAACP "cashed in on the Lucy woman financially." (This seems to be untrue. There is no evidence that the NAACP used the Lucy Case for fund-raising purposes. On the contrary, the NAACP discouraged the idea of anybody or organization exploiting the case). It should be said that this is one of the rumors which spread shortly after the mob forced Miss Lucy from the campus.

(3) Miss Lucy held a degree from Miles College and yet sought enrollment at the University of Alabama as a freshman. Miss Lucy applied for admission to both the graduate and undergraduate school to work in the field of library service. A reading of the court record which includes a copy of the application form she filled out testifies to this.

Miles nor any other all-Negro school in Alabama offers such a course. Consult catalogues of these Negro colleges. Even if they did, that would have nothing to do with one's exercise of choice. A review of the court record does not back up the charge that Miss Lucy "changed her proposed field to library service." What appears is that the phrase "library science" was used but changed to conform with the title of the field as listed in the U. of A. catalogue.

(4) During the waiting period of more than three years Miss Lucy "had not visible means of support." This is ridiculous and untrue. Two years Miss Lucy was a Mississippi school teacher. She worked as secretary for a business firm after that. She lived with members of her family.

(5) Miss Lucy and Mrs. Hudson "both were fashionably dressed" the day Miss Lucy went for registration. I was on the scene and certainly failed to see anything of the kind. This is another rumor which gained circulation after the expulsion. (6) That Miss Lucy while registering was "shoved" ahead of some other students.

Miss Lucy at the beginning of her registration stood in line with the rest of the students. When newspaper cameramen began to take pictures of her in line with the other students, she then began to be rushed through the enrollment process.

These are but a few of the bad spots in the "Lucy Story" as reported by Mr. Adkins. He reported what he was told and disclosed some of the sources of his information. I plan to return to the article and check over some other rumors which have been handed out as analysis.

Atlanta, Ga.

The Tip-Off

P.4 Daily World

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Thurs. 4-5-56

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The Tip-Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

The South today is no longer solid, single-cropped, and isolated. But it is segregated, worried, worked up, and waking up. Changes are going on in the South. These changes had begun with the depression.

Today the South is the most discussed, the most reported, the most surveyed, the most polled, the most analyzed section of the nation. The South is news. The Negro group has become news in the South. Whether there is a new South is a matter of opinion but that there is a news South is a matter of record.

Your reporters, your Congressmen, your business agents, your economic explorers have all been to the South. You have witnessed the first-hand reports brought to you by those of us who were born in the South; who grew up there and who still make our home in the South.

Some of us say that the South is not understood. Some of us in the South say we know a group known as "the Negro."

Distinguished and well-meaning Southern leaders and literary figures have expressed themselves on the matter of racial relations in the South. Novelist William Faulkner has cautioned members of the Negro group and the Northern group of the seriousness of race relations in the South. He calls on the "extremes" to enter a cooling off period. He urges the NAACP leadership to adopt a win-and-wait policy. He thinks to insist now that the South begin to implement the May 17, 1954 decision might not only setback race relations but provoke the choosing of sides, not on the basis of right but race. The Faulkner doctrine has been described as "stoppism" which is apparently an alternative to gradualism.

He wants to give the white South time to catch its breath. Negro leaders want a program of catch-up by which they may enjoy full freedom. The Faulkner doctrine seems to be faulty as a program. Once you quit working for change you weaken the machinery and the motivation for change. Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia have yet to announce a program in the direction of putting into operation the Supreme Court's implementation doctrine.

Some forces in the Deep South seem determined to try to overrule the United States Supreme Court and to overpower the Negro group. New organizations like the White Citizens Councils have sprung up in this section with an advertised campaign to deny the vote to the Negro, disobey and defy the Supreme Court and to dare the Federal Government to attempt to enforce the interpreted law. The WCC is a fascist-like movement which uses race, rumor, vicious propaganda, prejudice, squeezes, pressures, economic reprisals and appeals to fear, ignorance, and emotion to build opposition, negativism, and an unhealthy climate of public opinion.

Some Southern spokesmen have resorted to the new defense of segregated practices by use of doctrine of mutual guilt. These leaders point to racial discrimination in the North where the Negro group can vote; where there are civil rights laws; where there is a two-party system of government. Some of our non-friends abroad point to the racial practices in the United States as a means of embarrassing us and weakening our influence in those countries where we need real and constant friends.

The South has peddled the best-friend-of-the-Negro idea. Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (D-N. C.) in the April 3, 1956 issue of Look magazine observes that in this section there are between colored and white "mutually helpful (interracial) friendships." He also observes that the South believes "the freedom to select one's associates." Segregation, it seems to me, completely operates against "freedom to select."

One must recognize a difference between Southern friendship and Christian friendship. One must apply certain brotherhood tests of friendship to understand this type of friendship. It is more on the side of warmth and kindness toward some particular Negro who is useful to him personally. Close relationship does not always mean friendship. Let's call this type of friendship by another description — closeship.

What use is this "best-friend-of-the-Negro" friendship put. For some particular participants it works out mutually helpful within the established pattern. One can be friendly toward some particular Negro without being a friend of the Negro group. This type of white-to-Negro friendship while cutting across racial lines lasts so long as this particular Negro stays in his place.

Still I believe that in the South there exists some true, honest, and honorable friendship between Negro persons and white persons. This is friendship as distinguished between the "Negro's best friend" theory. Hope lies for all the South because of the presence of friendship built on goodwill, personal acceptance, and mutual interest.

Negro persons want friendship plus freedom and first-class citizenship. They want friendship to bring them a new status and mutual respect as a fellow being. Full friendship implies full acceptance.

The Tip Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Let's bring out some of the reports made at the second annual Big Brothers Day observance held April 25 at Edgewater Junior High School of which William J. Jackson is the principal.

James Henry, Jr. reported, as follows: "On March 28, 1956 I visited Dr. R. G. Cole's office in Ensley, Alabama. Dr. Cole is a medical and surgical doctor."

"On March 28, I helped around the office and also did some outside work. In the office I read some books on medicine. Later I went on some house calls with the doctor. Returning I helped in the office to keep the patient's bill from getting covered up. We went to Ave. E. and to Fairfield on more house calls."

"The reason I want to be a doctor is that a doctor helps the sick, a doctor can help a person when a person can't help himself."

"Dr. Cole is one of the finest men I have ever met. He is a person I would like to pattern my life after. He is a person who has great responsibility and he is also a person that I think any boy would like to pattern his life after."

Another report from Ed Bamage said: "On March 23, 1956 I visited the office of Atty. (Demetrius) C Newton. I first was introduced to his secretary and a client from Florida. Then we toured his office and his law library. He told me about all of his books and explained all of the certificates which he had received. We then left his office and went to get a shoe shine, and to get cokes at the Temple Pharmacy and had double cokes."

"We then went to get his car and went to the Courthouse. There he showed me divorce records and the name of his clients. We left there and went to City Hall to see Judge Hall and Judge Parker who were not in. We heard part of an automobile accident trial. We went to the A. G. Gaston Motel (Restaurant) and had a well prepared chicken dinner. When we finished we went by Brown's Studio and had pictures made. This ended my visit with my Big Brother Atty. D Newton."

These are but two of the reports yet all of them are interesting. The men who participated in the project deserve a pat on the back for sharing themselves with these boys. Teaching is wider than the classroom, yet there is no substitute for the classroom. These business men seemed to have provided for these boys what the classroom professionals call learning situation.

Too many boys are without the stimulating, wholesome and clear companionship of men. Too many boys who come up under distressing circumstances and curtailed opportunity never have the privilege of helpful contacts with the established leaders of their communities.

Creative guidance which brings the younger generation in to the reality of career leaders should prove fruitful in the long run. Could it be that in our times there has come to be neglected leaders who are being overlooked in this new challenge of total teaching?

Without better boys there can never be better men. Without better men there can never be a better world. Without human beings there can never be better human relations. The Big Brother Day project is no less an experience in human relations than a Brotherhood Day program. For at the bottom of both must lie understanding, the will to goodness and faith in God.

Boys no matter where they are born in America, or where they live, or the color of their skin, and the form of their worship, usually have those aching longings to grow up into useful beings. American boys are American boys, no less and no more.

The quicker all of us realize this is better it will be for America, it seems to me.

If Big Brothers Day serves to awaken us to the importance of giving more attention to our own boys, to the community boys, to all boys, will then offer community guidance. Community guidance is also needed during the days of delinquency, or unrest of hysteria.

The Tip-Off

World B'ham Ala.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (SNS) — Gov. James E. Folsom used his press conference here Feb. 24 to announce his plan to organize a statewide interracial committee to combat misunderstanding growing out of racial differences in Alabama.

As proposed by the governor, the general principle of an inter-group committee and the field of work were outlined. The invitations to the press conference had gone out to the all-white Alabama Press Association. Members of the Alabama Newspaper Association composed of, or listing the 16 Negro interest newspapers in Alabama did not get an invitation to attend the meeting. There were representatives present from other special interest newspapers other than white and Negro weeklies. Among those were the labor press. Neighborhood weeklies were also represented.

Tues. 2-28-56

The national press, the wire services, radio and television and the national ..Negro newspaper ..and magazine weeklies were in attendance. Robert E. Johnson (born in Ensley, Ala.) and William P. Lanier of Johnson Publications, ..Chicago, Ill.; Buddy Lonesome, St. Louis Argus, St. Louis, Mo. and ..Al Sweeney, Afro-American, Baltimore Maryland were among those from the national weeklies attending the press conference..... ....

Editor James E. Mills of the Birmingham Post Herald, a Scripps-Howard affiliate, accepted the position of chairman of an advisory committee from the newspapers to assist the governor. Mr. Mills named six members of the committee, but none at the moment from the Negro newspaper press. He also indicated in his remarks, as I recall them, of working within the frame work of tradition. If I understand American history, Southern tradition has always been on the side of respect for law and a recognition of the U. S. Supreme Court as the highest interpreter of the law. Yet I am not sure that Mr. Mills, in all fairness, had my version entirely in mind.

However, Editor Mills as Chief officer of a daily newspaper and representative of a powerful chain, understand better than I do the role of a good newspaper in a demo cracy. Believeing this, I feel that he will exert his infulence and use his opportunity to help Alabama meet its responbility fully during these dynamic days of change. Where there are good daily newspapers, adjustment is easier, and human relations more nearly in line with the tenets of democracy.

Also present at the conference were some lawmakers. State Senator Albert Boutwell of Birmingham, spoke and in way gave a lecture to the press and expressed his well known views. Yet any assumption that the South knows everything about every other section and that no other sections knows much about the South would seem to reflect on Southern editors. Southern news papers are read outside of the South and Southern representatives are in Congress; Southern students are in Eastern Universities; Southerners are in the Army. From all who come out of the South come the story of the South.

There is a difference between the Southern story and the Southern's version of that same story. The day to day events make up the full Southern story. There is an effort to "sell" the white South's version of the South, a South which includes some persons who are not white (by ..Southern ..definition, mind you).

I was impressed with the reactions of Publisher Buford Boone of the Tuscaloosa News. He felt deeply indebted to Governor Folsom for calling the press into conference and also for trying to make a positive and enlightened approach to a grave and serious problem.

Mr. Boone pointed out that in Alabama there are "two sets of neighbors who have got to live together in peace". He suggested that many of us must realize changes are taking place and that compromise is necessary in some instances. "Quick anger is the buggy whip of the devil", he quoted.

Under questioning, Gov. Folsom said that he would name an 11-person committee of outstanding leaders. There would be representation on the committee from each Congressional District. He also pointed out that there would be no racial mixing in schools since Alabama was not directly named as a party to litigation.

Those who spoke or implied in their speeches emotionalism against school desegregation drew the loudest and longest applause from the gallery and the conference.

The conference was held in the House of Representatives. After the conference the invited press and legislators were guests of Gov. and Mrs. Folsom at the Executive Mansion. Gov. Folsom apolized for not sending invitations to the press conference to members of the Negro press. He said that he did not know that they were not members of the Alabama Press Association.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Wed. 2-29-56

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There is a difference between the Southern story and the Southern's version of that same story. The day to day events make up the full Southern story. There is an effort to "sell" the white South's version of the South, a South which includes some persons who are not white (by ..Southern ..definition, mind you).

I was impressed with the reactions of Publisher Buford Boone of the Tuscaloosa News. He felt deeply indebted to Governor Folsom for calling the press into conference and also for trying to make a positive and enlightened approach to a grave and serious problem.

Mr. Boone pointed out that in Alabama there are "two sets of neighbors who have got to live together in peace". He suggested that many of us must realize changes are taking place and that compromise is necessary in some instances. "Quick anger is the buggy whip of the devil", he quoted.

Under questioning, Gov. Folsom said that he would name an 11-person committee of outstanding leaders. There would be representation on the committee from each Congressional District. He also pointed out that there would be no racial mixing in schools since Alabama was not directly named as a party to litigation.

Those who spoke or implied in their speeches emotionalism against school desegregation drew the loudest and longest applause from the gallery and the conference.

The conference was held in the House of Representatives. After the conference the invited press and legislators were guests of Gov. and Mrs. Folsom at the Executive Mansion. Gov. Folsom apolized for not sending invitations to the press conference to members of the Negro press. He said that he did not know that they were not members of the Alabama Press Association.

THE World TIP-OFF

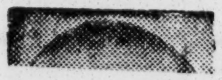
Tues. 4-10-56

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham Ala.

TUSCALOOSA, Ala. (SNS) - More than usual attended the state P-T. A. meeting here.

Four days before the visitors surged into this city, which has become a news-name throughout the world because of the expulsion of Autherine Lucy from the University of Alabama the Ku Klux Klans clad in weird and jungle-like attire, motor paraded in the night.



Parents came to the convention, according to ob-

serves in larger numbers than in other years. Heavy rainfall did not seem to bother the attendance.

About five weeks prior to this convention the White Citizens Council had put on a show, featuring a 19-year old youth of movie-like handsomeness.

What brought so many delegates to the forty-second annual session of the Alabama Branch of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers? Was it the P-T. A. program? Could the modernly-built, expensive Druid High School plant have attracted them? Nobody seems to have put the satisfactory answer to these questions.

Tuscaloosa is possibly the most vital city or county in the Sixth Congressional District. For this district, mainly because of Tuscaloosa has more Negro voters than any of the other eight districts. This district, mainly because Tuscaloosa voters than the Ninth Congressional District which has more than twice as many Negro persons of voting age.

Eight counties make up the Sixth district, namely, Tuscaloosa, Bibb, Chilton, Greene, Hale, Perry, Shelby and Sumter. Half of the eight counties are in the Black Belt.

Token voting is the most political participation members of the Negro group can achieve in Greene, Hale, Perry and Sumter counties. The voucher system, tricky registration practices coupled with apathy are factors retarding dynamic growth.

One of the questions on the WCC political questionnaire is "Do you favor denying the Negro the vote?" This type of question seems to give the tip off on the suggested WCC program of abridgement of civil rights. Still as a program item the idea of voter-registration stimulation did not come up at the P-T. A. convention.

Moving along the convention floor you could hear state P-T. A. officers who should know better disclamiming activity for ballot expansion because "we are not a political organization". The misconception that voter-registration promotion is forbidden political action [illegible] to be falsely spreading. to be pursuing a course of thought [illegible] and the blotting out of the rights of man.

In another county reportedly for the first time Negro teachers could not get excused to attend the state P-T. A. meeting.

Then there is the story of the relatives of one of the Montgomery protest leaders who live in a Black Belt county. These relatives reportedly are on the brink of being driven out of this county in reprisal to the new manhood discovered in Montgomery.

Now, why did so many come to the state P- T. A. convention here?

The Tip-Off

Daily World Sat. 4-7-56

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta, Ga.

LOUISVILLE, Ky — (SNS) — Arriving in the city for the Louisville Pan-Hellenic Council Forum sponsored by Theta Omega Chapter of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity at Plymouth Congregational Church, Sunday, March 25, I ran into a flurry of questions about the "Lucy Case," the "Montgomery Bus Riders Protest" and Negro leadership in Alabama.

P. 2

Jesse H. Lawerence, an outstanding mortician of the city, former two-term Kentucky state legislator, and a top-level Republican leader, met me at the airport as I planed from Detroit. He told me about smoker the Omegas were giving and also about a radio disc jockey who mentioned an invitation to record my views on the Alabama "story." Dr. C. H. Parrish, professor of sociology at the University of Louisville, had forwarded to me a memorandum of the format of the forum and also included clippings of a series of articles running in the Louisville Courier-Journal, signed by Sam Adkins, a topflight journalist.

However I had not taken time to read the articles before the smoker, and did not understand the kind of questions popped at me. Omega men in Louisville doubtless had absorbed the still-appearing features and were trying to pick from me comment on some items and details which troubled them. I know that at the forum the program was modeled after the "Meet The Press" radio shows.

Dr. John Ford, professor of philosophy, Bellarmine College; Weldom Janes, editorial writer for the Courier-Journal and Dr. Parrish were listed with me on the forum. But I was to give the main presentation and then let the others together with members from the audience ask me questions.

Yet at the smoker the hostmen insisted that I discuss certain topics which had made headline news all over the world. Some details and background which most likely would not be covered at the forum were revealed. Among those at the smoker were leaders in the NAACP, political leaders, race relations experts, business men and educators.

Let's cut off this part of the discussion and take the "Seventh of a Series" by Topflight Reporter Adkins on "A Report On Alabama," which had to come up at the forum. He quotes some high-spaced Alabamians about "the apparently inept way the (Autherine) Lucy case was handled" by the lawyers of record and the NAACP.

Here are the chief alleged "clumsy tactics" and "badly botched" efforts made in the Lucy Case: (1) The Adkins sources question whether the NAACP "really wanted to have Miss Lucy admitted to the U. of A. as just another student." (Of course, from what I know of the case both Mrs. Pollie Myers Hudson and Miss Lucy themselves made the decision to enroll at the university. All along they insisted that they desired to attend the state-supported university as a matter of personal choice and to further their training. Transcript in the case may be consulted to document this observation if one cares to do so).

(2) **Another view reporter by Mr. Adkins that the NAACP "cashed in on the Lucy woman financially." (This seems to be untrue. There is no evidence that the NAACP used the Lucy Case for fund-raising purposes. On the contrary, the NAACP discouraged the idea of anybody or organization exploiting the case). It should be said that this is one of the rumors which spread shortly after the mob forced Miss Lucy from the campus.**

(3) Miss Lucy held a degree from Miles College and yet sought enrollment at the University of Alabama as a freshman. Miss Lucy applied for admission to both the graduate and undergraduate school to work in the field of library service. A reading of the court record which includes a copy of the application form she filled out testifies to this.

Miles nor any other all-Negro school in Alabama offers such a course. Consult catalogues of these Negro colleges. Even if they did, that would have nothing to do with one's exercise of choice. A review of the court record does not back up the charge that Miss Lucy "changed her proposed field to library service." What appears is that the phrase "library science" was used but changed to conform with the title of the field as listed in the U. of A. catalogue.

(4) **During the waiting period of more than three years Miss Lucy "had not visible means of support." This is ridiculous and untrue. Two years Miss Lucy was a Mississippi school teacher. She worked as secretary for a business firm after that. She lived with members of her family.**

(5) Miss Lucy and Mrs. Hudson "both were fashionably dressed" the day Miss Lucy went for registration. I was on the scene and certainly failed to see anything of the kind. This is another rumor which gained circulation after the expulsion. (6) That Miss Lucy while registering was "shoved" ahead of some other students.

Miss Lucy at the beginning of her registration stood in line with the rest of the students. When newspaper cameramen began to take pictures of her in line with the other students, she then began to be rushed through the enrollment process.

These are but a few of the bad spots in the "Lucy Story" as reported by Mr. Adkins. He reported what he was told and disclosed some of the sources of his information. I plan to return to the article and check over some other rumors which have been handed out as analysis.

Cross-Burning Date At Sargent's Home False

World, Bhm, Ala. Tues. 5-22-56

By EMORY O. JACKSON

p.1

In the May 8 issue of the Birmingham World, there appeared a story about "a week-old mysterious bombing of a home" and that "early last Monday morning" there was "found a large Ku Klux Klan-type cross burning in the front yard of their (Mr. and Mrs. John H. Sargent's) home, 1215 N. 11th Ct.

The story was prepared to run in the May 4 issue but did not appear at that time. The Monday referred to about the fiery cross burning was April 30. The date of the cross-burning as appeared in the story was incorrect.

The error of fact was called to the attention of the Birmingham World by Mr. Sargent, who is a federal employee. Police records were re-checked and it was discovered that the KKK-type cross burning occurred before the bomb-throwing. There have been no disturbing incidents in the community where the Sargents live since the April 26 bombing.

While the cross-burning, according to police, was said by the victim to have occurred April 3, 1956 it was recorded on police records April 30, 1956, the day before the May 1 primary election. The reporter apparently mixed up the date of the occurence with the date of recording.

Therefore a copy of the police records on both incidents is being presented here today. Here is a copy of the official police records on the cross-burning and the bomx explosion as made available Thursday, May 17, 1956.

"B-55042 . . . 4-30-56—7:14 p. m.
"John H. and Minnie J. Sargent
"1215 North 11th Court.

"MALICIOUS MISCHIEF"

"On the morning, 4-3-56, victims said when he got up to go to work he found a cross approximately 4 feet tall and 3 feet across, burning in his front yard. The cross was wrapped in an old piece of chenille bedspread and had the odor of kerosene. Victim stated he had not received any telephone threats nor had he received any threatening letters. He has been living there approximately 10 months without any trouble."

Det. E. L. Ray

"A. A. Peacock, EMC,
"1:45 p. m.-2:30 p. m.
"B-54585—4-27-56—6:08 a. m.
"John Sargent, BM, 4-7831
"1215 North 11th Court.

"BOMBING"

"This offense occurred about 10:30 p. m. (4-26-56). It occurred at the residence of victim. An explosion of unknown type occurred approximately 8 1-2 feet from victim's home, causing damage to three front windows and inside venetian blinds. No physical injury. Chief Lance came to the scene."

"Officers: J. W. Jones-J. A. Massey.
J. K. Parmely-W. D. Crenshaw.
E. S. Ratigan-R. W. King,
Lt. Wooley-Lt. J. R. Davis.
"Chief Lance MF,
12:07 a. m.
"E. L. Ray."

31a 1956

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

The Tip Off

Daily World. P.4

Thurs. 6-7-56

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta Ga.

GADSDEN, Ala.—(SNS) — The setting blended with the significance of the speech made by Dr. Margaret Just Butcher, eminent authority on school desegregation, at the opening session of the three-day annual convention of the Alabama Association of Women's Clubs held Sunday, June 3 at Friendship Baptist Church.

Gadsden is a historic city, the pivot of the Fifth Congressional District. The 85-year-old city, fourth in size in Alabama and second industrially, was 27 years old when the AAWC was organized. It honors among its civic gems a monument to Emma Sansom, 15-year-old girl who during the Civil War helped General Forrest route federal troops.

So it was in this pre-Civil War city that Dr. Butcher, professor of English at Howard University, Washington, D. C., member of the Washington Board of Education, and N. A. A. C. P. consultant on school desegregation came to talk things over with the fine ladies of Alabama who sit in the highest seats of cultural, civic, church and social leadership. She spoke to the right group on the right subject at the right time, it seems to me. She related to them the simple story of how the switchover to the new way was made in the Nation's Capital.

She then took up one by one the bogey arguments made by the defenders of the old yardstick. She warned that those with a selfish, vested, and greedy interest in segregation would try to hang on to it. To back up her point she related a story she had with a highly-placed public official in a certain Southern city who blamed the lack of progress toward the change-over to reactionary whites and Uncle Tom Negro persons.

Seated on the platform and in the choir stand, as well as in the audience, were the power structure women leaders of the group. Mrs. Butcher seemed to have sensed this from the way she handled her message, driving hard at the basic issues. Her message seemed to ask, "can't you see and won't you do?" It was more an intimate report to friends than a speech to a convention. At least that's the way she communicated her ideas to me.

She mentioned favorably the type of leadership which sprang up in Montgomery to protest seating discrimination and the effort made by Mrs. Autherine Lucy Foster to obtain training at our University of Alabama. Specifically in connection with the bus protest she pointed out the admirable woman leadership as represented by Mrs. Rosa Parks, one of the indicted leaders. She was both lauding what has been done and pointing to the need of the widening of leadership.

Alabama is one of the resisting of better, defiant states with regards to transforming its public school system to meet the new principle of equality. Today there seems to be no insistent school desegregation leadership, although there were reports that a parent group in Mobile has made plans to have a new standard set to operation. Opposition to revamping the public schools to meet the enlightened standards springs from public figures and private leaders. Yet the basic laws support transformation

Dr. Butcher called attention to the NAACP's approach to shift-over by observing that the association is merely asking boards of education to recognize the law, make a start toward compliance, and state how long you want to complete the job. She made it clear that she was not making a NAACP speech but was merely trying to set the record straight, since she knows the facts. She believes that good faith, straight facts, and sober-minded leadership are things needed to help make the adjustment to the new principle. Hence she swept away the false claim that the NAACP was trying to desegregate the schools overnight.

The guest speaker also stressed use of the ballot. She mentioned the damage which segregation does to the child and related a personal story which illuminated her argument. The fight for de-jimcrowed schools, she said, is something the present leaders owe the children She added that the May 17, 1954 decision "got the United States off the hook" as the moral leader of the world. Other nations were beginning to raise the question, Dr Butcher said, of whether America could distribute freedom abroad while denying it at home. Especially were the dark-skinned people concerned about the treatment of the darker citizens of the United States of America.

Mrs. E. M. Arrington, of Montgomery, who gave the response, told the convention that "there is power in the ballot." She suggested that the ballot when widely acquired and wisely used will change things. "When you secure and use the ballot conditions will change," she asserted.

Inviting Dr. Butcher to be the convention's lead off speaker tend to show that the women intend to shake off the shackles holding back progress. For here was an able, articulate and aggressive teacher of the better way. Mrs. Butcher taught a lesson to the convention on how to start working toward a public school system cleansed of racial segregation. Whether one such lesson is enough will depend entirely upon the desire and the determination of those who heard her, it seems to me.

Transformation is having its troubles in Alabama, and some other parts of the South, but in the end it will win out.

The Tip Off

World P.8

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

B'hom, Ala.

The role of Southern women in bringing the new dawn in the South has yet to be fully weighed.

When Miss Ida M. Hollinger, a teacher of English at Southern Normal High School, Brewton, Ala. spoke May 27 at the NAACP-sponsored rally held at the Thirgood Christian Methodist Church, she articulated that role. Touchingly, she called attention to "the importance of private institutions in this fight for freedom."

She backed up this comment with evidence, as she herself was a witness. For she pridefully said that the Board of Domestic Missions of Reformed Church in America sponsors this school which makes "it possible for us (faculty and students) to take a firm stand for the for the rights of our people."

The NAACP rally was sponsored to celebrate the second anniversary of the May 17, 1954 decision which released the public school system from the imprisonment of duality. The key case in that democracy enrichening decision grew out of the efforts of church people. It was organized in a church and picked up fervent support from ministers and women.

Mothers put their children into the fight for freedom by having them sign up for trying to enroll in the nearest and best school. Two young women from a church-related college in Alabama went to court to open the doors of the University of Alabama to all on the basis of merit.

Ala. 6-8-56

Miss Hollinger pointed out that "through blood, horror and tears of the Civil War we did not lose sight of our goal, liberty and justice for all." She said that the NAACP made "an important, a wise step; a sure step, yet a challenging" in going to the Supreme Court and having the highest tribunal conclude "that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place."

She added: "When humanity in all of the world was looking to the United States to take that step and no group would accept the challenge of presenting to the Supreme Court reasons why we should make such a step, your NAACP answered. 'Here am I, send me, send me.' The NAACP is not the only organization which heard the call of humanity or desired that this step be taken, but the step held too many dangers. All of us expected the step to stimulate the organization of groups like the White Citizens Councils; new activity in Communistic groups, Walking Cities like Montgomery, economic pressure a little stronger than we have experienced all the while, and the awakening of the 'Uncle Toms'."

"We also knew," she added, that NAACP branches would be silenced; that men would be silenced; that men would be forced to make the supreme sacrifice, but like Christianity, that freedom comes high. No people have obtained it without some martyrs. Christ and many of his followers gave their lives for Christianity, but Christianity 2,000 years later is an ever flourishing religion. Many gave their lives for freedom from the British government. American democracy for which they died, is the greatest government on the face of the earth. There may not be an NAACP 2000 or 200 years hence. But there will be liberty and justice for all. Men give their lives, causes go on. 'Greater love has no man than this; that a man lay down his life for his friends'."

"The May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional opened another era in American history which will try men's souls," declared Miss Hollinger. Look around and you find support for her assertion. Two years after the Supreme Court's new light on equality Southern School News reports approximately 540 school districts in 17 Southern and border states taking steps toward desegregation. Who never sticks his neck out never rises. Some 256,000 Negro children in the South are now attending school under the new principle.

About one week prior to the NAACP program, the WCC held a series of defiance rallies throughout Alabama. The WCC, a thought control movement, numbers an estimated 500,000 on its rolls. This gives to it a membership strength equal to that of the NAACP.

The WCC doctrine of defy the federal courts and deny the Negro citizen is repulsive to the American credo. Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University and a noted sociologist has observed: "A law which is widely disobeyed or openly flouted may not only retard the principle involved, but may incite contempt and disregard of the institutions of government itself."

Dr. Kenneth D. Johnson of the New York School of Social Work, attached to Columbia University contends that " wherever within the boundaries of our Nation, there is open defiance of the Constitution, if not resisted, is a threat to the well being and survival of the entire Nation."

Perhaps I will have to return to Miss Hollinger's speech. Yet it should be said that while men politicians were making the speeches at the WCC defaming celebrations a woman school teacher was speaking at an NAACP rally seeking to defend the Supreme Court and the Constitution of the United States of America.

The Tip Off

World P. 6

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Tues. 6-12-56
B'ham, Ala.

Alternatives and timing of the decision by the U. S. Supreme Court in building a viaduct over the separate but equal obstruction were tackled by Miss Ida M. Hollinger, the Southern Normal School (Brewton, Ala.) English teacher in her May 27 speech before a NAACP-sponsored rally at Thirgood C. M. E. Church.

She said: "Upon the ruling of the Supreme Court's May 17, 1954 school case, we challenge any local or state law, tradition, custom, habit or principle which attempts to force or teach segregation based on race or color. The second question, or why rush? Give the South time, we hear. Again we go to the Revolutionary fathers Why to the Revolutionary fathers so often?

"They fought a battle for freedom and won; not because they were many, but because they had a cause in which they believed with their lives. Their answer to gradualism in our fight for freedom would be prudence will advise gradualism. This is a wise procedure in most broad changes, especially when they are social. But when a way of life is characterized by a long train of lynchings, economic pressures, of various kinds; injustices in every court, disrespect and abuse of human dignity and personal life, denial of voting rights and the shameful excuse for a public school system, expediency is the only safeguard for our nation that that way of life be immediately abolished."

She issued several challenges. One was taking "the leadership in this struggle for freedom." She told the gathering that "he who never sticks out never stand rises." She added: "too many of us are afraid to stand up and be counted (some too selfish and unconcerned to share in the load."

Leadership for the change-over which is on its way is somewhat lacking in Alabama, and some other Southern states. The so-called liberals have become mere expositors. Moderates have melted under the whip lash criticism. Many of the so-called middle-grounders are running interference for the defenders of custom.

Of course, in Montgomery, Ala., there developed a self-defense leadership The force of brutal, insufferable and intolerable mistreatment brought to light a leadership which could take no more and live. But in other areas where crushing circumstances have not placed upon the leaders self-defense measures there has been little positive, problem attacking, and program leadership. The Birmingham Interracial Committee was dissolved without squawk. The NAACP has been silenced and demobilized by court injunction almost without protest. Plenty local organizations are on the scene but still there is a poverty of constructive, gains-making, target-hitting civil rights leadership.

As Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York observed in a speech before the Urban League of Greater New York, "the civil rights problem is one which involves each of us and millions like us - in our personal, every day lives - either as victims of discrimination and segregation, or as those who, willing or not, or consciously or not, are the victimizers, the discriminators or the segregators."

He adds: "The civil rights problem is like a volcano smoking and bubbling, in the full view of the nation. All eyes are upon it. Endless words are now being spoken and written about it."

Significantly, Senator Lehman observes: "There are too many in Washington and elsewhere in the North who, when they say 'we must sympathize with the problem of the South,' really mean, the problems of Southern whites, and particularly the problems of those Southern whites who have a stake, political or economic, in the maintenance of segregation and the doctrine of white supremacy."

The advocates of the fixed pattern have banded together in various freedom-curbing organizations, such as the White Citizens Councils in an effort to combat change. Through the vehicle of the WCC the South is trying to sell the North its way of denying full opportunities to a portion of the population. Propaganda pamphlets, hate literature, distorted reports, falsified photographs are being circulated.

Atty. James Nabrit in a commencement speech at Atlanta University exposed the new techniques being employed by the thought control advocates. The doctrine of confuse and conqueror, distort and divide, and defy and disarm are being used. The noted civil rights lawyer urged that the WCC's propaganda war be met. Is not this added evidence of the decline of so-called moderate leadership in the South?

As any one knows, verbs alone lack the power to back up defiance of the Supreme Court which is the symbol of the authority and strength of the federal government. For if any state can defy the established court, it can also destroy the country's flag and overrun the federal military, it seems to me.

The Tip Off

World P. 8

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Fri. 6-15-56

A new appraisal of the resistance program in the South is needed along with a revised approach for adjusting this region the charge to which it must eventually bow.

Dr. Kenneth D. Johnson of the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University has pointed out this: "Today we have a cluster of States where certain vocal leaders, blatantly, brazenly, and boldly proclaim that States do not propose to live under our Constitution." He calls this "an open challenge to the capacity of our Nation to survive."

B'ham, Ala.

The eminent social scientist was speaking at the time he made these observations at the Sixth Annual Alumni Conference on April 14. He was putting up an argument in opposition to federal aid to education unless it carried an obligation to obey the May 17, 1954 ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court.

Machinery for resistance is stronger now than a year ago. It has been bolstered through the three branches of government in the resistance states, especially in Alabama and Mississippi. The White Citizens Councils with its political action program, propaganda campaign, and its thought control doctrine have risen to powerful heights.

In the change process the WCC is likely to resort to something stronger than verbs. Simply because illegality can only be backed up by lawless force and evil violence. Law has to be upheld to a degree by force. Segregation is maintained more by force than by custom. If custom was that strong, then why organize the WCC, pass new laws, resort to the injunction, and silencing?

Ed Townsend writing June 8 in the Christian Science Monitor is a feature article datelined Birmingham said in part: "Certainly intemperate speeches advocating the preservation of the Southern way of life — and to 'keep the Negro in his place' — seem more likely to foment trouble than to check it."

When did the "Southern way of life" become more important in America than the democratic way of life? And where are those who teach the Christ way? Should not the community be pulled up to the constitutional way instead of down to the custom way?

The voices of free men unshackled by custom, climate, prejudice and economic pressure are seldom heard these days in Alabama. The frightened squall while the free are silent. Men free to think, to dig up the truth, to scrimmage ideas, to challenge custom and disturb the status quo are needed in Alabama. Otherwise there will be a slavery of the mind worse than chattel slavery.

Under the guise of protecting segregation some wicked men are seeking to shrink the spirit and to enslave the mind, it seems to me. The new slavery is not racial, but Southern. Sectional slavery is a monster as cruel as any form of political tyranny.

Dr. James H. Nabrit, Jr., in his recent Atlanta University commencement speech said: "These groups (segregationists) have embarked upon a well-organized and coordinated effort to divide and poison the minds of northern whites; and to confuse and dissipate all activities which lend moral, political, and economics or financial support to the Negro's effort to achieve equal justice under law."

A wake-up movement is needed in the South. For under the emotionalism, the sound and fury, sanity seems to have been overcome. Fear, falsity, rumor and smear, the hound of bigotry, are running wild. Calm, rational, wise and sound thinking is needed. But this takes courage on the part of men who have faith in democracy; who have healthy convictions; who believe in the American dream. Let them come forth at this hour. Change is grinding up custom.

31a 1956

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

The Tip Off

Daily World

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta, Ga.

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(SNS) — All of the issues, facts, law and defense arguments on the question of intra-city bus segregation are now before a three-judge federal court here.

The case was argued may 11 by a battery of competent lawyers on both sides. Robert L. Carter, of New York City, assistant counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., presented the chief arguments to the court against bus Jim Crow. Atty. Fred Gray of Montgomery presented the case with Attys. Peter A. Hall and Orzell Billingsley, Jr., of Birmingham, Ala., handling part of the direct and cross-examination of witnesses. Atty. Charles Langford, also of Montgomery, assisting with the preparation.

What did they do, and how? This is apparently the first clear - cut case to reach the court on bus segregation. All of the facts skillfully presented. On both the direct examination of the plaintiff witnesses and the hostile witnesses the lawyers were able to put into the record fully, factually and concretely the facts of segregation.

Thurs. 5-17-56

Secondly, Atty. Carter in a brilliant argument massed a long list of federal court decisions to point up his argument that the separate but equal doctrine has been so weakened as to be without legal substance any more. This is the point which might have escaped or eluded many of theobservers. He took the view that that one might regard the Supreme Court's action in the South Carolina bus case as voiding bus segregation. Yet that was not the heart of his argument. The Plessy versus Ferguson doctrine, Carter argued, has been so impaired as no longer to be the rule.

Atty. Billingsley, on cross-examination of Public Affairs Commissioners Clyde Sellers, was able to put into the record the WCC membership of the city official and drew from him the affirmative answer that he would abide by the decision of the United States Supreme Court. He cited to Mr. Sellers integration in the Army, VA hospitals, the Post Office and even in the federal court room, and observed that contrary to Mr. Seller's testimony there was no violence. Mr. Sellers was asked whether he had been any where where he'd visited any where where could be shown to have violence because of integration. He testified that he had never observed nonsegregation yet he said that he knew that in Montgomery violence would likely follow desegregation.

Knabe, City of Montgomery; Attorney General John Patterson; Ass't Atty. General Madison, and Atty. Robert Thrun, of New York, for the Montgomery City Lines.

In cross-examination of plaintiff witnesses, Atty. Knabe attempted to show that it was on instructions from Dr. Martin Luther King rather than segregation that the witnesses had stopped riding the buses. The two-teenager witnesses gave what amounts to a lecture in opposition to segregation. The chief judge had to instruct one of the witnesses to confine her testimony to answering questions.

Atty. Madison in his argument criticized the Supreme Court for its May 17, 1954 school decision and read excerpts from the "American Dilemma" by Myrdal in support of his contention that the Supreme Court did not base its decision on the U. S. Constitution. He cited the "Southern Manifesto" as an argument in support of his position. He called attention to an injunction against desegregation handed down a few days earlier by Circuit Judge Walter B. Jones.

Hearing the case were U. S. Circuit Judge Richard T. Rives; U. S. District Judge Seybourn H. Lynne of Birmingham and U. S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson.

All of the side issues were cut away and the bare issue of segregation was left under fire. While Judges Rives and Lynn did indicate they were of the opinion the Supreme Court did not pass specifically on the bus segregation issue in the Flemming versus South Carolina case they gave no hint of how they thought about the application of the May 17 formula in the school cases.

THE TIP-OFF

World P.6

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(SNS) — All of the issues, facts, law and defense arguments on the question of intra-city bus segregation are now before a three-judge federal court here.

B'ham, Ala.

The case was argued may 11 by a battery of competent lawyers on both sides. Robert L. Carter, of New York City, assistant counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., presented the chief arguments to the court against bus Jim Crow. Atty. Fred Gray of Montgomery presented the case with Attys. Peter A. Hall and Orzell Billingsley, Jr., of Birmingham, Ala., handling part of the direct and cross-examination of witnesses. Atty. Charles Langford, also of Montgomery, assisting with the preparation.

What did they do, and how? This is apparently the first clear - cut case to reach the court on bus segregation. All of the facts skillfully presented. On both the direct examination of the plaintiff witnesses and the hostile witnesses the lawyers were able to put into the record fully, factually and concretely the facts of segregation.

Secondly, Atty. Carter in a brilliant argument massed a long list of federal court decisions to point up his argument that the separate but equal doctrine has been so weakened as to be without legal substance any more. This is the point which might have escaped or eluded many of theobservers. He took the view that that one might regard the Supreme Court's action in the South Carolina bus case as voiding bus segregation. Yet that was not the heart of his argument. The Plessy versus Ferguson doctrine, Carter argued, has been so impaired as no longer to be the rule.

Tues. 5-15-56

Atty. Billingsley, on cross-examination of Public Affairs Commissioners Clyde Sellers, was able to put into the record the WCC membership of the city official and drew from him the affirmative answer that he would abide by the decision of the United States Supreme Court. He cited to Mr. Sellers integration in the Army, VA hospitals, the Post Office and even in the federal court room, and observed that contrary to Mr. Seller's testimony there was no violence. Mr. Sellers was asked whether he had been any where where he'd visited any where where could be shown to have violence because of integration. He testified that he had never observed nonsegregation yet he said that he knew that in Montgomery violence would likely follow desegregation.

Defense Attorneys were: Walter Knabe, City of Montgomery; Attorney General John Patterson; Ass't Atty. General Madison, and Atty. Robert Thrun, of New York, for the Montgomery City Lines.

In cross-examination of plaintiff witnesses, Atty. Knabe attempted to show that it was on instructions from Dr. Martin Luther King rather than segregation that the witnesses had stopped riding the buses. The two-teenager witnesses gave what amounts to a lecture in opposition to segregation. The chief judge had to instruct one of the witnesses to confine her testimony to answering questions.

Atty. Madison in his argument criticized the Supreme Court for its May 17, 1954 school decision and read excerpts from the "American Dilemma" by Myrdal in support of his contention that the Supreme Court did not base its decision on the U. S. Constitution. He cited the "Southern Manifesto" as an argument in support of his position. He called attention to an injunction against desegregation handed down a few days earlier by Circuit Judge Walter B. Jones.

Hearing the case were U. S. Circuit Judge Richard T. Rives; U. S. District Judge Seybourn H. Lynne of Birmingham and U. S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson.

All of the side issues were cut away and the bare issue of segregation was left under fire. While Judges Rives and Lynn did indicate they were of the opinion the Supreme Court did not pass specifically on the bus segregation issue in the Flemming versus South Carolina case they gave no hint of how they thought about the application of the May 17 formula in the school cases.

The Tip C

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

World P.6

The Alabama Supreme Court on May 22, 1956 reversed a circuit court decision in the case of Matthew Knox versus the state. Knox was tried under a so-called city anti-communist ordinance during the days when a vigorous campaign was underway. Knox was defended by Atty. Arthur D. Shores who also presented the appeal to the state's highest tribunal.

Here is the text of that opinion as rendered by the State Supreme Court. Matthew V. State, appeal from the Jefferson Circuit Court, Harwood, presiding.

Tues. 5-29-56

"This appellant has been convicted under an indictment which charged that:—"Matthew Knox, a Communist, who knowingly contributed funds or property to the Communist party, did fail to register with the department of public safety after remaining in this state for five consecutive days after the 12th day of September, 1951" (the effective date of the act under which he was prosecuted)."

B'ham, Ala.

"The offence charged in the indictment arises out of an act approved 12 September, 1951 (Chapter 27A, Title 14, Code of Alabama, 1940, pocket part). This act defines a "communist," "the communist party," and "communist front organizations," and requires that all communists, or members of the communist party, or those persons who are knowingly members of communist front organizations, who remain in this State for five consecutive days, shall register with the department of public safety before the fifth day of their stay in this State."

Section 97 (1), supra, reads:

"A 'communist' is a person who: (B) knowingly contributes funds or any character of property to the communist party."

"It was of course this provision under which the indictment was drawn."

"The evidence presented by the State tended to show that on the night of 6 August 1954 Mr. A. A.

The Tip Off

Daily World 5-30-56 Atlanta, Ga.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

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"The evidence presented by the State tended to show that on the night of 6 August 1954 Mr. A. A. Norman and Mr. F. R. Studdard, police officers of the City of Birmingham, were searching an apartment house in Birmingham in an attempt to find a radio reported to have been stolen from one of the apartments."

"Entering the apartment of the appellant in the course of their search they found a quantity of books, pamphlets, and tracts clearly communistic in nature. Some of this literature showed on its face that it was published by the "Communist Party, USA." Some of the papers were published in Moscow, and some in China."

"Upon the discovery of this literature Mr. Harold Fincher, a detective for the City of Birmingham, was summoned to the scene.

"Mr. Fincher placed the defendant under arrest and thereafter interviewed him."

"The voluntary character of appellant's statements being established, Mr. Fincher testified the appellant had told him that on a cold night during the past winter a Negro man had approached him while he was in front of his apartment, with the request that he be permitted to leave some stuff in his apartment. Although appellant had never seen this man before, and has not seen him since, his request was readily granted."

"On cross examination Mr. Fincher testified that to his knowledge there had been no complaint made prior to the night in question, that appellant had distributed any literature, or that appellant was a communist."

"Mr. Joe Smelley, an executive officer of the Department of Public Safety of this State, testified that the appellant had not registered as a communist with the department.

"Mr. Fincher and Mr. Smelley were the only witnesses presented by the State."

"The appellant offered no evidence in the proceedings below."

"The issue raised by the evidence presented is its sufficiency to support the judgment — that it does the possession of communistic literature tend to establish to the required degree that this appellant was a communist and knowingly contributed funds or property to the communist party, as charged in the indictment."

"To merely state the question dictates a negative answer.

"There is not one iota of evidence that this appellant contributed funds or property to the communist party."

"While his possession of such literature may have rendered him suspect, it is elemental that judgments of guilty in criminal cases cannot rest upon surmise, specula-

"Nor, can the contempt with which our citizens almost universally regard the communist party,

tion, nor suspicion."

"Nor, can the contempt with which our citizens almost universally regard the communist party,

and those dupes who would forward its machinations, be substituted for basis and necessary evidential requirements and burdens of proof that must be met by the State under our system of jurisprudence."

"The State having failed to present evidence tending to support the charges contained in the indictment, it follows that the lower court erred in refusing the appellant's motion to exclude the testimony and discharge the appellant."

"Counsel for appellant further urges the question of the constitutionality of the provisions of Chapter 27A, supra."

"The constitutionality of this act not being essential to a decision in this case we pretermit consideration thereof in view of the settled doctrine that the validity of a statute will not be determined on appeal unless necessary to the decision of the particular case. See Ala. Dig., Vol. 4, Const. Law, Key No. 46 (1) for innumerable authorities.

"Since not raised in the court below we pretermit consideration of the question of supersession of enforceability of our State act, supra, as it may be affected by the Smith Act of 1940, as amended in 1948, 18 U.S.C. Sec. 2385. See Pennsylvania v. Nelson, U.S. Sup. Ct., opinion rendered 2 April 1956." "Reversed and Remanded.

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THE TIP OFF

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.
Aug. 8-18-56

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Party unity is one thing and victory at the polls in the general election is another.

That is one way to look at the compromised civil rights plank adopted Wednesday night Aug., 15 by the Democratic National Convention assembled in Chicago, Ill. The liberals in the Democratic Party seem to be losing everywhere.

Civil rights proposals were lost in the Congress. The anti-civil rights forces outfoxed, out-maneuvered and out fought the so-called liberals in the Senate. The so-called liberal forces in Congress are out-smarted in the organization of that body

Seniority rules are followed piously. The 64-vote cloture rule, or Rule 22, is used as an excuse for not breaking the filibuster. Yet the filibuster over strong opposition was broken in the Tideland oil debate. But the liberals give up, quit, and lose.

The Democratic Party seemed to apply moderation only in the area of civil rights. It went far off center in its recommendations in the field of organized labor. But none cry of moderation was visibly. Human rights seem to have been the only modifiable rights.

In some instances in the South moderation seems to be defiance wrapped up in the nicities of Southern liberalism. It is a type of passivize, submissive, and docile moderation. Moderation has a bad connoation in terms of the new adjustment which requires all deliberate speed.

The Chicago Compromise may bring party unity, as claimed by the professional politicians. It may even bring victory in November but it is hardly going to hold some of the votes it once had. The central issue.

Moderation is not what some elements in the South want. They want to continue to maul minorities. In Mississippi civic leaders are killed for urging their fellow men to vote. The NAACP is knocked out of action in Alabama, Negro students are barred from some Florida tax-supported schools of high learning. A new law passed in Louisiana prohibiting interracial sports. A high Democrat in Georgia announces plan to destroy the NAACP in that state.

In other forms outside the South one finds a manifestation of the ugly spirit and unlovely treatment of minorities. This has been true over a number of years. Still the doctrine of moderation which is a subsistute for the "spearate but equal doctrine."

Party unity won over party principle in the Chicago Compromise, it seems to me. The expositors of course argue that such is not the case. They contend that the whole controversy was over sematics. It is a merely play on words to put a clear declaration in a platform in terms of civil rights needs? If it takes sematics to communicate what one has to say, why use resort to such?

In a few days, the Republican Party meets in San Francisco to draft its statement of principles and nominate or re-nominate its standard bearers. The Republican Party was born on the wings of civil rights but for a long time abandoned its leadership in this field. Civil rights have more voter appeal than moderation, it seems to me.

Texas and Maryland were the only states classified as Southern states which had Negro persons listed in its official delegation at the convention. That is moderation. Southern leaders went after what they wanted at the Democratic Convention. That is modertion.

It is false unity which is based upon straddling. Compromised unity falls short of satisfying unity. Straddling is the essence of dualism. But that is moderation.

THE TIP-OFF

Daily World

TUSCALOOSA, Ala. - (SNS) - More than usual attended the state P-T. A. meeting here.

Four days before the visitors surged into this city, which has become a news-name throughout the world because of the expulsion of Autherine Lucy from the University of Alabama the Ku Klux Klans clad in weird and jungle-like attire, motor paraded in the night.

Parents came to the convention, according to observes in larger numbers than in other years. Heavy rainfall did not seem to bother the attendance.

About five weeks prior to this convention the White Citizens Council had put on a show, featuring a 19-year old youth of movie-like handsomeness.

Wed. 4-11-56

What brought so many delegates to the forty-second annual session of the Alabama Branch of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers? Was it the P-T. A. program? Could the modernly-built, expensive Druid High School plant have attracted them? Nobody seems to have put the satisfactory answer to these questions.

Tuscaloosa is possibly the most vital city or county in the Sixth Congressional District. For this district, mainly because of Tuscaloosa has more Negro voters than any of the other eight districts. This district, mainly because Tuscaloosa voters than the Ninth Congressional District which has more than twice as many Negro persons of voting age.

Eight counties make up the Sixth district, namely, Tuscaloosa, Bibb, Chilton, Greene, Hale, Perry, Shelby and Sumter. Half of the eight counties are in the Black Belt.

Token voting is the most political participation members of the Negro group can achieve in Greene, Hale, Perry and Sumter counties. The voucher system, tricky registration practices coupled with apathy are factors retarding dynamic growth.

One of the questions on the WCC political questionnaire is "Do you favor denying the Negro the vote?" This type of question seems to give the tip off on the suggested WCC program of abridgement of civil rights. Still as a program item the idea of voter-registration stimulation did not come up at the P-T. A. convention.

Moving along the convention floor you could hear state P-T. A. officers who should know better disclamiming activity for ballot expansion because "we are not a political organization". The misconception that voter-registration promotion is forbidden political action seems to be falsely spreading. Teachers under the Alabama Tenure Act are protected for political action. But that is besides the point.

Voter-registration promotion and political education are not a violation of either the Hatch Act or the state civil service law. So where do they get this erroneous stuff about penalizable political conduct which is merely citizenship duty? Skittish leaders should submit their fears to authorities for clarification it seems to me.

Dropping a program of voter-registration motivation is like picking up the WCC program of vote denial, it seems to me. Here is another instance of how WCC-like rumor is hurting the group. Propaganda.. gets out that voter-registration advocacy bumps into the law, and without checking some one takes the erroneous version for factual.

The WCC is out to reduce voting and to control politicians, it seems to me. It picks on weak groups.

One Black Belt figure said that WCC leaders tried to get themselves before a teachers group where they could ask the latter about their views on racial segregation. The WCC seems to be pursuing a course of thought-control and the blotting out of the rights of man.

In another county reportedly for the first time Negro teachers could not get excused to attend the state P-T .A. meeting.

Then there is the story of the relatives of one of the Montgomery protest leaders who live in a Black Belt county. These relatives reportedly are on the brink of being driven out of this county in reprisal to the new manhood discovered in Montgomery.

Now, why did so many come to the state P- T. A. convention here?

THE TIP OFF

Daily World Atlanta Ga.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) — Atty. Gen. John Patterson, a surprise witness, called by the NAACP in the bring-your-records hearing was grilled for about an hour and ten minutes by Atty. Robert Carter, of New York, one of the six defense lawyers.

The case was heard July 25 by Circuit Judge Walter B. Jones, who cited the NAACP $10,000 for alleged "wilful contempt", and a $100,000 fine if the records sought by the state are not produced in five days.

Background events seem to be these: White Citizens Council orators have advocated chasing the NAACP out of Alabama. The WCC, a thought control organization, also has blueprinted a political program. Some supposedly liberal organizations have tried to equate the NAACP with the WCC. The NAACP is the only forthright civil organization in the Deep South.

The court at the request of the Attorney General issued a temporary injunction which stopped the NAACP from serving Alabama in the freedom struggle. The state's chief legal officer then got the court to issue an order July 5 requiring the association to bring to the Attorney General certain records, including membership list, so that the state could obtain the information and evidence it allegedly needed to determine whether the NAACP was "doing business" in Alabama in violation of the Alabama law regulating out-of state corporations.

July 10, lawyers for the NAACP contested the produce-your-records order. But the court disallowed its contention and gave the association until July 16 to get the records to

the Attorney General. NAACP lawyers requested an extension of time, which was granted. The show-your records hearing was set for July 24 The NAACP filed a motion to vacate that order. The court heard the motion to vacate July 25. and when it was overruled, Atty. General Patterson requested Judge Jones to determine whether order had been obeyed.

In questioning Mr. Patterson, the defense was limited by the court, Atty. Carter sought to build a record, it seem, looking toward an appeal. He tried to elicit testimony from Mr. Patterson to show what the state sought had no materiality that the information wanted was for a purpose other than to determine whether the NAACP had satisfied the Alabama law, and that essentially all facts asked for by the state had been supplied by the defense's answer.

Mr. Carter dragged the Attorney General through the thickets of he 10 areas of informaion requested in the give-us-your-records order. "What's the purpose of that", Mr. Carter asked. He plowed through the state's complaint and demanded. "what irreparable injury", as charged by the state, "has the NAACP been guilty of?" The state's chief officer replied that the association had not complied with the law and that in failing to do so was depriving the citizens of their civil rights.

Mr. Patterson answered the contention of Mr. Carter that the NAACP in a January letter to the Attorney General had supplied him with the location of its regional office said he had sent some investigators to find out some facts he needed about the NAACP.

In his argument to the court, after leaving the witness stand, Atty. Gen. Patterson said he needed thecourt-ordered records "so we can have information for this case." He said the defense failed "to raise a legitimate objection" for not producing the wanted records. He pointed out that the defense did not claim that it would have been a burden to bring the records or that to do so would hamper the association's operations. Atty. Carter, joined by Atty Arthur D. Shores, shared the defense argument in support of the motion to dismiss. Mr. Carter argued that Attorney General sought the NAACP records to harass the NAACP, intimidate its members and to misuse the documents.

Mr. Patterson denied this The state's chief officer revealed that he had subpoenaed 28 witnesses. None used because hearing on setting aside the banning injunction did not come up.

Attys. Fred D. Gray and Charles Langford of Montgomery, and Peter A. Hall and Orzell Biillingsley, Jr. were the other NAACP defense lawyers.

In the courtroom with subpoenas as state witnesses were some recognized NAACP leaders and leaders in other civic movement. Some of the state witnesses said they had been ordered to bring certain records.

From all indications, as suggested by Atty. Carter, the NAACP was standing upon what it called "our legal grounds" Probably some of the records sought by the state, such as in the so-called "Lucy Case" and the bus protest never have been NAACP records, if any such records ever existed. Just how the NAACP will meen the situation it finds itself is not revealed, and cannot be guessed. How the freedom fight is to continued with or without the NAACP does not seem to worry the group's times-at bat leadership.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World
Thurs. 8-2-56
Atlanta Ga.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

P. 6

MONTGOMERY, Ala — (SNS) - Ted Poston, New York Post reporter, did an 11-article series on "The Negroes of Montgomery" back in June of this year. It was, for a visiting reporter, exploratory journalism.

What interested me is that after about six month the freedom protest here still attracts enterprising interest of a topflight journalist, Montgomery has been visited by a number of first-rate journalists, or historians of the future, who wanted to observe first-hand the story of segregation resistance, in a limited way.

A visiting journalist from one of the important newspapers can always seem to find a warm welcome by the Montgomery press. It was that way when Carl T. Rowan of the Minneapolis Star came here some months ago. He wrote a brilliant series on the city of empty buses. He did not use that language. The buses really aren't totally empty, but with conspicious vacant seats.

But Poston, a former reporter on the Negro Press, accepted the courtesies of the host press, yet went on to check for himself how the Negro group was doing in the "Crade of the Old Confedeacy." Southern-born and educated in a Negro-identified college, Post could neither be fooled nor brain washed.

He found out the facts of Negro employment and dug up research which presented a different slant than that given by a reporter on the local daily press. Montgomery is a low-wage city in which the Negro worker is pegged at the bottom of the wage scale. Employers berate him for not saving but overlook the fact that the Negro employee is under-paid, non-promoted and exploited in other ways.

Write Poston: "An even more' ironic fact in this despicable situation his that two of the largest loan companies preying on Negro workers are operated by two members who are prominent in the White Citizens Councils."

Poston tells about a newsman, Joe Azbell, city editor of The Montgomery Advertiser who is identified as knowing more about the Negro group than any other white man in Montgomery. City Editor Azbell was assigned to show Poston Montgomery and to assist him in getting the Montgomery story. Mr. Azbell has been described as an understanding, friendly, liberal person.

Wrote Poston in Article II, June 12: "But you find yours if becoming as much interested in Joe Azbell as you are in the sights he is showing you."

"You find, for instance, that he was born in a sharecropper's shack across the tracks in Winnsboro, Texas, in 1827; that he had to quit school in the seventh grade to help support a widowed mother. That he'd hitchhiked his way to San Antonio to get a dishwasher's job, and that a Negro chef, 'a very literate man,' had persuaded him to continue his education on his own, and that he had studied Latin, law, speech, typing and other subjects on his own at night."

"You'd learned, in passing, that he was — of all things — a fellow alumnus of Autherine J. Lucy. That Selma University, her Alma Mater, had given him an honorary doctor of letters degree for his work in organizing the Negro Welfare League to help indigent colored people."

"He also organized the Protestant and Jewish Association for the care of the Blind and Infirm Negroes when he was only 24, and was ready to help build a home for them on the outskirts of Montgomery."

"Yet, Joe Azbell, at 28, was an ardent segregationist."

..." 'I believe in segregation, Ted' ", he'd told you. 'But I believe in separate and equal, and I don't believe in anybody being kicked around."

So wrote Ted Poston. But Selma University which is sponsored by Negro Baptist in Alabama put its stamp approval on a man who is a passionate segregationist. Azbell accepts an honorary degree from Selma University and yet believes in racial segregation. How does that stack up with the White Citizens Councils?

I have read all of the Poston articles on Montgomery. He was not brainwashed. He turned the spotlight on the weak features of Montgomery democracy and also called attention to the city's strong points. Yet I wondered why it seems that at no time was any recognition given to Mr. E. P. Wallace, editor of the "Negro News" section of The Montgomery Advertiser and the Journal. Not once does Poston mention Wallace. However in his final article which takes the form of a letter to Mr. Grover C. Hall, Jr., Poston comments on the Jim Crow news section of the Advertiser-Journal.

Poston seems to have lived up the standard of compent reporting. He did not fall for the version given to him by the daily press but reported it faithfully together with the point of view of others. Both sides — reporting is good reporting. Too many of those of the visiting press have gone away with a one-side account of what was happening. That was especially true in the so-called "Lucy Case." A university of Alabama professor who was an eyewitness to what happened is trying to get published his version of what happened when Miss Autherine J. Lucy admission tried to attend the University of Alabama.

The South today is trying to win the rest of the country over to its Way of Life." This section advances the so-called "vast majority oppose" argument. This doctrine is fallacious because the rights of an American, of whatever color, is defined and established by the United States Constitution. Such privileges and rights do not meet solely upon the sentiment of the majority.

Segregation is in combat with the ideal of individual rights. It tends to smear friendship. The color line cancels out the equality line. Segregation is prejudice in action. It is unChristian because it denies the worth of one based upon membership upon membership in the human family. Christian brotherhood knows only the belief line.

31a 1956

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

The Tip Off

World P.8 Sat. 11-20-56 B'ham Ala.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Alabama is one of the 14 "third party" states. The movement was launched by ythe "Alabama State's Rights Independent Electors", with a giant advertising campaign.

Over a period of 146 years, beginning in 1805 third-party movements have participated in 30 successive presidential candidates. None has been successful in electing a candidate.

Minor political parties have served as a testing place for unpopular issues The two major parties usually adapt such issues when they show merit.

However the present third-party movement seems to scoop up many of the voter-rejected issues and cling to political philosophy no longer suitable for the changes that have swept over America.

The Alabama wing of the third-party drive is featuring as its theme "Segregation and States' Rights". Segregation is no longer legally valid and is without moral standing. States' rights based upon the "Southern Manifesto" and the interposition theory are incompatible with the historical concept of constitutional government. States' rights based upon the never-accepted notion of co-rights is a dead doctrine. It was legally stillborn.

Eight years ago the Dixiecrat wing of the Alabama Democratic Party used the party machinery in its revolt against the party's presidential nominee. Many of the Alabama Dixiecrats supported the Republican presidential ticket in 1952. Currently dissatisfied with both major parties, the amalgam of states' righters, WCC-ers and right-wingers have federated behind slates of independent electors.

Warnings have been sounded in this state that the third-party leaders are hardly making their most effective contribution by splitting the ultra-conservative vote. These third party critics argue that the dissenters could contribute more by lining up with the Republican Party.

Eventually, it seems to me, the third-party leaders and the GOP old guard in Alabama will converge to form a real challenge party in this state. Out of this political wedding would come a two-party system. Dissidents groups who make common bond with a lethargic group with machinery build new political parties. In New York some of the independent political parties have vanished as their followers drifted into the stronger parties.

The third-party lists in its membership some of those well-heeled, well-oiled and with prestige names. But much of the third-party program is negative, restrictive, narrow and backward. As an example the Alabama third-party group try "to block efforts of both the Republican and Democratic parties to force on us their vicious all-out Civil Rights programs. . . "Yet civil rights are implemented constitutional rights. They are neither group nor racial rights but personal and indivitual rights which belong to all alike.

But the third-party sponsors dare not openly state that they oppose the personal rights of citizens. So they try to spray taint and fear on the phrase "civil rights" to frighten American citizens away from backing their own rights. States' rights should mean the enforcement of civil rights in terms of every resident citizen, it seems to me.

Some unexpected and unplanned good might come out of this movement. It could serve to arouse and awaken the non-voters and the apathetic voters. These third parties could become so extreme that they will disgust the electorate and embarrass their admirers. Negative appeals based upon prejudice, blindness and primitivism will expose the Dixiecrats as being less than the champions of "the Southern way of life."

Finally some of the influential leaders who never before have been known for what they really are will be revealed.

Hate is certainly not helpful.

This new right-wing third party movement has attracted a crude mixture of vari-purpose negative leaders ranging from bigots to hardshelled constitutionalists. They stand upon one common platform —they are against progress and at war with change. Especially are some of them embittered and frustrated over progress in human relations.

The Tip Off

World P.6 Wed. 10-24-56 B'ham Ala.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

NORMAL, Ala.—(SNS)— Almost anyone who visits Alabama A. and M. College quickly recognizes and feels the friendly spirit of this hillside campus.

This college is part of the history of this state. Much of the story of the Negro group in Alabama could be developed around its founder.

One could find inspiration for serious research by studying the not - yet - completely written biography of W. H. Council, a contemporary of Booker T. Washington. Council worked politically in the Democratic Party while Washington was a power in the Republican party.

It was from what is now the Eighth Congressional District that three Negro Congressmen were elected. It was from Madison County that came one of the three last Negro delegates elected to the Alabama Republican Convention. Since 1922 no Negro has served in an Alabama State Republican Convention.

One other Negro delegate came from Montgomery and the third from Mobile.

When I visit the Normalite campus the intoxicating friendly spirit, the picturesque setting, the scenic loveliness, the fascinating history tend to grip me. Physical improvements are everywhere on the campus. The campus has a newness and the atmosphere a fragrance which stays with you long after you leave.

Posted on one of the bulletin boards here Saturday was a notice inviting voting students to a meeting of workers in a political party. This is a healthy sign of a developing interest in politics by young people.

Talking with some of the faculty members they relay the impression that Alabama A. and M. College is attracting a better quality of students. Looking in on the after-football-game dance, there seemed to be noticeable improvement. It is at the dance, in the dining room, in the stands at athletics contests that one usually forms some kind of judgment of a student body, although these may not be valid indices.

In mentioning improvement at the dance, nothing should be taken to suggest that the conduct was below standard in other years. Rather the students seem to realize that as a striving segment they must try to be at their best at all times, reflecting social excellence and acting the part of first-class citizens.

It seems that faculty members expect drop-by guests after football games. Hence a grid official, newspaper reporter, or friend finds himself turning up at some faculty home when he lingers after the football game. Usually at the after-game affairs you have an opportunity to discuss current events, to pitch around ideas, and to get a briefing on things of helpful interest.

So I piled into a home where there was a pot of icebox stew. Some others went where the host was serving chitterlings and slaw. These campus people are not unlike the community people.

When you eat in the college dining room and ice cream is on the menu, you are likely to comment about it, although you know from the social graces that might be a slight violation of good manners. The college makes the ice cream it serves its students and it is better than any you can buy.

With the campus football games behind, the school folk are looking forward to November 10 when the A. and M. Bulldogs clash with the Alabama State Hornets at Legion Field in Birmingham. This game, perhaps, whips up more interest than the homecoming skirmish.

A large percentage of Birmingham students are enrolled here. I asked one at the dance in what fields or activities were the hometowners outstanding. This student thought they rated slightly ahead of those from other sections of the state in scholarship, outclassed them in dancing, and wore more expensive sun glasses. We have more dancing facilities in Birmingham than the kids in other sections and naturally should excel," I was told.

THE TIP OFF

World P.6 B'rom, Ala. Wed. 10-10-56

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Some years back a few of us talked of recapturing lost economic ground and rebuilding the civic, business and cultural leadership of Birmingham.

In those days I listed local artists Eugene Johnson, Felix B. Gaines, Augustus Williams and etc., and tried to catalogue the creative writers Art exhibits were sponsored. The poetry of local writers was reviewed. Fulton D. Matthews a social columnist for the Birmingham World, was hammering away at society ladies. He tried to elevate the social taste, raise the dance standards, and inspire a new desire for a better society.

Some of us wanted to see economic reform, improvement in business, and a new launching of enterprises. We talked of sinking our talents into industry, of trying to get into production, and organizing financial institutions. We wanted to see legitimate, respectable, growing business. But Birmingham had soured on Negro-directed business because of the awful stories of failures. Almost every oldtimer had a discouraging story, a tale of dishonesty, or drama of the collaspe of some enterprise.

Number racket leaders flourished in the 1930's and when I swung out after them I was warned to lay-off. This was the wrong kind of business and I kept awinging with the full backing of the news paper. Illegal business is a bad foundation upon which to build We had discussed much of this type of business in our economic classes in college, a field in which I had concentrated.

Business depends upon trained employees for much of its success. The untrained manager is less likely to succeed than the trained one. Much of the distance between the group's business and the general business is related to training. . .

If a member of our group wanted to enter the big time real estate field, he had less opportunity for getting training in that field in Alabama than a member of the other group. Which meant the other fellow had a chance to get a start ahead of him so big that he would be lost in the struggle. If he wanted to study law, he could not have an even brake. The other fellow could get a quicker start, have the advantage of study which could never be overcome, and then be provided privileges out of reach.

Business and the ballot go hand in hand. Stripped of political suffrage, the groupe's businesss man was disarmed. He could not protect what he had as well as the other fellow who had the ballot. His claims had less consideration than the other fellow who had the ballot.

Business depends upon customers. Those without money to buy or credit on which to rely hardly make customers. So when members of the group made less than the other fellow who did the same amount of work that cuts him down as a customer. When there is not a fair wage field for a group there is not a fair business field for that group. The wage is a part of distributed production.

All of those fronts - education political suffrage, wage fairness, job opportunity - had to be worked on in trying to rebuild the group business leadership in Birmingham. Slight is the accomplishment but the recognition of the need is substantial. Therein lies the hope, the challenge, the direction.

It is essential that this running review be given with the advent of the Citizens Federal Savings and Loan Association of Birmingham. Chartering and capitalizing the association is easier than operating it in rugged competitive field.

Our business leaders have a stake in the opportunities for training employees. If the other fellow needs the University of Alabama and Alabama Polythenic Institute to train their workers, no less is true for the group. In this new venture, our business leaders are going to be placed before the civic mirrors. Others will watch the kind of support they give. One can hardly expect others to support him when he supports nobody.

There is such a thing as business citizenship. As a business a concern has an obligation to the community. As competitive business it must use competitive ideas, tools and programs. Besides begets business. Unless the new savings and loan association can inspire, create, and bring forward by-product business it will not fulfill its total mission.

Leaders of the new asssociation have said much about there will be no throwing weight around by members of the board of directors. That sounds good but some weight might have already been thrown. Otherwise there might not have been the first board itself. That should be kept in mind when the board is expanded, it seems to me.

Our leaders need to renew the achieving spirit. Working together the groups leadership can usher in a new economic day. It's purchasing power is powerful in Birmingham. Buying power is the group's unused tool in the struggle for new dignity, it seems to me.

The Tip Off

World Wed. 11-7-56

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham Ala.

A piece by Mary Horaday in The Christian Science Monitor deals with the trouble the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is having in the segregation or WCC staates. Various legal, legislative, economic and violent devices are being used in an effort to distroy, weaken, and curb the activities of the NAACP, which is a peaceful organization working within the framework of the constitution, the ballot box, and the public forum.

The N A A CP does not advocate or condone lynching, nor does it use intimidation, suppression of free speech, to win and obtain its objective, the establishment of first-class citizenship for the darker American.

She writes about this 47-year old civil-rights organization and its rough going in the South as follows:

There is a stream of southern laws and court moves aimed at preserving racial segregation in defiance of the United States Supreme Court decision of May 31, with the task of integrating public schools. A number are apparently aimed at curbing the NAACP.

INTEGRATION BARRIERS

After a Texas injuction, Oct. 22, the leash had become so taut that Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, termed the situation "a real danger for all Americans."

Mr. Wilkins said the new restrictions were not only "harrassing" the NAACP, but were jeopardizing the constitutional rights of white southerners and creating an atmosphere in which the white moderate "can no longer operate."

As Mr. Wilkins spoke, NAACP activity had been stopped in Louisiana, Alabama, and Texas, and new laws were about to go into effect in Virginia that the NAACP head said would make it practically impossible to push integration in that state through the institution of law suits."

In addition, the NAACP reported boycotts, firings, and whispering campaigns that its officials found not so reprehensible as what it feels is the growing use of state powers to carry out the will of White Citizens' Councils.

Mr. Wilkins' chief complaints were against:

1. Action last April by Louisiana invoking a rarely enforced 1924 law that wiped the KLU KLUX to require the state, except churches to file yearly membership lists with the state. When the NAACP refused, feeling it would jeopardize its members in this manner, an injunction was issued against it, and state laws were passed permitting dismissal of teachers who belong to the NAACP.

FLORIDA INQUIRY SET

2. A July injunction by the state of Alabama against collection of dues and organization of new NAACP chapters together with a $100,000 fine for failure to produce books, files, and records in connecstrike.

3. A Texas injunction of Oct. 22 issued after a 17-day hearing in which the NAACP was accused of 11violations of state laws, principally having to do with solicitation of law suits,profit-making and political activities. It was categorized as a New York corporation without a permit in Texas.

4. A set of Virginia laws signed Sept. 29 that include a ban on lawsuits filed by persons not having direct interest, and a requirement for filing contributors' lists if they finance court proceedings to which they are not a party.

5. Other restrictive measures include new South Carolina legislation, prohibiting employment of NAACP members as teachers, a Mississippi law requiring all teachers to submit affadavits listing member ship held in all types of organizations during the last five years. In Florida, a bll for a $50,000 investgaton of the NAACP became law wthout the Governnor's signature and in North Carolina, the NAACP has been dunned for $300 back unemployment insurance on an employee employed by the New York office.

THE TIP OFF

World P. 8 B'ham, Ala.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

The following is the second and final part of the article by Mary Hornaday in The Christian Science Monitor in which she presents the struggle for survival waged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in certain segregation or WCC states. In the first part of the article she summarized under four heads the NAACP difficulties. The pro-segregation forces are trying to eliminate the NAACP, the legal pivot of the fight for first-class citizenship.

Sat. 11-10-56

Here is the other part of the article, as continued from the midweek re-production in this space.

LEGAL STAFF TIED UP

"In some of these states, the NAACP has been operating for 35 to 40 years and has figured in nationally - famous court cases so that no public official could claim to have been unaware of the organization's existence.

"NAACP officials are frank to admit that Thurgood Marshall and his legal staff nave been so preoccupied defending the organization's right to exist that plans for fighting for integration in the courts have been considerably impeded.

"The association's income is running about 16 per cent higher this year than last, with some chapters in the Middle West and Pacific Coast raising their goals as high as one-thrd to take the slack caused by the banning of the association in three Southern states. Full effect of the ban on contributions will not be felt until 1957.

"Many white Southerners take the attitude that the NAACP should be kept out of the South for a while to let the white and the Negroes talk things over.

"In the Texas case Attorney General John Ben Sheppard, denouncinng the NAACP, said, "They have peddled false hopes at bargain prices. In many of our humble, self-respecting colored citizens they have infused hostility and arrogance and brought them the resentment of the community."

GOALS ACCENTED

"NAACP officials express anxiety that while they are fighting for their life aganst immoderation in the South, moderation is going to lose its opportunity.

"In behalf of the NAACP, the American Jewish Congress recently called on the Justice Department and Congress to intervene in what they called "a concerted attack on fundamental guarantees of the First Amendment" in the South.

"Though the NAACP is in trouble, Mr. Wilkins says its goal 'to completely eliminate all vestiges of second-class citizenship under which Negro Americans still suffer'—will be reached.

"Forty eight hours after the suppression of the NAACP in Alabam, a local organization known as the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights had sprung up with aims practically identical to those of the NAACP. Mrs. James Gordon who in September took her two Negro children to a white school through a ring of National Guard bayonets was not even an NAACP member.

"The NAACP, being a well-established law-abiding American to go underground, but its leaders—convinced that its aims are constitutional and of benefit to all Americans—do not envision that any eclipse in the South will be permanent.

"The suppression of the NAACP just can't suppress the Mrs. Gordons all through the South," declares Mr. Wilkins.

31a 1956

EMORY O. JACKSON (NEGRO)

The Tip Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Non-union and trade union workers make up the American labor force.

In some instances the Negro worker is banned from non-union as well as union jobs. He must try to make a living outside the labor force. Call him a no-'count worker. Charge him with wanting government handouts.

The American economy is supposed to be a competitive economy instead of a closed one. Yet a competitive economic system draws its basic strength from a competitive political system.

On Sept. 3 the afternoon daily in Birmingham carried a story that Avondale Mills had settled a strike which grew out of white workers objecting to Negro workers being upgraded or employed at skilled jobs.

The Avondale Mills hired some Negro workers as "doffers" (skilled workers who change bobbins in the cotton weaving machines). A spokesman for the company, as reported in the daily press, said "We prefer white workers on the job, and have always hired them." But the company hired the Negro workers to keep the mills running when an adequate supply of white workers was not available.

Yet the company bowed to the prejudiced demands of the white workers who hardly realized that the products they produced were also sold in Negro markets. Buying power of the Negro group in this country is estimated at around $16 billion.

A company willing out of necessity to hire Negro workers on skilled jobs is thwarted by hostile white workers who apparently are not mindful of the economic changes going on.

The Avondale Mills workers are not unionized. So that illustrates how management seems to be helpless to deal with a situation in a non-union situation and also in a Right-to-Work state. It has been argued by management and industrial leaders that the Right-to-Work laws protected the workers. What workers, let us ask?

Southern Crafts, Inc., a newly-organized sectional union which believes in dual-type unions has announced plans to discuss the formation of "Negro locals." SCC leaders brought the new union into being in protest with the authentic trade unions which were opening their membership to all workers in the same union.

In a luncheon speech before the National Urban League Conference in Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept. 3, Stanley H. Ruttenberg, research director for the AFL-CIO asserted that organized "labor by its persistent efforts in big mass production industries has broken down discrimination against colored workers."

He went on to say "Equal status for Negro workers, the right to promotion, the right to equal job opportunities, while not completely won is well on the way toward being broken down. And the labor movement can take no small amount of credit for its efforts."

Mr. Ruttenberg adds: "The merger of the American Labor Movement has resulted in a united drive to attain equal rights and opportunities for all citizens. The contitution of AFL-CIO is clear cut in its pronouncement that there shall be no discrimination because of race, color, creed or national origin. The AFL-CIO Civil Rights department is engaged in the daily task of carrying out this objective. We are out in the forefront with other groups in fighting the White Citizens Councils' attempt to offset not only the historic Supreme Court decision on desegregation in our public schools but also in its efforts to further divide the White and Negro. Many enemies of the labor movement as well as friends have said AFL-CIO's continued efforts in this regard will result in splittin gthe ranks of organized labor in the South. But in spite of these warnings the AFL-CIO has moved along in taking the leadership in the South against the White Citizens Councils."

He goes on to say:

"As justification for our decision to push ahead we point with pride to the fact that attempts to split the ranks of organized labor in the South over this issue have failed We are stronger and more united than ever in our efforts to continue the fight for equal social and economic rights for all.

"Attempts to divide our ranks at various plants and in various areas of the South have fizzled. Last spring an attempt was made in the plant of Hayes Aircraft Company in Birmingham, Ala. After months of extravagant claims they have failed to enlist any substantial number of the 3500 employees of that company. Last June the local leaders of this same group announced that they were going to call a mass meeting for July 21 in the Municipal Auditorium in Birmingham forthe purpose of a "Southern Conhave been launched as a rival to the AFL-CIO. Widespread publicity throughout the southe attracted less than 150 persons for evening session and fewer than 60 to the afternoon session. This attempt as well as others to split the ranks of organized labor in the South have failed dismally.

"The AFL-CIO will, in spite of all attempts to stop it, continue to fight for the improvement of the economic, social and welfare status of all Americans as we strive for the goal of equal opportunity for all."

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) —Underneath there has been a new growth of the group help spirit here long before the 11-month-old bus protest erupted.

Look at the sports-connected buildings on the campus of Alabama State College which were financed in part by alumni and related contributions. This came to mind here last Friday when I saw the giant Sports Arena which is nearing completion. It is expected to be ready for use about Thanksgiving Day.

The Arena is a story which is part of the new Montgomery spirit It also shows up the situation in Alabama whereby

the group must try to build what it needs because it lacks the ballot power to provide it otherwise.

Should things work out as planned, the Sports Arena will be the scene of a flurry of Thanksgiving week-end activities. A basketball clinic, basketball games, are among events being discussed.

The gym, the athletic field and the swimming pool are among other buildings which were constructed mainly through student and alumni assistance together with that of their friends.

The group has had to build for itself many of the things it needed and wanted. No better illustration is needed in Alabama than the campus of Alabama State College, a state-supported institution.

Hornet Stadium and the gym are used by the Negro-serving local high schools. The stadium is used for semi-pro and pro-baseball games. All of the Hornet home football games with the exception of the Tuskegee Institute classic, are played at its stadium. The 'Skegee-Hornet game is played at Cramton Bowl.

Montgomery has a coliseum, City Auditorium and city baseball park. What use the group makes of such facilities I do not know. This is something to keep an eye on because it could develop that focus on them as public facilities might be lost. Public facilities should be open and available to the whole public alike, it seems to me.

In many ways Alabama State College seemed on its way as a sports center. The state high school basketball tournament, the prep track meet, the high school senior all-star game, were among ventures which added the projection. It tried out the pre-season invitational college basketball tournament. 'Bama State has tried.

It seemed on its way to build emphasis on track with a national famous track name on its staff in the person of Alabama-born Dave Albritton the high jump sensation. He left.

One thing is obvious about football attendance here. Football seems to draw support town-wise only on Thanksgiving Day. Community support does not seem to be strong. By town-wise fan support I mean to emphasize the city as a whole.

State has an excellent band as a supporting grid event. It has adequate press box facilities from which competent operators work to keep the fans informed in a way to help them enjoy the game.

Changes in other ways reflect themselves. The after-game events are no longer the same as they were when the gams were played in the afternoon instead of at night. Many of those who would come from the surrounding areas for the week-end activities when the games were played on Saturday afternoon could look forward to shopping in the morning, dancing after the game, and night-clubbing after that.

Montgomery is not the same and the changes had set in long before the bus protest. Thinking was going on and harsh denials had made stick-together appeals attractive. Those whose denials made it necessary for the Hornet alumni to rake up the money to erect the arena and other buildings might have paved the way for the bus protest movement to take rootage.

THE TIP OFF

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The Tip Off

World Sat. 11-3-56

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS)— Memphis (Shelby County), Tenn. has as many Negro voters as the whole state of Alabama.

Recent published figures reveal that in Memphis there are over 50,000 Negro voters and Atlanta, Ga., claims about 25,000 Negro voters. A study of registration of voters in Alabama shows that as of now there are only 50,000 Negro voters.

FBI investigation of alleged racial refusal of voter-registration in two Alabama counties — Montgomery and Macon — sent up screams of protest from politicians and shouting denials by some registration officials.

For several months Macon Coun-

ty was without a full board of registrars, or less than a quorum for doing business. While the board was operating there were complaints of high rejections, slow processing and unequal fa-

cilities for applicants and other subtle methods of slick discrimination based solely upon race.

At the time Macon lost its quorum of registrars the report was widely circulated that at least one withdrawal resulted from pressure by the White Citizens Councils. When the WCC first organized in Alabama a speaker at the founding or mother council said in Selma that the council should work to prevent Negro voting.

The Alabama problem is not so much of purging of voters as that of wrongful and discriminatory refusal to register them. Wilcox and Lowndes counties have not registered a Negro as a voter since 1900 and on my visits to these two counties I have been told that Negro citizens were afraid to even try to register. Yet the FBI seems to hesitate to look into situations where Negro residents fear to talk, knowing the reprisals that would likely follow.

Wilcox has 8,218 Negro persons 21 years and older while there are only 3,560 white residents of voting age. None of the Negro persons are registered to vote and just about all the white persons are listed as voters. Can any one explain this except by revealing that it is due to a studious, systematic and illegal scheme of racial disfranchisement. Lowndes has 6, Negro persons of voting age but no Negro voters. It has 2,057 whites residents of voting age and nearly every one of them is listed as an elector. All of the whites are voters and all the Negroes are non-voters.

One-race voting and one-party politics have the basic features of fascism. When you deny a man the ballot you rob him him of his freedom. Political disfranchisement based upon race is no more than varnished slavery. The ballot is democracy's shining emblem of freedom. If in Washington the moves made to probe alleged unlawful disfranchisement are political, let us have more politics. politics is no more than the science of making democracy work.

Here in Montgomery there are 34,065 potential Negro voters but only 2,150 actual Negro voters. Campaign after campaign has been conducted to add Negro names to the voting list but the number stays about the same.

Something is wrong and one can surmise that it is due to color. This is a college town and one with supposedly good high schools. Yet one who completes work at a Negro high shcool has a harder time getting his name on the registration list than one who completes his high school work at a non-Negro school.

As in Wilcox and Lowndes, the members of the Negro group kept quiet about these rejections for a long time. Coming into the Cradle of the Old Confederacy I heard the ugly and incredible stories of registration denials but the rejected persons usually wanted nothing said about it out of fear, and possibly, brainwashing.

Barbour has started proceedings for knocking the names of several Negro voters from the official list. Yet it has only 63 Negro voters out of a potential of 8, 012. Bullock County has only 6 Negro voters out of a 2,633 Negro persons 21 years and old. (Since this was writ ten the Alabama State Supreme Court ordered the purge case dismissed.)

Certified teachers whose duty it is to help preserve and enrichen democracy are denied the right to vote in Wilcox and Lowndes counties because of their race and lication. Yet teachers are trained and have status and professional organizations to help them. They could get help from the ASTA, the ATA, the NEA and possibly the American Federation of Teachers. Still there are few Negro teachers in Alabama with membership in the AFT despite the fight waged by this teachers union for integration, voter-registration, tenure and other substantial benefits.

However the ASTA vote commission does not seem to be functioning.

The Tip-Off

Daily World p. 2
Atlanta Ga.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Sat 3-31-56

The South today is no longer solid, single-cropped, and isolated. But it is segregated, worried, worked up, and waking up. Changes are going on in the South. These changes had begun with the depression.

Today the South is the most discussed, the most reported, the most surveyed, the most polled, the most analyzed section of the nation. The South is news. The Negro group has become news in the South. Whether there is a new South is a matter of opinion but that there is a news South is a matter of record.

Your reporters, your Congressmen, your business agents, your economic explorers have all been to the South. You have witnessed the first-hand reports brought to you by those of us who were born in the South; who grew up there and who still make our home in the South.

Some of us say that the South is not understood. Some of us in the South say we know a group known as the Negro.

Distinguished and well-meaning Southern leaders and literary figures have expressed themselves on the matter of racial relations in the South. Novelist William Faulkner has cautioned members of the Negro group and the Northern group of the seriousness of race relations in the South. He calls on the "extremes" to enter a cooling off period. He urges the NAACP leadership to adopt a win-and-wait policy. He thinks to insist now that the South begin to implement the May 17, 1954 decision might not only setback race relations but provoke the choosing of sides, not on the basis of right but race. The Faulkner doctrine has been described as "stoppism" which is apparently an alternative to gradualism.

He wants to give the white South time to catch its breath. Negro leaders want a program of catch-up by which they may enjoy full freedom. The Faulkner doctrine seems to be faulty as a program. Once you quit working for change you weaken the machinery and the motivation for change. Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia have yet to announce a program in the direction of putting into operation the Supreme Court's implementation doctrine.

Some forces in the Deep South seem determined to try to overrule the United States Supreme Court and to overpower the Negro group. New organizations like the White Citizens Councils have sprung up in this section with an advertised campaign to deny the vote to the Negro, disobey and defy the Supreme Court and to dare the Federal Government to attempt to enforce the interpreted law. The WCC is a fascist-like movement which uses race, rumor, vicious propaganda, prejudice, squeezes, pressures, economic reprisals and appeals to fear, ignorance, and emotion to build opposition, negativism, and an unhealthy climate of public opinion.

Some Southern spokesmen have resorted to the new defense of segregated practices by use of doctrine of mutual guilt. These leaders point to racial discrimination in the North where the Negro group can vote; where there are civil rights laws; where there is a two-party system of government. Some of our non-friends abroad point to the racial practices in the United States as a means of embarrassing us and weakening our influence in those countries where we need real and constant friends.

The South has peddled the best-friend-of-the-Negro idea. Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (D-N. C.) in the April 3, 1956 issue of Look magazine observes that in this section there are between colored and white "mutually helpful (interracial) friendships." He also observes that the South believes "the freedom to select one's associates." Segregation, it seems to me, completely operates against "freedom to select."

One must recognize a difference between Southern friendship and Christian friendship. One must apply certain brotherhood tests of friendship to understand this type of friendship. It is more on the side of warmth and kindness toward some particular Negro who is useful to him personally. Close relationship does not always mean friendship. Let's call this type of friendship by another description — closeship.

What use is this "best-friend-of-the-Negro" friendship put. For some particular participants it works out mutually helpful within the established pattern. One can be friendly toward some particular Negro without being a friend of the Negro group. This type of white-to-Negro friendship while cutting across racial lines lasts so long as this particular Negro stays in his place.

Still I believe that in the South there exists some true, honest, and honorable friendship between Negro persons and white persons. This is friendship as distinguished between the "Negro's best friend" theory. Hope lies for all the South because of the presence of friendship built on goodwill, personal acceptance, and mutual interest.

Negro persons want friendship plus freedom and first-class citizenship. They want friendship to bring them a new status and mutual respect as a fellow being. Full friendship implies full acceptance.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World
Atlanta Ga.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Fri. 7-20-56 p. 4

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(SNS) — Organized labor infused fresh vitality and the folk touch into political action.

The industrial worker as an occupational class, the wage-neglected masses, and the easily-identified minorities were victimized by the poll tax, the registration system, the closed primary, and emotional politics. Until the industrial union movement took root in the South there was scarcely any political action in the interest of the wage-earner.

The late Sidney Hillman, father of the CIO's Political Action Committee, taught that politics is the science of making democracy work. He taught politics in terms of general welfare, decent wages, improved housing, better medical care, participation in the affairs of government and a balanced democracy.

Job rights and voting rights are the bedrocks of

civil rights. And civil rights are common rights. They belong to the rich and poor alike, the Northerner and Southerner, the learned and the ignorant, the farmer and the factory man, capitalist and laborer, and to white and black. Voting is the most precious of all the civil rights in a democracy.

Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP, Washington Bureau rightly says that " . . . voting is the cornerstone of civil rights." He believes that "increased registration and voting of colored persons in the South will take the race issue out of politics."

Race issue politics is used to disguise vital labor issues. It is used to blind voters to economic issues. It is used to hide and becloud civic issues. It is used to protect and fortify those who desire to keep labor weak, voiceless and diverted.

Check with any trade union leader in Southern states and he can relate to you the obstacles faced by wage-earners in trying to get their names on the voters' list. The remaining six poll tax states are in the South. List those who helped to get the right-to-work laws enacted in 17 states. Who helped to get the bans in two states against labor's political action?

The race issue is again being used to split the ranks of organized labor. The race issue has been successfully used to suppress labor. The White Citizens Councils are the masterminds of race-issue politics. This includes restricting suffrage and making leadership conforms.

The labor movement is no stronger than those who make it up. Any member of organized labor or the working class wrongfully denied the ballot weakens the working man's cause. The voting issue is broader than the race issue because it ties in with the common interest of all Americans. America is the sum of all of its sections the total of all of its groups.

New York Senator Lehman in arguing for the civil rights bills pending before Congress observed: "I am convinced, on the basis of reports I have heard, that subtlethreats, difficult and questionable registration practices, economic pressures and general community climates are among the factors which help to keep Negro citizens effectively disfranchised."

"These practices can be thoroughly documented. They have been thoroughly documented. There are hundreds of circumstantial reports of such coercion and such intimidation. It is, I believe, a general condition in some parts of the South where there is an active discouragement of voting on the part of Negroes. In some places the discouragement is mild and passive. But it is as obvious as the difference between day and night that in some parts of the country, including some parts of the South, Negroes vote in large numbers — in as large numbers proportionately as White citizens — and that in other parts of the South, especially in rural areas, and also in some cities, Negroes do not vote. They are prevented from voting."

"Whatever forms of discouragement are used, Federal Statutes guaranteeing the right to vote and penalizing coercion in whatever form, will surely have the effect of permitting a free franchise to all citizens."

"I do not believe that any member of this Committee will argue that Negroes should not be permitted to vote. I do not think that anyone here will dare argue that Negroes are not part of the body politic, and that elections should not reflect the views of the entire body politic to the maximum extent possible."

"The disfranchisement of major segments of the population is intolerable. It results in the frustration of democracy."

The consequences of full Negro participation in voting throughout the South may be unfortunate for some political figures. But it will have a beneficient effect upon democracy itself. There can be no excuse or justification for denial to some citizens of the right to vote. You will not be able to stop the process in any event, even if you refuse to pass this legislation. It will come. The most sensible procedure is to enact this legislation; to bow gracefully to the inevitable and to adjust actions to the new circumstance that will then pertain.

The Tip Off

World P. 6

Tues. 5-8-56

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala.

Political sunlight begins to beam through the dust storms of hateful emotionalism. You see it skidding out into the clear after passing the dark storm. The storms of political bigotry hit Alabama recently. And now, for a while, the calm rolls in.

Hopefully you cast your eyes toward Fairfield, Ala. For it is there you see the signs of the clearing storm. Two young men, one a lawyer and the other a public school teacher have qualified to run for aldermen in the May 15 Fairfield Democratic primary. This seems to represent two-way progress.

Fairfield has shown signs of progress when two members of a minority group filed for election without fanfare or much hindrance. The two candidates reflect a new civic spirit and the American aspiration at the latter's best by offering their services to their city. The good citizen helps his community when he places his talents, training and ability at the worthy public use of his fellow man.

At 7:30 tonight Demetrius C. Newton, the lawyer and Vernard F. Thomas, the public school teacher, formally open their campaign for positions on the Fairfield City Council at the First Baptist Church, Fairfield, of which the Rev. E. W. Williams is the pastor. This should be a significant event, and at least should cast favorable light on this area. Events of this kind like the news color, the headline drama, and the controversial tone to rate it the attention equal to its importance.

For Atty. Newton and Prof. Thomas this will be a thrilling political adventure. The run will be worth the effort it if does no more than spotlight the widening of the democratic way. It will prove helpful if it does no more than signalize the clearing of roads which have been rugged, rough, and often full of terror and trouble. The opportunity to move a little today will provide the inspiration of marching tomorrow.

To win the positions they seek means that the two candidates will have to attract support widely. Under the Fairfield aldermanic system all voters pass upon all wardmen. Atty. Newton is running for Position 1 in Ward 3 while Prof. Thomas is offering for Position 2 in Ward 2.

Still for the first time Fairfield voters on May 15 and June 15 will be voting in the wards in which they live. Voting machines are not likely to be used. Hitherto Fairfield voters have used a centralized polling place. Whether this marks progress must be left for others to say. Yet it is change with implications in it.

An announcement states that a campaign committee has been organized to handle details for both candidates with headquarters at Parham's Apothecary Building. Twillie Smith is general chairman and Mrs. A. B. Crayne is the general recorder. Meantime the committee said that both Mr. Newton and Mrs. Thomas has his own secretary and treasurer. Mrs. Louphenia Thomas is working as campaign secretary for Mr. Newton and Mrs. Crayne is toiling in a similar position for Mr. Thomas. O. P. Ward is campaign treasurer for Mr. Newton and J. D. Gipson is campaign treasurer for Mr. Thomas.

The 28-member campaign committee lists E. McLin, chairman of the speakers committee; Dr. G. P. Parham, chairman of the ways and means committee; Edward McClure, Jimmie L. Williams, Mrs. Effie Stewart, Mrs. Sarah Cox, Mrs. Mary Lee Williams, Mrs. Sarah Bates, Mrs. Mattie D. Peterson, Mrs. Thelma McLin, O. McConnell, Thomas Johnson, C. D. Rasberry, Charlie Peterson, Dr. W. L. Drake, Lionell Osborne, Eddie Baker, Samuel Jackson, Robert Turner, Mrs. Leona Petty, Mrs. Annie Holston and Mrs. Aurelia Griffin.

The joint-candidate committee has a potent responsibility in promoting the campaigns of Mr. Newton and Mr. Thomas. Should they be able to see Fairfield as a whole, then the opportunity for a good start is possible. The committee has the job of trying to sell their products, in this instance Mr. Newton and Mr. Thomas to all of the Fairfield voters. No one at this time knows their ability to sell. Voters will buy good products, which places everything else up to the campaign committee, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Sat. 7-14-56

Trade union leaders in the troubled South missed an enticing opportunity to win a new group to its side by failing to respond to the invitation to appear on the program of the recent meeting of the National Fraternal Council of Churches, U. S. A., Inc. which convened at Sixteenth Street Baptist Church.

The South has long been anti-union and pro-segregation. Workers breached the "Southern way" when they attached themselves to the trade union movement. In 1935 the industrial union movement moved off under a new impetus. They went in for a new type of political action which looked out for the welfare of the common man.

Unions lost ground in the South with the advent of the "right-to-work" laws which attracted propaganda and backing by the Federation for Constitutional Government. No right-to-work laws have worked for the security, protection, and advancement of the workers as a group. One worker is played off against another with both being kept down and fighting each other.

The National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States through its Division of Christian Life and Work disapproved of the "right-to-work" laws. The policy statement was approved by a vote of 16 to 3 by its DCLW. The council is composed of 30 different communions representing 35,000 members.

The National Council recognized that "the labor union appeared in the course of history as an important instrument of a democratic society." The council said: "Not only do we evidence Christian concern for those who do not wish to join a union, but also for those who do wish to join and maintain a union. And we are concerned for the freedom of the union or of the employer who may wish to sign a union security contract."

Continues the statement: "Thus, while people do not usually like compulsion in any form, they may accept some degree of it in order to achieve values which cannot be secured without it. They recognize that in a social order the exercise of individual freedom may be self-defeating, and that freedom must of necessity in some circumstances be exercised in terms of group decisions."

The right to work without the right to the corresponding benefits from those rights do not mean too much. The right-to-work laws should be viewed in terms of what they achieve more than how they sound. Right-to-work laws are not fair employment laws. Neither are they guaranteed annual wage laws. Nor do they protect the worker against automatum. Right-to-work laws strike at the heart of collective bargaining. They do not correct the defects in the closed shop and union shop, insofar as unfair restrictions based upon race, upgrading, and union participation, it seems to me.

However the trade union movement in the South is threatened by the race issue, which in other days was partially overcome. The White Citizens Councils are exploiting the school desegregation decision. Certain labor leaders have branded the WCC "as enemies of law and order." The WCC uses the tactics to disturb and destroy.

Right-to-work advocates and WCC strategists seem to travel partly the same road. "The anti-Negro, anti-union alliance," says one labor leader," "has a clearly worked out strategy." It is claimed that the WCC is "actually setting up a Labor Division."

One writer points out: "Union leaders are aware of the connection between Anti-Negro and anti-union elements." This is a serious and delicate situation in the South.

What is the best way to deal with this problem and how can the church help? How can one help honest, fearless, square-shooting trade union leaders guide the workers into the light?

"Unions, like politicians," writes James E. Youngdahl in the July 9 issue of "The New Republic," "are faced with irreconcibles. It is no easier for a trade union to satisfy its Northern and Negro membership, and at the same time protect its Southern outposts, than it is for the Democratic Party to mollify both South and North with the same position on integration."

However Southern workers have demonstrated they can shed tradition and move forward toward life's better way. It is in this fact that hope lies, it seems to me.

The Tip Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Hate days are besetting Alabama as a variety of spurious movements compete in the field of bigotry.

One nomadic fanatic invades the state advocating a "roving force." He taunts the state militia, glorifies the ignorant man, and outlines a program of homespun anarchy.

The KKK rides again in Alabama. They parade through Kingston, burn crosses in Dolomite, stage a scare rally in Mobile and upbraid a woman in Gadsden. The KKK interferes wth peaceful private citzens, disturbs humble families and trespasses.

But few speak out against the KKK and its activities. Victims of bigotry claim they report such activities without anything coming of it. How, they ask, can they get assurance that they will not be awakened at night by those practicing hatecraft by burning crosses?

Emory Jackson

Two wings of the WCC battle for control in Alabama. One faction of the WCC barged in on a meeting recently like Nazi storm troopers, asking questions, sulking, and quivering with rudeness. Peaceful assembly is threatened by them because they scorn decency and frown on human excellence.

Near Tuscaloosa recently some WCCers played pitch with a Negro, throwing him up in the air, and flipping like a drum major does a baton. Nothing is done about this. Just another Negro made a human baton.

I thought about these things when I read that some members of a draft board in Montgomery and Barbour counties had resigned in protest over the handling of the "Draft Case" of Atty. Fred D. Gray, 25-year old lawyer-preacher. What should be done is to conduct a full-scale investigation of draft boards in Southern states. The so-called "Gray Draft Case" serves to emphasize this need.

No Negroes serve on these draft boards in the South as a rule. Hence the first consideration should be this: How fair is a draft board which is not fair enough to include Negroes on it? About half of the population of Montgomery County is made up of the Negro. Why should a Negro man be more patriotic than any other man. No white person in Montgomery is so patriotic that he allows himself to be drafted by a board that does not include a white person on it.

Meantime Negro ctizens are drafted from Southern areas which will not permit them to vote. They are good enough to bear arms but not the ballot. All of this talk about one should want to do his patriotic duty is not fairly presented. Going into the services is but one of the patriotic duties of American citizens. Why not open all of them to all alike?

Negro persons in Montgomery have a hard time getting registered to vote. But the patriotic spokesmen are not thundering away at such unfair practices. In Lowndes and Wilcox counties the darker citizens are barred from registration. The black man is given a hard way to go in Lowndes, Wilcox, Barbour and some other counties. . . . . .

Anyone familiar with the Montgomery bus protest story knows that a climate of pressure, squeeze and harassment has been created. Gray was lumped with the protest leadership. Ministers and other identified with this leaders were indicted and jailed. A charge that would have laid the groundwork for disbarment was brought against Gray .

Fact that Gray was a minister made him no less vulnerable to the prevailng climate than anyone else. Ministers were targets. The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church was indicted as a protest leader tried and convicted.

Some hate literature kept the Gray Draft Case propagandized in such a way as to cast suspicion. The Gray Draft Cast embraces much more than what appears on the surface. Somebody seemed to have wanted Gray inducted for reasons other than patriotism, draft needs and citizenship duty.

The Tip Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

In the two-party campaigning this fall economic issues and appeals to chunk voting are expected to hold the spotlight.

The everybody-is-happy theme is expected to feature heavily in the GOP campaign. The Democratic emphasis will be directed to the special-needs segment. The aged, the handicapped, the impoverished will get added attention.

Both parties are interested in the so-called woman's vote, labor vote, minorities vote (especially the Negro vote), the independent vote and the loose vote. However the appeals will be made differently. The pitch to labor will be based upon the trade unionist as an individual vote.

The Republican Party will stress its record of achievement in the field of civil rights in trying to woo the Negro vote. The GOP will emphasize the new high positions Negro leaders hold in the present administration and also call attention to the White House social functions, state dinners and other gracious affairs at which Negro guests have been invited, welcomed, and attended. This the GOP calls the quiet, undramatic new approach.

Democratic leaders will try to blame President Eisenhower and hold him personally responsible for a lack of forthright, positive, and effective action in the areas of resistance, conflict and defiance. They will argue that he failed to give the leadership, the fighting push, and the inspiration which might have tilted the scales in the Congressional battle over civil rights proposals.

Naturally the Republican leaders will retaliate with the observation that the Democratic Party had control of both houses and that certain of its resistance leaders bottled up the civil rights proposals with the obvious approval of the Democratic leaders in Congress.

Most of the so-called "bloc vote" group's overlap. In a way the designation is more organization than actual. In an effort to win votes, the battle plans are formulated in a way to make a pitch for support on the basis of sentiment, economic interest, or known unfilled aspirations. Hence it is no secret that the Negro group generally wants civil rights, first-class citizenship and social dignity.

Some vote-sentiment polls indicate that members of the Negro group in the so-called pivotal states attach more interest to economic opportunities than to civil rights. This analysis hardly tells the full story and certainly is faulty in one other way. Economic rights and civil rights go hand in hand. In other words, economic opportunity is one of the several forms civil rights take.

In the South, the civil rights question takes emphatic shape in the right to vote; in the cry for educational opportunities without demeaning circumstances, and in the aching need for physical protection. In the pivotal states the Negro person has the ballot and seeks a steady, better, upgrading job. In certain of the low-vote states the Negro citizen is prevented from taking his turn at the ballot box.

It is understandable that where one faces the problems of lay-offs competition from automation, the fear of insincerity in old age, and the experience of plants relocating in a section of the nation where there is no FEPC; no strong labor unions to champion his job rights, that he thinks first of economic issues. But that is not to say that he places less value on civil rights but that he has a double-duty ballot, one that must hold and advance his economic gains while helping his Southern brother make civil advancements.

No matter how many elevated jobs the present administration claims it has selected Negro leaders to fill that does not offset its failure to give assistance to the disfranchised millions of the South it seems to me. When nothing is done about wrongful denial of the ballot based solely on race, that tends to cast doubt on any national administration's passionate concern for the basic rights of all.

The Democratic Party leaders must not be allowed to wipe their hands clean of the voting situation in the South, the seat of the party's strength. One Southern senator boasts openly and over public media that the Senatorial Committee which he called "the grave yard of civil rights." One Southern editor has called voting the most important of the civil rights.

As the two-party campaigning begins, neither party has much of a record on civil rights to carry to the voters. Of course, that is bitterly true on the Congressional level. The two platforms offer not much hope. The legislative record was the same under control of Congress by both the Republicans and the Democrats.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Let's look at some of the new testimony from the veteran witnesses for democracy.

Some are looking at "the climate of unrest" in the South today, the lack of highest level leadership, the retreat of the so-call liberals and the aggressiveness of the hatecraft.

Paul G. Hoffman, chairman of the board of directors of The Fund for the Republic says "second-class citizenship has no place in a first-class society." But he adds: "Everyone, of course, accepts the concept of equality of opportunity in theory but when action is taken to make a reality of it racism and prejudice show their venomous presence."

National Urban League's Lester B. Granger observes that "the professional bigots" are trying to destroy NUL units in the South. He says the hate merchants . . "cannot afford to tolerate any educative influence that teaches peple to understand and respect . .each, to live together and work together".

* * * *

He adds: "... For the past year Urban League after Urban League in Southern cities has been bombarded by attacks from White Citizens Councils. The bigots have brought their guns to bear on what they think is the leagues most valuable spot-Community Chest support".

* * * *

Mr. Granger observes: "They (the WCC) have threatened to boycott Community Chest campaign and guarantee their failure if the chest dare to allocate any funds to the League, national or local',

* * * *

Mr. Granger asserted that the WCC campaign "hasn t worked out thus far'. He asserted that recruits its boards and committees "from the influence centers of the towns'. Both are interracial and the WCC opposes such activity.

* * * *

Return Mr. Hoffman to the witness stand, to say: "Churches all through the country, but perhaps particularly in the South, have been most effective in reducing tension and bring about a rational discussion of race relations. All of us should pay tribute to them not only for the courage they have shown but for the quiet and determined way which they have gone about this difficult task",

* * * *

But are WCCers members of the church? What is the "quiet and determined way" the churches in the South have provided a known positive moral and ethical leadership?

The question are raised simply because the WCC leadership is on the scene trying to cutback progress.

* * * *

Call Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University whose testimony is presented in The New York Time magazine, Sept. 23: "There has been a measureable loss of Negro respect for the white pretenders to a superiority that can only be sustained by legal statutes and illegal violence, or the threat of it."

Now, Mr. Johnson, we hear a lot about the important work of the Southern white liberal of the South and would appreciate your comment on it. Mr. Johnson testifies: "Few Southern whites of liberal of humane views regarding Negro civil rights want personal responsibility among their less liberal friends for advocating such."

* * * *

Mr. Johnson, is it true that Negro leaders have not tried to present their case to the responsible, power - structure, helping - hand leadership of the South? Speak to this question, Mr. Johnson: Of all of the voices raised in this crisis, the one most ignored has been that of the Southern Negro."

* * * *

Stop it, stop it. Do you mean that?

* * * *

Frankly, Mr. Johnson, you shock me. What would Negro leaders say, if the ignoreship was removed? Just, this: "Basically, this is a struggle today not between North and South, or white and Negroes, or between the national and international points of view. It is a struggle between those who believe in democracy and those who do not."

Speak on: "The really critical problem of the present, we believe, is the confusion of the moral imperative of this issue (civil rights) with the tired policy of moderation, our current middle-of-the-road philosophy. Whatever the personal sentiment, there can be no middle-of-the-road attitude toward moraility or legality, if the fabirc of our society is to remain inviolate. Where there is repudiation of the integrity of the Court, our ultimate constitutional authority, on one issue, there is repudiation of the integrity of the Court and the law on any or all issues. No one expects laws to reform the hearts of people, and this is not their purpose. They can, however, and do, according to Judge Learned Hand, control the disorderly, even at times at the risk of making many of them angry."

That's all, Witness Johnson. The other part of your testimony will be read into the record. But you did mention about the volume, "What the Negro Wants" which irritated the editors when "in the final results, (showed) all the Negro writers seemed to think and want substantially the same thing; the difference appeared only in literary styles of the authors."

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala.— (SNS)— Three developments which have gone without penetrating analysis could have useful implications.

First, those operating the car pool under the sponsorship of the Montgomery Improvement Association complain that liability and related insurance on the automobiles cooperating with this project is being cancelled by the insurance companies, or coverage refused.

Various excuses are said to be given as justification for the non-coverage. Among excuses listed are competency of drivers, rate structure and climate of public opinion. The latter has to do where a car-pool driver might have to face court action, and the possible kind of justice to expect. Under the rate structure the price of coverage for a taxi would be higher than that for private vehicles. Although the station wagons and private cars serving in the car-pool are non-hire or non-profit motorists transporting persons, there seems to be the feeling that they are doing essentially the service of taxicabs or jitneys, technically.

That seems to be the pressure consideration in the whole affair. It seems that the idea is either to deny the car-pool vehicles liability insurance or have them sign up under the higher taxi rate, which the latter would bring them in collision with the law. Without liability and related insurance, the way is made risky and hazardous for the pool-car owners and the drivers.

On the matter of driver competency, one might read Page 3, Volume 6 of the organ of the Montgomery Traffic Commission and Montgomery County Safety Council, entitled "Montgomery Search For Safety (Green Cross for Safety)" which pointed out that despite the tremendous increase in Negro drivers in Montgomery in recent months there was not a corresponding increase in collision by Negro drivers.

Negro owners of automobiles do a landslide business with insurance companies. Negro brokers represent a number of these companies. The arguments which reportedly have been advanced for not selling liability insurance to the car-pool vehicles do not appear to be entirely valid.

A Negro automobile owner perhaps gets no less justice in the Montgomery courts now than before. If so, that would reflect a breakdown in justice which will hurt liability insurance companies whether there is a car-pool or not. Are such companies willing to make by implication or otherwise the charge that Negro persons cannot get justice in the Montgomery courts?

One thoughtful person has wondered why some Negro investors have not entered the liability insurance company. The Montgomery protest movement is helping to wake up the group. The Negro group spends $16 billion annually in the United States. Vast are the savings the group has in banks and other places which could be lured out to finance a liability insurance company as a self-defense economic weapon.

Secondly, the Albama Nurses Association is scheduled to hold its annual convention here Nov. 8-9. All delegates will attend all activities except the banquet meeting. There will be dual banquet meetings. In one city delegates have adduced the suggestion that they not accept any money allocated for an off-site banquet. Instead of an off-scene affair these forward-looking nurses think they could best serve their interest and also emphasize the desirable goal by not accepting the off-stem banquet.

Thirdly, from all reports there are some mix ups about the vote commission of the Alabama State Teachers Association. The commission does not seem to be functioning. Word has spread that a new chairman has been selected by the administration. Meantime, there is one opinion that the old 10-man committee named by the out-going administration is still intact. This needs to be cleared up and the Vote Commission should hurry up the job of stimulating voter-registration, it seems to me.

31a 1956

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

The Tip Off

World P. 6

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

GADSDEN, Ala.—(SNS) — The setting blended with the significance of the speech made by Dr. Margaret Just Butcher, eminent authority on school desegregation, at the opening session of the three-day annual convention of the Alabama Association of Women's Clubs held Sunday, June 3 at Friendship Baptist Church.

Tues. 6-5-56

Gadsden is a historic city, the pivot of the Fifth Congressional District. The 85-year-old city, fourth in size in Alabama and second industrially, was 27 years old when the AAWC was organized. It honors among its civic gems a monument to Emma Sansom, 15-year-old girl who during the Civil War helped General Forrest route federal troops.

So it was in this pre-Civil War city that Dr. Butcher, professor of English at Howard University, Washington, D. C., member of the Washington Board of Education, and N. A. A. C. P. consultant on school desegregation came to talk things over with the fine ladies of Alabama who sit in the highest seats of cultural, civic, church and social leadership. She spoke to the right group on the right subject at the right time, it seems to me. She related to them the simple story of how the switchover to the new way was made in the Nation's Capital.

She then took up one by one the bogey arguments made by the defenders of the old yardstick. She warned that those with a selfish, vested, and greedy interest in segregation would try to hang on to it. To back up her point she related a story she had with a highly-placed public official in a certain Southern city who blamed the lack of progress toward the change-over to reactionary whites and Uncle Tom Negro persons.

Seated on the platform and in the choir stand, as well as in the audience, were the power structure women leaders of the group. Mrs. Butcher seemed to have sensed this from the way she handled her message, driving herd at the basic issues. Her message seemed to ask, "can't you see and won't you do?" It was more an intimate report to friends than a speech to a convention. At least that's the way she communicated her ideas to me.

She mentioned favorably the type of leadership which sprung up in Montgomery to protest seating discrimination and the effort made by Mrs. Autherine Lucy Foster to obtain training at our University of Alabama. Specifically in connection with the bus protest she pointed out the admirable woman leadership as represented by Mrs. Rosa Parks, one of the indicted leaders. She was both lauding what has been done and pointing to the need of the widening of leadership.

Alabama is one of the resisting of better, defiant states with regards to transforming its public school system to meet the new principle of equality. Today there seems to be no insistent school desegregation leadership, although there were reports that a parent group in Mobile has made plans to have a new standard set to operation. Opposition to revamping the public schools to meet the enlightened standards springs from public figures and private leaders. Yet the basic laws support transformation.

Dr. Butcher called attention to the NAACP's approach to shiftover by observing that the association is merely asking boards of education to recognize the law, make a start toward compliance, and state how long you want to complete the job. She made it clear that she was not making a NAACP speech but was merely trying to set the record straight, since she knows the facts. She believes that good faith, straight facts, and sober-minded leadership are things needed to help make the adjustment to the new principle. Hence she swept away the false claim that the NAACP was trying to desegregate the schools overnight.

The guest speaker also stressed use of the ballot. She mentioned the damage which segregation does to the child and related a personal story which illuminated her argument. The fight for de-jimcrowed schools, she said, is something the present leaders owe the children. She added that the May 17, 1954 decision "got the United States off the hook" as the moral leader of the world. Other nations were beginning to raise the question, Dr. Butcher said, of whether America could distribute freedom abroad while denying it at home. Especially were the dark-skinned people concerned about the treatment of the darker citizens of the United States of America.

Mrs. E. M. Arrington, of Montgomery, who gave the response, told the convention that "there is power in the ballot." She suggested that the ballot when widely acquired and wisely used will change things. "When you secure and use the ballot conditions will change," she asserted.

Inviting Dr. Butcher to be the convention's lead off speaker tends to show that the women intend to shake off the shackles holding back progress. For here was an able, articulate and aggressive teacher of the better way. Mrs. Butcher taught a lesson to the convention on how to start working toward a public school system cleansed of racial segregation. Whether one such lesson is enough will depend entirely upon the desire and the determination of those who heard her, it seems to me.

Transformation is having its troubles in Alabama, and some other parts of the South, but in the end it will win out.

THE TIP OFF

World P. 8

Sat. 6-30-56

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

PITTSBURG, Pa. — (SNS) — For the first time in the 18-year old history of the National Newspaper Publishers Association its annual convention was held in a Pennsylvania City. The 1957 convention is scheduled for Columbus, Ohio.

This time NNAP widened its membership to include Jet magazine, a Johnson Publication, Chicago. For 10 years this newsweekly had been interested in NNPA membership. At the Atlanta Workshop and also at this years's convention here John H. Johnson, publisher of a group of magazines was an NNPA guest.

NNPA continued another trend. Publisher Thomas C. Jervay of the Wilmington (N. C.) Journal was ed into the presidency. He takes up the responsibility shedded by C. C. DeJoie, another publisher of the so-called "smaller newspapers." Small only in comparision with the national weeklies and in the sense that the concentrated in a hometown and state area.

Southern publishers now have the leadership of the organized Negro-produced press. Jervay and DeJoie have carried forward a continous campaign of voter-registration education They promote Negro-owned business and are journals of community goodwill, as seems to be the case of Negro newspapers.

NNAP is a functioning tribute to the new leadership of the Negro press. For it has lasted longer than any of its predecessor organizations. This is due mainly because of the role of the publishers and editors of the powerful national weekly newspaper Always there was a forceful personality in the midst of conflict to hold the body together.

In the early days the "smaller newspaper" supplied the balance and support to help NNPA steady itself ,. For these newspapers never saw themselve as competitive to the national weeklies. Partisan politics was never allowed a place in the association. They felt a need of counsel and assistance from the Big Press. All seemed to have sensed the need for cooperation.

Some newspapers have fallen away from NNPA. New ones have come in. Each convention I used to look forward to seeing Percy Greene of the Jackson (Mississippi) Advocate and John H. McCray of the now suspended Lighthouse and Informer, Columbia, S. C. McCray has moved on to the Baltimore Afro-American. And now one hears the question, "What has happened to Percy Greene" McCray's news paper went down fighting for freedom in South Carolina. But McCray is still fighting on from the pages of the Afro-American which covers the South Carolina area.

Either at the NNPA Mid-Winter Workshop or the sumerm convention representatives of the "Big 3 Organizations" among the Negro group come around Thurgood Marshall (NAACP), William Trent (United Negro College Fund) and Lester Granger (National Urban League were among visitors at the Pittsburgh convention.. There were other pluggers-for causes showing up on the scene, either with or without invitations. Conventions have that kind of pulling power.

Two other things should be pointed out while in the city the visiting NNPA members were guests of The Pittsburg Press Club. This club is located in The Sherwyn Hotel and opens its membership to newspapermen on merit, and nothing else. Some Pittsburg Courier staffmen are members of the club This time the business and industrial leaders of the city served as banquet hosts. Usually it has been the uplift organizations which provided such courtesy.

Pittsburg drew the largest NNPA convention attendance in many years. The Pittsburgh Courier broke new convention ground. When industrial leaders give a convention the kind of attention which came to the NNPA, it reflects the high community standing of the host

THE TIP OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

When the American Baptist Association, meeting recently in Little Rock, Ark., adopted unanimously an anti-integration resolution, it parted company with some other religious groups on this moral and legal question. Some 3,000 messengers from 25 states were registered at the meeting June 27 when the Baptist group sought justification from the scriptures for the point of view favored.

The question is equality of treatment, social dignity, teaching of consideration based upon individual worth, and personal freedom. To judge one on the basis of a population segment is contrary both to the teachings of Christianity and the tenets of democracy. The ABA leaders seem to interpret narrowly and provincially the word "race." Basically there is only the human race.

"God created the races distinct from one another." So, what? That is neither basis for conversion nor membership in the real Baptist church. Distinctness of race or color or religion is no basis for denial of equality before the law and the full enjoyment of the privileges, responsibilities and benefits of democracy as a citizen.

ABA leaders contend that "God scattered the races over the face of the earth at a time when they attempted to integrate and become one." Integration of schools is one thing, and integration of races is another. Meantime the scattering of races theory does not hold up under the impact of modern transportation communication and population. America is a melting pot of many races. "All flesh is not the same flesh," ABA leaders point out. This has nothing to do with the concept of democracy which affirms the rights of the individual, civil rights, human rights, personal rights.

On another front a Jewish Rabbi, the Rev. Dr. Barlett R. Brickner, at the Central Conference of American Rabbis meeting in Atlantic City, N. J., June 25, proposed that groups of "different faiths should work out a program to guide Christians and Jewish clergymen and laymen on segregation." Dr. Brickner asserted that "though legal decisions are necessary as springboard from which to act, compliance presupposes acceptance by the community. The mores of the people have to be cultivated to accord with the change in law."

He adds: "Not until the full force and prestige of the church is thrown into the struggle will substantial headway be achieved."

"Some national Christian bodies," observes Dr. Brickner, "notably the Catholics and the Methodists have denounced racism as a deviation from Christianity, but by and large the genuine move to give reality to their beliefs in men's brotherhood, and they can be assured that we of the Jewish faith will uphold them."

In Omaha, Neb., June 26, the General Council of the Congregational Church reaffirmed its determination "to work for a nonsegregated church in a nonsegregated society.

The council's resolution said in part: "We declare of our belief that the gospel of Jesus Christ is for all men without distinction as to race or color. We further believe that the church is by its nature a fellowship whose only test for membership is the individual's faith in the Lord, Jesus Christ and the intent to follow Him."

"We note with gratification that our nation, through decisions made by its highest court, is now committed to eradicate segregation, based on race, from public services and institutions, including schools and colleges."

Yet the Rev. L. D. Foreman of Little Rock who drafted the ABA pro-segregation resolution charged: "For more than 10 years some of the larger Protestant denominations have joined hands with the Communists and Nudists colonies, free thinkers and infidels in encouraging a standard of farmyard ethics and animal morals for the youth of our nation.

Hence the Rev. Foreman resorts to name-calling where the efacts and logic seem to fail him. Certainly the Methodists, the Catholics, the Congregationalists, the Jewish, to mention only four religious groups, are no less concerned with high standards than the ABA. Christianity is a religion of brotherhood, not bigotry. Brotherhood asks only that one be a human being, caring nothing about his race, color, section, education or social standing.

THE TIP OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

For a long time the "Southern liberals", organized labor in the South and the "silent" spiritual leaders of Dixie have been praised for their work toward expanding freedom and exploring new frontiers of the fuller life.

Now the position of this tri-type of leadership is being reexamined. There was little to work upon until these aboved described labels of leadership began to explain their positions in writings. Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, in his weekly column June 28 in the California Eagle, Los Angeles, Calif. ,tactfully exposed the so-called "Southern liberal."

He writes: "The term 'Southern liberal', however, is misleading because it describes not a group of people who are liberal in their social beliefs, but a group are moderates in their prejudices. A 'Southern liberal' is apt to be a man (or woman) who deplores active hatred and cruelty, who unhappily recognizes the depths to which the Jim Crow system has deagged this out, and who would like to see racial relationships improving so that Jim Crow can be eradicated from American life."

Granger then moves to one of the dangerous false concepts being circulated by the "Southern liberals." Of this he observes: "The concept assumes that Negroes deserve a better chance but only at the point where Southern lberals (white, that is) decide that it is fair and safe to provide that chance." Granger points out that about one-fourth of the South's population is of Negro group. Hence the so-called "Southern liberal' has a population blind spot and seems to want to schedule social change to suit his timetable rather to satisfy the democratic compulsions, ethical stimulation and legal change.

He describes the "moderate" as "the individual who is willing to put off solution of the Southern race question until a majority of whites in that region are ready to accept integration."

At this point it might be well to call up an article by Lewis M. Killian entiled, "Hypocrisy of 'Delay,'", which appears in the current issue of New South, organ of the Southern Regional Council. Killian points that "the slogan of those who take this position (of delay) is, 'Give us time - we're not ready'. It is not an attitude of defiance toward the Supreme Court or of disagreement with the principle of the Brown decision. Yet, in the long run, the position of delay may prove more detrimental than will a posture of defiance."

Too many so-called "middle - grounders," "moderates', "go - easy ites" actually belongs to thecamp of delayers of change, it seems to me. Killian says that "gradualism must be associated with progressive compliance in good faith." The Killian yardstick would seem to eliminate most of the self-styled gradualists. Killian claims "that gradualism now implies acceptance of the decision and progress toward compliance is recognized by the avowed prosegregationist." That should explain the attack by the White Citizens Councils on the NAACP.

Now let us return to Granger He observes: "The true moderate' is that person who wants change now, but with little upset as possible. This kind of moderation does not criticize a Negro for being militant, nor excuse a white man because he is emotionally wedded to the past."

Some have seen the role of the "moderate" as the referee between two contending groups, trying to get both to shut up for the sake of the South's good name. Or on the other, trying to compose differences of attitude toward the law, those who want to obey it and those who are determined to defy it.

Finally, Granger makes this telling point: "The NAACP and the White Citizens Councils are not as (C. A.) McKnight seem to imply (in his June 22 Collier article) balancing evtremes of American behavior. The NAACP is merely preaching basic Americanism; the White Citizens Councils are denying its validity Militant groups may err on strategy, but the opposition is in error in their whole concept of what it means to be an American."

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

31a 1956

THE TIP OFF

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

MOBILE, Ala. — (SNS)— Two of the 12 Negro lawyers in Alabama are practicing their profession here.

Wed. 11-14-56

Atty. Vernon Z. Crawford, whose handling of a case before the Alabama Public Service Commission brought him scads of newspaper publicity, is a local product. Atty. Clarence Moses grew up around Powderly, Ala., but eased off down here. He slung out his sign before Mr. Crawford put himself through law school.

None of the 12 Negro lawyers practicing in Alabama received his legal training in Alabama. Perhaps some of them used the Jim Crow Scholarships which are tainted with second-class citizenship. Alabama still isn't training any Negro students for law. And no Negro persons who signed up to study law the past school opening made any serious efforts to enroll at the University of Alabama School of Law. Surely, a feeler-style try was made, or find-out moves instituted. What took place never followed the pattern of tested action, and actually spent itself with intellectual frivolity.

P. 4

Atty. Crawford boiled thru the Mobile branch of Alabama State College and then flowed out of the main college at Montgomery. He hustled off to Brooklyn Law School and then floated back here and set up offices in his hometown. He has built up a practice strong enough to bear him bread after sweating thru several bleak, but not discouraging weeks. But those lean days were learning days. He is doubtless better off for the struggle he had at the start of his [illegible]ssional career as a lawyer.

Mobile has a mixture of leadership. An effort was made to blend it after the NAACP was derailed in Alabama. Put together in severity it has not stood up in sense. Some of the newer leadership is not at all happy over some of the activities of the older leadership. Yet all of this is kept subdued. Had the new and the old leadership functioned as a fusion of experience and enlightenment a new chapter in progress would have been written in this Gulf-side city.

October 10, Atty. Crawford represented Milton L. Dais before the Public Service Commission in Montgomery. Mr. Dais has made application for a carrier license for a state hauling service. His petition for a hauling permit was opposed by competitors. An estimated more than 30 shippers made known their opposition but only nine transfer companies entered themselves in the record as opposed.

It appears that about 30 years ago Mr. Dais and his brothers, or some associates, were in the hauling business as a licensed hauler but gave up the permit, or allowed it to expire or lapse. It seems that he continued to haul without benefit of permit and now wants to pick up a hauling license.

The opposition to Mr. Dais getting a license to return legitimately to the hauling business which he grew up in, was that the licensed lines could absorb 65 per cent more business, and that Mr. Dais' service was not needed. The opposition sought to show through the testimony of a private detective that Mr. Dais was already engaged in the hauling business in violation of the law. Atty. Crawford challenged the introduction of this type of evidence as irrevelant.

Actually, the case was heard by Public Service Commission examiners, instead of the PSC itself. Hearing the evidence were Examiners Bates Bowers and W. F. (Pete) Black.

Newspaper stories said that Atty. Crawford was the first Negro lawyer to practice before the Public Service Commission. However, some years back I covered a hearing before the PSC in which Atty. Arthur D. Shores presented a protest in the so-called "full partition [illegible] case" involving Pullman car service.

The Tip Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. —(SNS)— The camp meeting spirit that sounded the walking call to freedom was voiced again at the first anniversary of the celebrated Montgomery protest.

Daily World P. 4
Jan. 12, 1956
Atlanta, Ga.

I was at the walk-for-freedom mass meeting a year ago when the protesting voices rang out in musical fervor that "there will be a great camp meeting in the promised land." A year ago they were urged in freedom's song, 'don't get weary.' This seems to be the theme song of the Montgomery Improvement Association.

This time the freedom fight is not being launched; it is being widened; it is being deepened; it is being enshrined. It is assuming a philosophy and an impulse. It's chief architect is the scholarly, sincere, consumed 28-year-old Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., MIA president and pastor of fashionable Dexter Avenue Baptist Church.

Where does the MIA draw its support? It enlists the ideas of all who have something to contribute. Vitality bubbles up from the folk. Ideas trickle down from the scholars. Out of this has come teamwork leadership in which there are specialists trained in non-violent protest.

At the noon luncheons the scholars have exhibited their research, their marshalling and interpretation of facts. They have looked the movement over and find that it makes sense, has devoted support and dedicated leadership.

Texas-born Dr. Preston Valien, a Fisk University professor, for instance, in his lunch-time lecture on the movement, pointed out that 110 years ago Henry David Thoreau, the transcendentalist, originated the idea of civil disobedience. He said Gandhi picked up the idea while in South Africa and hauled it off to India where he used it to free his native land from colonialism. Now the idea of non-violence has worked its way back to America. An adaptation Ghandi technique of social change with variations and innovations is being tried in Montgomery.

Dr. Valien also pointed out that the Montgomery protest provided a 'rare natural laboratory for the study of a social movement.'

He cited some figures which also explain something. Some 63 per cent of Negro women in Montgomery are in domestic work while 61 per cent of the white women were in clerical work. Meantime he read some of the interviews made by research teams which pointed up the attitudes of the community.

The noted sociologist on the basis of field and shelf research concluded about the movement that it started not as the result of a single event but an accumulation of them; the masses were ahead of the leaders in wanting a change for the better; there was unity among those making up the movement and that the movement is undergirded by moral and political forces.

At the mass meetings you get another setting. The do-things-leadership blends itself with the masses. Dr. Ralph David Abernathy, for instance, in building the followers up for the fasting and prayer warned that "we seek to step out into an unknown future. He counseled the followers to join the fasting. He wanted the fasting spirit "to get inside the prison and get the prisoners to join with us. The mass meetings are a kind of freedom revivals, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

P. 6

Articles in two quality magazines on Ralph Waldo Emerson, poet-philosopher, deal with the great American literary figure's attitude toward scholarship, the South and slavery.

Wed.

Yale University President A Whitney Griswold, writing in the Nov. 10 issue of The Saturday Review, on "The Scholar's Business in American Society, relies heavily upon Emerson for guidance. "American scholarship went hungry in Emerson's day for lack of sustenance. Today it starves amid plenty," writes Dr. Griswold.

Wed. 11-21-56.

He reworks Emerson's definition of the scholar, this way: "The scholar is not The Intellectual. He is Man Thinking. Man Thinking is not the member of a race apart. He is the citizen performing the function appointed for all citizens in a civilized state. He is Everyman purposefully apprehending the meaning of things .... By liberating the scholar in all of us we shall create a reservoir to relieve our teacher shortages while our hunt for Intellectuals loses itself in the desert."

Dr. Griswold observes. "Money will help in salaries that make possible a decent living, but money has never been the scholar's main incentive ... The American scholar is not Faust at his black magic or a gypsy in flight from his fellow men or a man of philosophical vise. He is Man Thinking, hungering and thirsting after the things which make man think."

The scholar becomes the teacher when he imparts and the teacher becomes the scholar when he investigates, By investigating I mean thinking. The scholar-teacher digs up, develops, and distributes new ideas new ways and new sense for humanity's benefit. . Only man thinking is man moving forward.

Emerson's scholars come alive in the Montgomery Improvement Association leadership. Scholarship is simply leadership with ideas. The mind working is the spray gun of ideas. One of the reasons for the success of MIA is that the leaders have an arsenal of attractive and effective ideas. We need those who can set the South on fire with meaningful ideas, it seems to me. Responsibility is the shouldering of risk. The scholar must be a man of risk.

Yet Dr. Griswold was trying to deal with a situation in the university where you may have many

professors but few scholars. Other factors also enter into the scholar's presence on the campus. How would an Emerson-type scholar fare at the University of Alabama? How could he survive on the campus o fthe University of Georgia? Would he be allowed on the faculty of Mississippi State University? The scholar today seems to be America's unwanted man. The scholar is waging a battle of survival. Recall the witchhunts of a few years back.

Phillip Butcher, professor at Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland, has an article in Phylon magazine ,third quarter, 1956, entitled, "Emerson and the South." Emerson detested slavery and was a part of the abolitionist movement. Straight thinking could never support either slavery or segregation. The present day student can find valuable guides in the anti-slavery movement to help him understand the anti - segregation movement. The abolitionist movement robbed America of some of its finest talent just as the integration movement is doing today. Minds which could be free to develop science literature, art, and techniques of peace are being used up in seeking solutions to the segregation problem. This is the ugly tragedy of American democracy and the blight on Christian morality.

Butcher points out: "Students of pure philosophy sometimes lament his (Emerson's) conversion to the cause of the abolitionist on the evils of slavery interfered with his achievement as a thinker even while it contributed to his development as a man."

On the why of the "Civil War," Butcher brings this out: "For him (Emerson) the purpose of the Civil War was to bring an end to slavery, not to preserve a union which countenanced slavery anywhere within its borders." One of the recent biographers of Frederick Douglass, the great abolitionist, has sought to show through Douglass writings that until President Abraham Lincoln revised the concept of the Civil War to mean a battle to end slavery, the Union soldiers were losing.

Emerson's writings are part of the American heritage. Some of the features which existed in slavery, as detailed graphically in some of the Emerson writings, show up today in the practices of enforced segregation. Such as the "perils of mob law and statute-law, where speech is not free .... where liberty is attacked in primary institutions of social life...."

THE TIP OFF

Daily World
Thurs. 11-29-56

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta, Ga.
P.2

That telephone call late in the night brought the sad news of the passing of Mrs. Venice Tifton Spraggs in Washington D. C., where she had settled after shaking away from Birmingham. The night message was so shocking that I fumbled away the telephone without asking for details.

I had built plans for going to Montgomery where I have the assignment to cover the Tuskegee-State game. Along the way and on train I shared the sorrowful news with those of my acquaintance.

Unlike a number of others, I came to know Mrs. Spraggs only a few years ago, although she had built a socially strong name for herself and was a graduate of Spelman College in Atlanta (which I did not know until a few years ago).

She worked as recreational leader on the playground in the neighborhood in which I live. I saw her but did not meet her. She was with NYA when I first knew her conversationally. I had written something about the NYA program in Alabama which she jumped on me about. What she did not know was that I had the facts which had been leaked to me by a Washington contact who thought some publicity might help to clear up the situation.

Robert L. Reed (whom I learned only last week had known Mrs. Spraggs intimately) revealed to me that Mrs. Spraggs seemed concerned over something that I had written. He never told me she was a Spelman graduate and an acquaintance of his of long duration. I saw Mrs. Spraggs and talked and went over the situation with her and also explained to her what I thought the duty and mission of the newspaper is in a democracy.

She moved on to Washington where she jumped to the newspaper when NYA flicked out. On trips to Washington I always made it a point to chat with Mrs. Spraggs while she was staffing and heading the Chicago Defender Bureau there. She always had information gossip, and behind-the-scene secrets about Birmingham which I lacked the contacts to obtain. (I am not a society figure in which circles so much seems to happen without benefit of publication). It was during these trips that Mrs. Spraggs one day reminded me of our conversation on the function of a newspaper.

From the newspaper she moved into professional politics under shrewd, sagacious, ward-minded Congressman William L. Dawson. But she could never be a politician because her heart was concerned with more than getting some one elected to office. At best she was a political action engineer who led a crusade for the ballot among the high and among the humble. However she absorbed the Dawson idea about building political strength compactly.

In her get-the-ballot speech at St. Paul Methodist Church here Friday night, Oct. 21, 1955, she expounded the Dawson idea of adding vote strength. For she rejected any effort of trying to pry loose the vote in those harden spots of racial disfranchisement. She preferred to widen the opening already made. She believed fervently that "the ballot can change things," as she said in her bruising speech that night. The ballot as the tool of change is Dawson's philosophy. Underneath this emphasis is the feeling by the Dawson school of thought that legal action should not be the basic reliance of a minority group in a democracy. Legal action draws its ultimate strength from political action.

Often I wondered why Mrs. Spraggs decided upon either a newspaper or political career when she could have occupied softer jobs with higher pay, and certainly with less grinding work. I never brought this up while talking to her. Yet, I believe that while working with NYA she saw a new light and was converted to the idea of social action, journalism and self-help politics. She worked at politics as a means of helping to elevate mankind and not for money.

In Mrs. Spraggs October 21, 1955 speech she seemed to have returned to Birmingham to announce that she had broken with the non-voting tea-sipping, long-spirited socialites who were more interested in parties than in politics. She gave Birmingham's leadership the roughest going-over I have ever witnessed from a speaker. "Roll up your sleeves and go to work," she urged the voter's registration leaders.

Herself a prominent figure in uppercrust society, Mrs. Spraggs could say such things and get results. She was college trained, a former school teacher and successful. She won converts in Alabama and interested society women in the ballot.

When Mrs. Spraggs had completed her speech at St. Paul, I congratulated her on it. She seemed delighted to have me compliment her because she had attacked some of my expressed ideas about voter-registration. I still believe in distributed suffrage and that as long as there are no Negro voters in Wilcox and Lowdnes counties the group's vote in Jefferson County is weakened. As long as the South is a low-vote section it will be a dependent section.

I believe Mrs. Spraggs' greatest contribution was among the society women whom she shook up, won over, and put to work building a stronger and more enlightened electorate.

The Tip Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. —(SNS) The "Cradle of the old Confederacy" has become the cornerstone of walking freedom.

Gone is the car pool but nobody can halt the feet of freedom. Segregated buses will soon be gone too. When the buses unload their extra baggage of Jim Crow they will be able to pick up the passeners of freedom.

Sigma Phi Chapter of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity on Sunday night, November 18, honored some of the prime figures who have helped to construct this new cornerstone of freedom. It came at a National Achievement Week program at stately, refined proud Dexter Avenue Baptist Church.

In addition to the bus protest, there is a vote-denial protest. The fraternity cited those who sought to halt alleged wrongful refusal to place qualified persons on the voters' list solely because of race, color and politics. Racial voting restrictions are the severest forms of hateful discrimination in Alabama.

Obviously the same resister leaders who are fighting fair bus seating are working to curb wider voting opportunities. The White Citizens Councils which are apparently masterminding the defiance of open bus seating have racial disfranchisement as one of their chief goals.

The WCC has enlisted the Montgomery city officials on its side. It has a so-called local "labor journal" propagandizing for it. It has drawn into its ranks powerful "respectable" citizens. It suggested the legal action which led to the court halting the share-the-ride pool. WCC leaders seem to call the signals.

The fraternity took a sharp look at those doing things in its community which could be audited as achievement, and spotlighted them. One year ago, Mrs. Pollie Myers Hudson and Mrs. Autherine Lucy Foster, then of Birmingham, were given recognition by this group. These two young women paved the way for the expansion of the admission policy at the University of Alabama. Mrs. Foster, who was rioted from the campus by a mob, was later removed from the enrollment by the university's board of trustees.

A federal court in Birmingham has ordered the board which ousted Mrs. Foster to justify its action or be held in contempt of court. Mrs. Hudson is pursuing an advanced degree at a Mid-western university. The board wouldn't let her enroll because they claim they found flaws with her legal marriage. Still in 125 years of operation no Negro person has been permitted to attend the University of Alabama.

A total of ten persons were honored on the Omega program. This is a large number of honorees, and the enrichment of democracy. A third area of recogition was the for substantial contributions to field of community sports. The citee had coached a Golden Gloves boxer who went to the national finals.

Montgomery is the hub city of the Second Congressional District, which embraces awful Lowdnes County, where the Negro group is held in virtual political and peonage slavery. If you are a Negro, and live in backward Lowndes county, the courthouse officials won't let you vote. The federal government does nothing about it. If you are an ASTA-dues-paying teacher in Lowdnes County, the ASTA vote commission is not going to help you get the ballot, because it is not yet functioning. No Negro person has been allowed to vote in bad Lowdnes County since 1901. They know better than even to try to register to vote, because they live in fear, terror, intimidation, and deprivation.

Take a hard look at the Lowdnes County political statistics. There are approximately 6,514 Negro persons in this county 21 years and older but no Negro voters. In contrast there are 2,057 white persons 21 years and older with 2,200 qualified voters. How can one account for the fact that estimatedly every white person of voting age in Lowdnes County is on the voting list and every Negro of suffrage age off it? Negro persons are certified for school teachers but not certified as electors. Something is wrong and the federal government is duty bound to protect this federal right.

Montgomery County has approximately 34,065 Negro persons of voting age but only 2,150 qualified Negro voters. Little more than 6 per cent of the potential Negro vote is an actual vote. There are 51,809 white persons of voting age with 29,535 white voters. The Negro voters are about 6 per cent of the electorate. In other words percentage of the Negro vote has the same relation to the electorate as it has to its own potential. Six per cent is a shamefully low vote.

The vote figures are cited in this connection to point up the importance of the citations given to those women who are fighting for the right to vote. The Omega citations serve to let the crusaders for the ballot know that the community appreciates what they are doing.

Here in the solemnity and sophistication of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church one feels the spirit of freedom moving in the soul of those present. The panel discussion reflected it and the presentations related it. Freedom is spreading.

The Tip Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) —Change is in the making.

One sense it everywhere he moves in this once docile, static, aimless city.

The year-long bus-riding protest by a segment of the population merely dramatizes the change in feeling in leadrship, and in size-up. The week-long Institute on Non-Violence and Social Change was merely a means of advertising, textualizing and emphasizing this change in thinking.

Something is being worked for

Emory O. Jackson

rather than just asked for. The protesting segment is working for the right to occupy any vacant seat while riding the bus.

This is certainly a different objective than seeking to sit next to anyone. Unfriendly expositors try to make it a campaign to sit next to some one.

The walking segment has been working for the right to remain in a seat once it has been occupied. No campaign is being waged to keep or have anyone sit next to anybody else. But the resisters try to pin such a motive on those who do not want to be forced out of a seat to make room for a late-comer because of frivilous discrimination.

As paying guests the pigmented segment wants courteous, civic, safe and polite treatment. They would like to seek members of their ethnic group employed as bus operators.

The change is that this segment is working for change. There is also change in the methods of resistance. Leaders are jailed and fined. Workers are bumped from their jobs. City officials join the White Citizens Council. Ku Klux Klans walk the streets in robes.

About the change in feeling. Gone is the paternalistic attitude. Vanished is the false friendship. A mutual new look is being taken. Out of this has come thinking and soul searching. Some are mixed up, others confused, and a few have made up their minds. There is a type of clandestine communication between the timid on both sides of the fence. Still there are bold, open, pure lines of exchange among those who believe in free enterprise in human relations. In the latter group lies the spiritual vehicles of change.

Montgomery's new leadership is symbolized by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Montgomery Improvement Association and pastor of historic Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. He is the gem of spiritual leadership. For the moment, the traditional leadership is enunciated collectively by the White Citizens Council. The traditionists have yet to produce a calm, clear, cleansed voice.

Dr. King is the leader of the moral forces on both sides in Montgomery. Perhaps this is the first time any minority has risen to such a lofty, unique, purifying role. For in the absence of potent moral leadership among the traditionalists, he, by default of the latter, was catapulted to such a peak.

Miss Lillian Smith, the Georgia novelist, in her speech prepared for the seminar has described without specially saying so, why Dr. King has ascended to the unsought role of moral leader of Montgomery. The middle-of-the-road, moderation, or traditionalists leaders abdicated in the face of crisis, or change. She puts it this way:

"Most are doing nothing. That does not mean they are not worried. It means they are suffering from temporary moral and psychic paralysis. They are working harder to be moderates and neutrals than they are working to meet the crisis. They are driving straight down the middle of the road with their eyes shut and you know what happens in traffic when you do that. But they are trying to believe there is no traffic. They are telling themselves nobody is on the road but themselves. They are, you see, trying very hard not to be extremists, they are trying to be neither good nor evil."

She believes there are two kinds of "extremists" ..the "extreme of love" (as represented by Dr. King) and the "extreme of hate" as represented by the WCC. But she reminds us that these "two extremes cannot be put in the same moral category."

Should one care to re-read the Sept. 18, 1895 controversial speech of Booker T. Washington made at the Atlanta Exposition, he would find this idea of "this way.. of good will and intelligence and truth, and love" advocated by Dr. King and ignored by the South. For the immortal educator urged both segments to cast down your bucket "in making friends in every manly way of all of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded."

Bear in mind that Booker T. Washington advocated making friends "in every manly way" and certainly "manly" friendship could never be made on a basis less than dignity, love and goodwill.

31a 1956

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

THE TIP OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Labor Day will be local oratory day in a number of cities where the tradition movement represents voting power.

Labor leaders have moved into bold political action and also taken the battlefield. The late Sidney Hillman introduced new ideas of political action into the trade union movement.

Issue were given bread and butter meaning. Abstract political doctrines were were given concrete interpretations. The ballot was made the symbol of liberty and lift-up Grass roots leadership was developed. Political action because the wheel by which democracy was made to work for all.

Today two Negro labor leaders are members of the 29-man executive committee of the AFL-CIO, namely, A Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Willard S. Townsend, president of the United Transport Service Employees of America. They are over a million and a half Negro workers in the trade union movement. Over 50 Negro trade union leaders hold top level positions in their internationals.

In 1930, five years before the rise of the CIO, some 22 national and international unions refused membership to Negro workers. Today only five major unions with a total membership of 442.000 erect the color bar against Negro workers. They include the potal transport workers and the four railroad brotherhoods.

In most of the Southern states, Negro trade union members serve on the executive boards of the state CIO and AFL, which two groups are merging in some of these states.

Corenelius Maiden, representative of the International Chemical, was the first Negro trade union leader to serve as vice-president of the Alabama State Federation of Labor Alabama was perhaps the first Deep South state where the AFL gave such recognition to a Negro union member.

Two Alabama Negro union leaders hold high office today with international unions. Perry (Tiger) Thompson, the ex-prizefighter of Bessemer, Ala. is international vice president of the United Steelworkers of America. Asbury Howard, also of Bessemer, is international vice-president of the United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

Perhaps the South, nor any other section, ever produced an unsung labor leader to equal the late Walter Jones, representative of the United Mine Workers of America. He was succeeded by Hartford Knight. United Mine Workers made a major contribution in helping to organize the steel workers in Alabama.

Ebb Cox of Fairfield, United Steel Workers; B. B. Glover of Anniston, moulders Jesse Thomas of Mobile; Mrs. Fannye Neal of Montgomery, clothing workers; James Hampton of Sheffield, construction workers; George Schley of Montgomery, bricklayers and James Mayfield of Huntsville (no longer with the labor movement) were among names which glittered in the Alabama labor movement.

In Montgomery, Ala., the Rev. J L. Jackson is serving as business agent for Local 784 of the construction workers. This is the first time in the local's history, I am told, that it has had a Negro business agent.

A number of new faces are showing up in the rank-and-file trade union leadership. But many of them do not seem to be reading widely and deeply in the field of organized labor. Some Negro-led unions seem to be passing up an opportunity to hack out new paths.

Perhaps the most vocal, the best known, and certainly the most fearless Negro labor leader in Alabama today is E. D. Nixon of Montgomery, who is recognized better as a civic and political action leader. He is one of A. Phillip Randolph's lieutenants. He has headed the state NAACP, is president of the Montgomery Progressive Democratic Association has run for membership on the Montgomery Democratic Executive Committee and is one of the indicted Montgomery protest leaders.

Another Randolph lieutenant is Willie Richardson of Birmingham, who at one time was president of the Vinesville Civic League.

Unlike the Maidens, the Hamptons, the Ebb Coxs, many of the Negro leaders in organized labor today have failed to build their names in the public mind as trade union leaders. Yet it is in the leadership and political action filed that it seems the trade union movement has made its finest contribution.

THE TIP OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Conventions of the two major political parties are over and now the campaigning begins.

Platforms are not likely to amount to much as outlines of either's programs or directions. Voters will have to wtigh and watch the party spokesmen and their candidates to really determine what to make of the two competing platforms.

Roy Wilkins, NACP executive secretary, is of the opinion that the Republican civil rights plank is "a thin shade stronger" than the Democratic Party's civil rights plank. But the difference is more sentimental than substantial, it seems to me.

The Democratic Party's civil rights plank was a compromise upward while the Republican Party's civil rights plank was a compromise downward. Southern resisters did not want Supreme Court's name to appear in the civil rights plank Originally there was talk from high party sources that this would not appear. High Republican platform writers had boasted that the words enforcement and implementation would be contained in their civil rights plank. They were deleted when certain Dixie delayers asked such action.

The Democratic Party also edited into its civil rights plank the key word "part' while the Republican Party edited out the key word "enforce."

Reads one section of the Democratic Party's civic rights plank: 'It recognizes the Supreme Court of the United States as one of the coordinated branches of the federal government, superior to and separated from any political party, the decisions of when are part of the law of the land.' ....

Here is the original section of the GOP civil rights plank which was revised: "The Eisenhower Administration has impartially enforced civil rights statutes and we pledge that he will continue to do so."

The revised GOP wording read: "The Republican Party accepts the decison of the U. S. Supreme Court that racial discrimination in publicly supported schools must be progressively elminated."

Then two other softening paragraphs were added to soothe the Dixie diluters. They read:

"The implementation order of the Supreme Court recognizes the complex and acutely emotional problem created by its decision in ctrtain sections of our country where racial patterns have been developed in accordance with long-standing decisions of the same tribunal.'

"We believe that trfe progress can be attained through intelligent study, understanding, education and goodwill. The use of force or violence by any group or agtncy will tend only to worsen the many problems inherent in the situation."

Likely some of those who considered the GOP civil rights plank a wee bit better than the Democratic civil rights plank made their evaluation before reading the revised GOP version. The added two paragraphs of the GOP plank seems to be couched in Dixiecrat resistance language.

Some listed as objecting to the stronger GOP civil rights statement are from Southern states which are taking negative, hostile and mischevious action to prevent the shiftover by from being "attained through intelligent study, understanding education and good will." Southern resisters are opposed to "the transition to a system of publicaton freed of racial discrimination." So they do nothing about "good faith implementation" of the school decision and worked to have the word "mplementation" expunged from the GOP document.

Alabama voters were scheduled to troop to the polls Tuesday Aug. 28 to reject or ratify a proposed amendment that would permit the Legislature to seize the public school system, shift it into a church-school system, give it away, or dismantle it. In Virginia a plan has been approved to withold public funds from any school system which integrates A Parkdale, Ark. teacher claims she was dismissed because she refused to sign a prosecution petition. ..

A state senator in Alabama predicts that "bloodshed" would result if ever the constitutional law on new school standards be "enforced." This talk of violence comes from the leaders of defiance.

So political leaders from the resisting states go to conventions of both major political parties with almost identical arguments for cancelling out of the platforms compliance language. These Dixie leaders seek to delay while defiance builds up. They insist on loophole language in the civil rights plank while Southern resistance tightens

In 1952, the GOP carried four Southern states in the presidential election, namely, Florida, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. All four of these states have representative Negro voting. Alabama is the only Southern state which did not have Negro representation in its convention delegation.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

HUNTSVILLE, Ala. — (SNS)— From the TVA district came the only Negro leaders ever to serve from Alabama in the United States Congress.

The three included Benjamin S. Turner (42nd Congress), James T. Rapier (43rd Congress) and Jere Haralson (44th Congress). A total of 20 Negro leaders from various sections of the nation, mainly the South have served in Congress.

One of the four persons to offer for public office in Alabama during 1956 lives here in Huntsville. L. C. Jamar, educator - journalist, made his second unsuccessful bid for the Huntsville City Council. He did not fare as well in 1956 as he did in 1952.

He made charges that during the campaign threats were made to scare him out of the race.

He stuck it out. Four years ago he received no threats and actually polled a surprising number of voters from all segments of the population.

In Prichard, Ala., the Rev. Joshua A. Barney, clergyman-carpenter, made a bid for the Prichard City Council. Bullets were fired into the door of his home when he refused, after several threats, to pull out of the race. He also claims that a voice warned him over the telephone not to appear at the voting booth unless he was ready to die. Still he voted. He did not receive the backing at the poll that some expected.

Atty. Demetrius C. Newton and Prof. Varnard F. Thomas made a try for the Fairfield City Council, a city in Jefferson County. They made it to the run-off where they lost after an anti-Negro letter was circulated against them.

Both Pritchard and Fairfield have more Negro persons than white ones. But the number of white voters is larger than the number of Negro voters. If you think that the cry of bloc voting is made out of a passion for clean government and purity in politics, let a Negro candidate run and check the voting results. In the Fairfield city election none of the other candidates, in my opinion, presented better qualifications for the offices sought than Mr. Newton and Mr. Thomas. Both conducted a high-class campaign and presented a sound program of action.

In 1922 in Alabama, the Negro group was just about finished off in politics. The group's decline came fast upon the adoption of the 1901 Alabama constitution. Both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party began to whiten the electorate and to blacken the disfranchisement. The Democratic primary became white only and the Republican convention became lily-white. So far as I know, the Alabama Republican Party has not in fact even today removed the barrier against Negro participation in various party units.

The Democratic primary is open and four Negro candidates ran in 1956 in such primaries in three different Alabama cities. Two Negro political leaders—Alex Herman and Clarence H. Montgomery—serve on the Mobile County Democratic Executive Committee.

Negro leaders in trying to advance the group forward have worked in both major parties in Alabama since the War for Freedom. They were found in the Populist Party and with the various progressive splinter parties.

The new scholars in the South are continuously unearthing lost history. These new scholars have helped to create and motivate a new ardor for first-class citizenship. Useful scholarship serves as a vehicle of social action as well as a display of mental excellence. It is from these new scholars that one can find information which will help to light the pathway he must travel.

Now a general election approaches. In that election I intend to vote as I see fit. No man is able to either dictate or deliver my vote which belongs to me. I have neither personally nor professionally endorsed either the Democratic Party or Republican Party. I have made it clear that as an individual I intend to pursue a course of political action which suits me. Let no man try to impose his political views on me, an individual and an American citizen. This is my declaration of political independence and upon it I take my stand and stake my future.

As to the two major parties, I could not use their civil rights records or their declared goals in this field as a basis of choice. Civil rights are related to every issue in the campaign. It is not a separated, isolated and tangent issue. Until the presidential candidates rework and integrate the civil rights issues into the fabric of their total program I would have to select other factors as basis for determination.

Two-party politics is desirable. But voter-registration is the soul of politics. Tell me what the two major parties are doing in Alabama to expand political suffrage? Look at Wilcox and Lowndes counties where there are no Negro voters. Those who care to may work on the two-party system but as for me I am going to confine what I do to voter-registration.

THE TIP OFF

World 1.8

Atlanta, Ga.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

This is the last look I plan to make at the political campaign which will climax at the polls Nov. 6.

Sat. 10-27-56

The "total war" concept seems to have been transferred to the idea of "total politics." Almost everybody is in it for different reasons. The non-voter, the voter, and the politician are working in the drive to get somebody elected.

As pointed out previously there seems to be the well laid plan to drive a wedge between Negro leaders and thus whistle down the effectiveness of the total Negro vote. There is no national Negro figure on the current scene who has the power, the program, and the fire to rally and unite the Negro vote.

Some of the slogans are foolish in terms of the idea of trying to elect a friendly Congress. No longer is there party government but government by shifting coalitions. No matter which party controls the two houses of Congress there will not be strictly party government. Both major

Emory Jackson

political parties are made up of divergent wings. The election will not change this complexion.

In most of the Southern states there seems to be no Negro political action leader of commanding statewide influence. In fact there are more sitting leaders than serving leaders, it seems to me. Only when the various local level leaders get together and work out an attack is there any real opportunity to build compact voting.

Inroads are being made into the solidarity of Negro voting strength. The group's leaders are bucking each other instead of working together. Each is going his way and pulling apart the combined strength which is needed for fire power.

How best can the group's leadership advance those they claim to speak for toward first-class citizenship? Certainly it cannot be done with an absurd slogan. A pout cannot be substituted for a program.

Perhaps some of the electioneering methods will be examined and appraised after the election. I have been saddened and disturbed by some of the things I have seen. Some good newspapermen who hired themselves out to politicians in both major parties have resorted to low grade production unworthy of even political hacks and grub writers.

A better service, I think, could be performed by trying to present the straight facts, the solid issues, the true records of the candidates and the political parties. Maybe this belongs only to the journalist when he is working his profession instead of selling his talents to the politicians. When the journalist returns to his newspaper the politician is likely to no longer have any respect for him if he put his talents at his disposal in disregard of the requirements of his profession.

For instance, the other day the National Urban League sent out this release, which I am using as part of this column. It says:

"In a protest to the editor of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, the National Urban League today strongly disavowed any connection whatsoever with the political advertising material which appeared as a separate magazine section of the October 13 issue of the weekly newspaper."

"Theodore W. Kheel of New York president of the 46-year-old non-profit, non-political interracial service agency, characterized this unauthorized use of the name of the Urban League as indefensible, and a gross misrepresentation."

"He stated that the organization was very much disturbed over the bold notice in the newspaper that the political advertisement had the endorsement of the Urban League."

"Mr. Kheel revealed that no endorsement has ever been given by the National Urban League to this or any other partisan political effort, regardless of the political sympathies of individual League leaders.' '

"The League strongly emphasized that the effectiveness of its community service program demands that it completely shun partisan politics, and the organization does just that."

THE TIP OFF

Daily World

Wed. 10-17-56

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta, Ga.

Let's look over the campaign situation for the first time in the past 24 years the Negro vote is likely to be so widely divided as to become ineffective this means that the balance-of-power strategy is likely to evaporate in those pivotal states and so-called queen cities.

Negro leaders nationally have failed to come up with an over-all program. There has been a steady and unrelenting effort to reduce curtail and minimize the effectiveness of the Negro vote nationally.

This was tried through proposals to tamper with the electoral college. The Dixiecrats have tried by maneuvers aimed at tossing the presidential vote into the House of Representatives. The political parties have sought to chop up the Negro vote so that its chunk value would be no more.

Both parties adopted watered down planks on civil rights. Each major party is blaming the other of failures to enact a legislative program in the field of civil rights, this mutual negativism is masqueraded as obstructed militancy. The truth is there is enough strength in both parties that could be combined for victory if the civil rights advocates really meant business.

Building the two-party system in the south really means restoring the Republican party as an actual political competitor. Yet the source material for building a party lies in the large number of potential voters who are either prevented from voter-registration or left without any real inspiration for voting. Hence party-building means working for voters and presenting a program for dissatisfied voters.

To Win voters for a political party seeking new supporters one must run candidates for political office. It is not enough to wait for the presidential election every four years and beat the bushes for voters. The Birmingham Post-Herald on Oct. 8 in the "Washington Pipelines" reported: "Old Guard (in Alabama) who control party have done nothing to follow up their 1952 gains. Party's going nowhere this year."

Soon after the bar-be-cue-eating session held by the GOP on President's Gettysburg, Pa. farm a release came to the desk from Richard L. Tobin, director of public relations for "Ctizens for Eisenhower-Nixon" which said in part: "Top Negro leaders were told here Wed. that Republicans in the South 'stand 100 percent' behind the forthright civil rights planks of the Republican Party's platform adopted at its recent San Francisco convention."

Everybody by now should know the truth - that is that neither the GOP nor the Democratic Party adopted strong civil rights planks. Secondly, the Alabama delegation came back boasting of the part the state Republican leaders played in helping to weaken GOP plank on civil rights. Likewise did the Ala-

bama Democratic leadership boast. ces that the next administration will handled for years to come. GOP law makers from the South?
Alabama Republican leaders certain offer planned leadership and con- The point I am trying to empha- Alabama needs leaders, political
ly have not made civil rights a cam structive advances in handling the size is that two-party dual negativ- and otherwise, who can articulate a
paign argument. school (desegregation) situation. ism on civil rights is no substitute healthy philosophy while actuating
Lester B. Granger, executive di- And yet everybody knows that if it for a positive program. How will the a hopeful program.
rector of the National Urban Lea- is not handled with courage and GOP seek to stop a filibuster on
gue has pointed out: "Thus far no dispatch before many months have civil rights? How will it overcome
solid assurance has come from ei- passed by, matters can slip back to the power and influence of the
ther Democratic or Republican sour the point where they cannot be "manifesto" Democrats and its few

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier 9-8

Pittsburgh, Pa.

I DON'T like lump opinions about peoples and places but it is impossible not to have general impressions of them. Bearing in mind the inherent limitations, I shall say how the French people impress me as compared with Americans. The latter are, on the whole, generous and quick to aid the unfortunate (not so much where race is concerned though) but my impression is that Americans are less happy, less ready to smile, in a word, less friendly, less even-tempeed than the French, whose life is very much tougher. As one old African said when told of the wonderful things in the white man's land, "To have better is not to be better." I shall always remember those pleasant people in the awful slums of Palermo, Sicily.

Mr. Rogers

Sept 14-56

The French people do take time to be polite. Some people, as Emerson said, might sneer at politeness but even when it's only varnish it makes life a little smoother. The simple truth is because of it I feel in better humor here than in America. And I'm sure "race" has nothing to do with it.

■

AS I SAID the white Americans I've met here—and they are many—are as pleasant as they can be no matter from what section. However, when I said recently to a Negro who has quite an establishment here that I found them so, he pointed to his servants (white), and said, "You ought to hear what they say about them."

This makes me think of what some white GIs said when I asked them how GIs were regarded. The majority, he said, were well-behaved but others get into all kind. of trouble and give all the rest a bad name. I thought how much that sounded like the case of the Negro in America where all are blamed for the misdeeds of a comparative few.

One GI said the big reason is "cigarettes." A Frenchman he said, will offer a GI a cigarette. He refuses it because of its poor quality, then later pulls out one of his own and lights it up. The Frenchman is offended and thinks Americans rude. The more polite an individual the more sensitive he is.

AND BECAUSE the French are sensitive they view the treatment of the Negro in America with great horror. One told me that the murder of Emmett Till left him so weak it took him hours to recover. And I could see he meant it. He thought Eastland, Byrnes, Talmadge and others who incite White Councils and Ku-Kluxers for political profit, monsters. "Des Monstres," he said emphatically. He's a member of the Abbe Gregoire Society. Abbe Gregoire was the greatest and most honest figure of the French Revolution and an immortal and most vigorous friend of the blacks.

I told him that I knew societies in America like the Bahais, the Ethical Culture, the Riverside Church, and others who are a hundred per cent against injustice based on color; and that that included a considerable percentage of the people, North and South. His reply was, "Why don't they do something then? Why, as in the Till case, were confessed murderers set free and later received $10,000 from a magazine for telling how they tortured him. What those friends of the Negro need is something of the spirit of Abbe Gregoire. I think they're too timid."

P. S.: Just before mailing this I read in the papers here of the race riot in Knoxville, Tenn. To say that all that does America no good is putting it mildly.

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier 9-8

PARIS — I was a full year making up my mind whether to come to Europe. It's rather hard now for one of small means. But I'm glad I did. I'm getting my information straight which is what I love. First, I can positively say I see no evidence of color prejudice anywhere, or any increase in it due to American influence. The fact is Negroes are in better jobs than what I first saw in 1925. Some people say there's prejudice, but it's hidden. Well, I wish it was as well hidden even in New York.

Mr. Rogers

■

AGAIN, I feel sure that the dislike for Americans (white) of which we hear so much in the States is exaggerated. I've been meeting many of them in the crowded Embassy lunchroom, sit beside them and find them as friendly as can be. Much friendlier than at home. Perhaps the much less tense European atmosphere is the cause. Quite a few Negroes come to the lunchroom, some U. S. employes, and many Negro GIs from Germany, and they sit anywhere.

The other day a man and his wife sat at the table where I was. After introducing himself and his wife, he added, "I'm just a poor cracker-boy from Georgia." He's a doctor in the Medical Corps and stationed in Germany. Both were as nice as it is possible for any human being to be. I took them in tow, showed them the city and then Versailles. That night I took him to a night club patronized chiefly by Negro GIs and where most of the girls are white and he never turned a hair. When they were leaving they wanted to take me in their car to Germany to be their guest. I'm sure there are many more like them in the South, but they are tied down by jim crow just like colored folk. He's from the same town as Frank Yerby and was proud of Yerby.

■

THE OTHER day as I was coming out of one branch of the Embassy when something happened that struck me as being the last word in irony. A man just coming out, too, smiled at me. I spoke to him and learnt he was a refugee from Hungarian communism. He had just got his permit for America, and was as happy as could be. He had smiled because he recognized me as an American.

As he was rejoicing at the freedom he was going to find at last, I thought of the 20 or more Americans I have met here who left the United States in search of freedom and who, like that Hungarian, declare positively, they'll never return home. White Europeans coming to America in search of freedom; colored Americans coming to Europe in search of the same! And the latter will find it even in Communist lands if they keep out of politics. London is perhaps the most prejudiced city in Europe. But even at that it has less than New York.

A white epidermis here is just nothing at all. The masses are poor and color doesn't help. In America it's only the presence of the Negro that gives any value to a white skin. Were all America's Negroes suddenly to disappear, the dislike and hatred now turned on them would be turned on other whites just as it is in Europe.

The Tip Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. —(SNS)— The camp meeting spirit that sounded the walking call to freedom was voiced again at the first anniversary of the celebrated Montgomery protest.

I was at the walk-for-freedom mass meeting a year ago when the protesting voices rang out in musical fervor that "there will be

a great camp meeting in the promised land." A year ago they were urged in freedom's song, 'don't get weary.' This seems to be the theme song of the Montgomery Improvement Association.

This time the freedom fight is not being launched; it is being widened; it is being deepened; it is being enshrined. It is assuming a philosophy and an impulse. It's chief architect is the scholarly, sincere, consumed 28-year-old Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., MIA president and pastor of fashionable Dexter Avenue Baptist Church.

Where does the MIA draw its support? It enlists the ideas of all who have something to contribute. Vitality bubbles up from the folk. Ideas trickle down from the scholars. Out of this has come teamwork leadership in which there are specialists trained in non-violent protest.

At the noon luncheons the scholars have exhibited their research, their marshalling and interpretation of facts. They have looked the movement over and find that it makes sense, has devoted support and dedicated leadership.

Texas-born Dr. Preston Valien, a Fisk University professor for instance, in his lunch-time lecture on the movement, pointed out that 110 years ago Henry David Thoreau, the transcendentalist, originated the idea of civil disobedience. He said Gandhi picked up the idea while in South Africa and hauled if off to India where he used it to free his native land from colonialism. Now the idea of non-violence has worked its way back to America. An adaptation Ghandi technique of social change with variations and innovations is being tried in Montgomery.

Dr. Valien also pointed out that the Montgomery protest provided a 'rare natural laboratory for the study of a social movement."

He cited some figures which also explain something. Some 63 per cent of Negro women in Montgomery are in domestic work while 61 per cent of the white women were in clerical work. Meantime he read some of the interviews made by research teams which pointed up the attitudes of the community.

The noted sociologist on the basis of field and shelf research concluded about the movement that it started not as the result of a single event but an accumulation of them; the masses were ahead of the leaders in wanting a change for the better; there was unity among those making up the movement and that the movement is undergirded by moral and political forces.

At the mass meetings you get another setting. The do-things-leadership blends itself with the masses. Dr. Ralph David Abernathy, for instance, in building the followers up for the fasting and prayer warned that "we seek to step out into an unknown future. He counseled the followers to join the fasting. He wanted the fasting spirit "to get inside the prison and get the prisoners to join with us. The mass meetings are a kind of freedom revivals, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Life is full of mystery.

You see, move among, and work with persons about whom you learn much but can never fully know. The human mind, the circumstances of living, the complexities of society, all conspire to limit one's information.

Though one lives to be very old, he cannot live long enough to learn much. Learning is a type of holding experiences. I thought about all of this as I listened to the touching tribute paid the late Mrs. Venice Tifton Spraggs at the funeral program Nov. 27 by Mrs. Mabel Barker Murphy, one of the two roommates of Mrs. Spraggs at Spelman College.

"Anyone who has lived in a board ing school knows that hardly a parent has an opportunity to know a son or daughter as fully as a roommate. Roommates at times build an en and enrichen en an denrichen with time. Mrs. Murphy tried to express this understanding in a poem which she had written.

The Chicago Defender Column, "National Grapevine" written by one of its lady reporter, notes: "The sudden and tragic death of former newswoman Venice Spraggs so jolted everyone, that there has been a wholesale trek to the doctors for physical checkups and a sober warning to slow down and take it easy."

When Mrs. Spraggs came back to Alabama to conduct voter registration campaigns, she was up early and out late on the field. She worked the socks off the so-called Birmingham get-the-ballot leaders and kept asking for more work She worked like someone who knew that time was short and the need could not wait. She worked wherever she found those who wanted her services. Check upper-bracket society in Birmingham to see what set sought her services.

Defender's "Grapevine" went on to pay this columnar, tribute to Mrs. Spraggs, which seems to hit the spot, at least with The Tip Off. It says:

"The last time I saw her, giving them hell, at a Democratic Women's luncheon in Washington this October is the way I want to remember her. She stood before the audience, impeccably dressed as usual, an impressive figure of a woman. Over six feet tall, she was not only physically commanding, but she had the brains and wit to go with it.

Said she in the voice that did not need a microphone, "I have not been to Europe or the Middle-East. I've been staying at home in these United States, going up and down the highways and the byways, and the pig trails, if you please, carrying the message because that is where the votes are."

"The meaning behind those words should be carved in the marble of her tombstone because this is what she lived, believed in, worked for and died for — "the right to vote."

Almost single-handedly, she was responsible for the amazing record registration of Negro voters in Louisiana, Alabama, Texas and all parts of the South.

"Working around the clock from parish to parish, she preached the gospel of political and economic salvation through voting. For her, it was ironic that many of the voters she rounded up voted Republician in the last election."

This fact probably contributed to her death from heartbreak as well as overwork, for she was a loyal Democrat in every fibre of her being. **Nevertheless, the GOP and Democrats alike, owe a vote** of thanks to her for making the Negro politically mature and conscious of his power."

"They only made one Venice Spraggs. She used to write this column and she used to beat the bushes on Capitol Hill as a working newswoman there for the Chicago Defender, before she joined the staff of the Democratic National Committee. She left a giant pair of shoes to fill een before her untimely death. Nobody can take her place. but there is enough of the vibrant spirit of Venice to hand down the line as inspiration for generations to come and each of us should be the better for it."

ONCE-A-WEEK

With

T. C. JERVAY
JOURNAL
Editor

SCRIPTURE QUOTE

Woe be unto the pastors that destroy and scatter the sheep of my pasture! saith the Lord.—Jeremiah 23:1.

Journal P. 1

WEEK'S THOUGHT

God makes no man great till He has made him little, and makes no man truly alive till he has been truly dead.—Selected.

Wilmington, N. C.

THE KING COLE CASE

JERVAY

So much has been written in the press, pro and con, on the King Cole Case that we believe JOURNAL readers would be interested in a fresh and new editorial approach, as exhibited, with great ability and keen insight by Columnist Ralph Matthews, veteran feature writer of the Cleveland Call and Post. Below is the full text of Matthews' viewpoint. You may or may not agree with the writer, but we are certain that his writings will make you think.

THE KING COLE CASE

All right, if you are looking for an argument let us examine this business about Nat King Cole; set upon by hoods down in Birmingham, Alabama. Now we will all concede that this was a pretty rotten thing to do. If the zealots had had the good sense to have clobbered some of the singers I know I would be the last person to open my mouth, but Nat has a pretty good voice and did not deserve such treatment.

But it is the aftermath that prompts this column, not the incident itself. The professional race leaders, along with the viewers with alarm on the Negro press have given our boy Nat a raking over the coals (no pun intended) for his refusal to walk out on the rest of his contract, and some have even lambasted him for accepting any dates below the Mason-Dixon line in the first place. This is pure nonsense.

Nat Cole, like hundreds of other performers of color, makes his bread singing pretty for the people. He is a great star because in spite of his color, White America accepted him just as they have accepted many others.

Now here is the catch, which in itself is a great tragedy, his very acceptance by whites enhanced his stature with his own race, because it is an irrefutable fact that Negroes as a group are so steeped in their own artists until the white refuse to recognize greatness in their own artist until the white man puts his stamp of approval upon them.

This is the tragic dilemma of Sunday, April 29, at 7:30 p. m., Negro performer. This is the curse of the talented in many fields of endeavor who strive and struggle among us unheralded and unsung until by some accident the other race looks upon their gifts and like the voice of God says, "This is good." And when this happens the race to a man raises its voice in loud hosannas and climbs upon the bandwagon and clamors for the chance to bask in their reflected glory. Journal P. 4

But this could be dismissed as a human instead of a racial trait on the ground that everybody likes a winner were it not followed by the damnable companion of indifference the minute the white man has washed his hands of him as no longer an exploitable commodity.

Hardly a week passes that I do not bump into some performer of my acquaintance begging for just a chance to work for peanuts in one of our bistros because the other race has withdrawn its stamp of approval.

What better example would you want than Paul Robeson, recognized throughout the world as possessing one of the great voices of the generation? When he was being praised both at home and abroad, Negroes were happy just to touch the hem of his garment. But, putting his love of race above his love of art, he ventured into political activities which won him the black ball of the white community. But did we throw our arms about him and say regardless of what others do we still recognize your greatness? Is there among us one church, one organization, one enterpreneur who would dare to see that he earns a crust of bread? We wouldn't dare.

Could this thought have been deep in the sub-conscious of Nat King Cole when he said, "I prefer to fight for equality in my own way by making friends?" Can the race battle be fought on two fronts? Do the Nat Cole's, the Lena Hornes, the Eartha Kitts, the Larry Dobys and the Willie Mays have a niche to fill in the overall zigsaw puzzle of race relations? Has the resistance to Negroes as a mass been softened because they as individuals have won acceptance and respect? Are the effects of psychological warfare to be completely discounted in our struggle? Is a warrior who has converted a million friends less of a hero because he does not turn about and slay a million enemies? Was not the sentiment for the abolition of slavery aroused as much among those who loved and wept for Uncle Tom as among those who hated Simon LeGree? Frankly I don't know. I'm just thinking out loud.

PUBLISH IT NOT IN THE STREETS OF ASKELON—XIV.

Advertiser P-4-A Aug. 4-10-56 Montgomery, Ala.

Soapy's Constituents Subject To Total Segregation

By Tom Johnson

THOUGH recent articles in *The Advertiser* might seem to indicate otherwise, we are not out to paint an embarrassing race picture of that part of the realm presided over by Gov. G. Mennen (Soapy, alias Soapsuds) Williams.

JOHNSON

It is just that what started out to be a casual look at the state of Michigan led us down some long but scenic boulevards. First there was Orvie (Orville A. Hubbard), the kinetic burgomaster of the City of Dearborn, which provides emloyment for nearly 20.000 Negroes but homes for none. Dearborn (pop.: 130,000) is an all-white city and keeping it that way is what makes Orvie run.

Then there was the episode with *The Detroit Free Press*, Publisher John S. Knight's Detroit outlet which, when asked about the publication of Negro bridal photos, gurgled, gasped and died on first.

And then, surprisingly, the discovery that Dearborn was not by any means alone—that a doben other sizable incorporated Detroit suburbs have managed to escape becoming hometowns for a single one of Detroit's 500,000 Negroes.

Negro Congressman Charles C. Diggs Jr., of Detroit, recently here to beat the drums for the Montgomery NAACP, would seem to have his hands full at home.

Such a town is Wyandotte, a sprawling city on the Detroit River, 10 miles downstream from the city of Detroit. Most of its 42,000 inhabitants are employed by the local chemical plants operated by DuPont, Pennsylvania Salt and others. Founded 200 years ago, it is one of the oldest incorporated communities in Michigan.

"Large enough for every need, small enough to be friendly and neighborly," boasts the brochure distributed to persons seeking information about the city. Wyandotte, we read, is the "city of good homes," "history," "vast chemical enterprises," "efficient city administration," "Excellent hospital facilities," "many schools, churches, parks."

It is a brochure calculated to attract industry and residents. Yet, strangely, not one Negro has ever succumbed to the Wyandotte enticements, though thousands of them live just across the city line.

What is it about the town that fails to attract Negro citizens, we wondered. Hence, a telephone call to Mayor William E. Kreger.

Silent Night

KREGER, a kindly man who is not generally known as an uncommunicative sort, was not inclined to discuss the matter beyond admitting the truth of Wyandotte's total segregation.

The reason for his reticence soon emerged. Kreger is in the business of handling a name brand product which already has been eyed threateningly by Negroes who suspect it to be pro-white.

"I don't want to get mixed up in it," said Kreger with finality.

(At a mass meeting of Montgomery Negroes a few weeks back, the Rev. M. L. King announced that the local distributor of that product, approached by a Negro committee, gave assurance that the firm had made no contributions to the White Citizens Council. "So," King told the Negroes, "let's all go back to buying it.")

'Closed Shop'

EARL DOWDY, a reporter for *The Detroit News*, suggested that an explanation for the absence of Negroes in Wyandotte might be offered by George Leathers, immediate past president of the Wyandotte Merchants Association.

Dowdy, who covers Wyandotte for *The News*, observed that the city "seems to be a closed shop and the Negroes recognize it."

Civic leader Leathers could be of no help, he said, because he's only lived in Wyandotte 15 years. He did know that "they hire" Negroes in Wyandotte and that nearly 10,000 live in next-door Ecorse, but "being a Detroit resident" (he meant formerly), Leathers had no explanation for their not living in Wyandotte.

He referred me to the current president of the Merchants Association, Fred Gardner, operator of a hardware store and lifetime resident of Wyandotte. Gardner is a former state legislator.

Gardner told of a race riot that occurred in Wyandotte about 35 years ago, directed against five or six Negro families living there at the time. As Gardner recalls, one Negro was killed, some others might have been hurt.

Remembrance Of Things Past

GARDNER believes the memory of that riot—which he blamed on "habitual town drunks"—is at least partly responsible for the disinclination of Negroes to settle there today.

If they did attempt to settle in Wyandote, says Gardner, there probably would be some "oldtimers and Southerners from Kentucky and Tenessee" who would resist. (Apparently the old-timers were in sympathy with the efforts of the town drunks.)

Gardner mentioned that one Negro family has lived in Wyandotte since the riot. The Negro man, a janitor at one of the schools, resided in the city for two or three years.

"He finally just moved out," Gardner said, adding with a trace of pride: "They weren't chased out, or anything."

Gardner attributed some of Detroit's racial unrest to a fear that the Negroes, by bloc voting and other devices, will "take over." (Mayor Hubbard vows Detroit will have a Negro mayor within 10 years.)

A Healthy Exercise

The Washington Post

The Montgomery Advertiser *has been publishing an interesting series of articles on racial discrimination in the North. The subject is a timely one, and the Alabama newspaper has not had much difficulty in finding instances of racial discrimination on the part of Northern communities, including communities where the press has had a good bit to say about discrimination in the South.*

This is a healthy exercise. To be sure, not all the broad conclusions of The Advertiser *are justified, and some of its reproaches are unfair. Yet its basic charge is essentially true. The North is not so free of racial discrimination as some of the criticisms of the South might lead a reader to infer.*

It would be sad if such exchanges were to lead either section of the country to attempt to justify its own shortcomings on the theory that the other section is also derelict. Two wrongs never have made a right, and they furnish no salve for anyone's conscience. But the Southern criticism can serve a valuable purpose if it causes Northern communities to give more thought to the situations in which their practices respecting discrimination are not consistent with their preaching.

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The Mohawk Theater (500 seats, built for $125,000 in 1951) at Waynesburg, suburb of Canton, Ohio. Segregation was the Northern way of life here, whites occupying one side, Negroes the other, in defiance of the Ohio law. A Negro sat in the white section, was asked to move. The Negro sued and the theater is now 99% boycotted by Negroes. The manager can't desegregate because the whites won't have it, so he has taken another job.

Tell It Not Gath, Publish It Not In The Streets Of Askelon—VIII.

By Tom Johnson
Of The Advertiser Staff

Advertiser P.4-A

[*We are pleased to credit the* New York Post *and Editor James A. Wechsler with this one. A special dispatch in the* Post *from Toledo gave us the idea. The* Post *didn't develop the story as we did, but the* Post *did waspishly call attention to the failure of the Toledo paper to publish it in the streets of Askelon. Meanwhile the* Post *has a squad of reporters marshalling the story of New York race discrimination. If it is done well—which we anticipate—*The Advertiser *will take Editor Wechsler up on his offer of reprint privileges.—Ed.*]

Thurs, 4-5-56

IN TOLEDO, OHIO, last week, two fiery crosses flared, KKK-style, in a suburban neighborhood where residents who saw a Negro maid leaving a home became alarmed over rumors that Negroes were moving in.

William Fisher of Washington township hired the Negro maid to mind his children while his wife worked in a Toledo greenhouse. Under the arrangement, she "slept in" Monday through Friday and was off on weekends.

JOHNSON

The rumors apparently started when an uncle of the maid picked her up on a weekend to carry her to Toledo to visit relatives. It was rumored, however, that she was part of a Negro family living in the all-white middle class neighborhood on Clover Lane.

Montgomery, Ala.

After the cross-burnings and loose talk, the maid, Inex Glenn, became frightened and left the Fishers rather than "cause trouble."

All of this happened within the area served by *The Toledo Times* a morning newspaper edited by George A. Benson. But not a word of it appeared in the paper.

It was so obvious that even the *New York Post* noted the Toledo paper's omission. The *Post* printed the story.

Toledo News Reaches Toledo From Montgomery, via N.Y.

AS PART of its continuing study in the failure of many Northern newspapers to cover adequately their own racial disturbances while gushing the South's troubles, *The Advertiser* yesterday placed a call to Editor Benson at *The Times*.

Asked about the cross-burnings and the obvious unrest in the suburban area, Benson professed complete ignorance of the incidents. It was no mere profession, however; he really didn't know about them.

"We haven't had anything like that," he said, when first called.

A few moments later, he added: "I'm sure nothing like that has happened here."

But, convinced that there must be something to the report carried in the New York paper, Benson asked for a few moments to investigate. Shortly, he called back.

"That report was made to the sheriff's department one night last week," he said. "But the deputies dismissed the burnings as a prank. They were never able to pin it on anyone."

That, he said, is the reason *The Toledo Times* carried no mention of the story—because sheriff's deputies, "unable to pin it on anyone," attributed the cross-burnings to pranksters. Strange logic and probably not that which would have applied had the cross been burned in Montgomery.

Despite the occurrences on Clover Lane, Benson believes relations between Negro and white in Toledo are amicable. There is a large colored population but it has settled pretty much to itself except in a few instances where Negroes have moved into white neighborhoods.

There is no "co-mingling," said Editor Benson, except on the golf courses and at other recreation spots which the city long ago desegregated.

Housing And Crime

THERE has been some trouble in the past, however. For example, when low-rent public housing facilities were opened to both races a few years back, there was a "little trouble" that seems to have been cleared up.

Benson mentioned that residents of white neighborhoods to which Negro families moved have expressed fear that their property valuation would be drastically reduced.

Benson also mentioned, although not questioned on the subject, that Negroes are responsible for much of the crime that occurs in Toledo.

Judging from the letters that arrive at *The Advertiser* and from the comments made by Northerners whom we have called in recent days, resistance to the Negro in the North seems to be based on those two factors—crime rate and property values.

In Chicago, Detroit, New York—when officials are asked to describe the local racial situations, they most often mention the high crime rate among Negroes.

Why is this so, we have asked them. They generally reply it is because of the economic hardships of the Negro. These same officials will tell you, however, that, economically, the Negro of the North has made great advances and already is far in front of the Southern Negro. It avails little to try to reconcile these two statements.

The Philadelphia Story

AS FOR property values, they seem to be the main concern of Northerners who are not a part of political or official life. So it would seem, at least, from the reaction of white Northerners to *Advertiser* stories on discrimination above the Mason-Dixon.

This letter, for example: "I am a Philadelphian bred and born, one generation from Northern Ireland. We lived in a house 42 years. [It was] still in fine shape but colored moved into the block and, like a raging storm, the houses, one by one, were sold to Negroes. In two years, they came like a swarm of bees and everyone got in a panic. We did get a fair price—$10,500—but we had to pay $19,000 for a house not as good."

Later, *The Advertiser* hopes to do a survey on the difficult adjustment of whites and Negroes when both occupy a neighborhood which has previously been occupied by one race, and the effect, if any, the presence of Negroes has on property values.

EDITORIAL PAGE

Advertiser 4/1

FROM The New York Times *to* the Los Angeles Times, *northern newspapers give saturation treatment to race discrimination in the South but do not themselves print pictures of Negro brides in their society columns. "All The News That's Fit To Print" is the credendum of* The New York Times, *but among a million Negroes in New York, America's leading newspaper has in its history printed one—just one—picture of a Negro bride in its society columns. Reporter Tom Johnson has interviewed northern society editors across the continent about the matter, his findings being singular, to say the least.—Ed.*

PUBLISH IT NOT IN THE STREETS OF ASKELON—XV.

Advertiser P. 4-A
Wed. 4-11-56
P. 4-A
Montgomery, Ala.

Hillsboro, Ohio, Negroes Win Their Point, But So Does The School Board

By Tom Johnson

A BITTTR two-year squabble in Hillsboro, Ohio, over the refusal of school authorities to enroll a group of Negro students in a white school appeared headed this week toward a solution which will represent a shallow victory for both sides.

JOHNSON

Hillsboro is a town of 5,000 in southwestern Ohio. White students number 900. There are 75 Negro children of school age.

Two years ago, the parents of 25 Negro elementary students who had been enrolled in Hillsboro's Negro elementary school asked the school board to make room in a white school for the children.

The school board informed the parents it would be impossible to enroll their children at that time but promised that full integration would occur within two years when a new school building was constructed. There was just not room in the existing white facilities to accommodate the Negro students, said the board.

Negro parents refused to wait. Backed by the NAACP, they launched a federal suit aimed at forcing immediate integration, practical or not. They even withdrew their children from the Negro school. Last week, the parents won. The U.S. Supreme Court, by refusing to review a lower court ruling, in effect ordered immediate integration.

The Price Of Litigation

THE school board also won. During the two years of court battles, the new school was started and nearly completed. It will be ready for use next fall when, as it promised two years ago, the board will enroll Negro students along with white students.

So each side got what it was seeking—the Negroes, enrollment of their children in white schools; the school board, time to build the necessary facilities.

But the ridiculous lawsuit will not soon be forgotten in Hillsboro. It cost much time and money and caused hard feelings toward the impatient Negroes, whose own children suffered from missing two years of schooling.

Hillsboro schools will soon recess for the summer. Harold Henry, principal of one of the two elementary schools Negroes have tried to enter, says he doesn't know if Negroes will be enrolled for the remaining few days or not.

"We have given the court the facts of our over-crowded conditions," he said. "We told them of the difficulty of orientation of those [Negro] youngsters at the present time and of their placement in our grade system, having been out of school for two years. Those factors apparently weren't considered too much by the court."

Illogical Integration

IN A telephone conversation, Henry reviewed the two-year argument for *The Advertiser*. He stated emphatically that the school board, in refusing to enroll the Negro students, was not attempting to enforce segregation. That was clear, he said, observing that some Negro pupils already are enrolled in the white elementary schools and have been for years. The Negroes who were refused enrollment lived outside the school districts of the white schools.

"We've had Negroes in white schools here since before my time," said Henry, who became principal in 1937. "Long before 1937, Negroes were in our high school, which has always been integrated. And a few years ago, the seventh and eighth grades were integrated. So we have not had a policy of segregation—I don't care what anybody says."

Q. Then race was not a factor as far as you're concerned?

A. No, sir. It is just that we had too many students and the only way we could house them was to use the Negro school building.

Q. And the Negroes didn't want to use that building?

A. Some of them did, who didn't want their children to discontinue their education. Some of them were very cooperative and their children have attended the Negro school for the two years. They were willing to accept the board of education's statement that on completion of the new building their children would be integrated.

Negro School Less Crowded

DID Henry think the Negro school facilities were adequate to offer equal education facilities?

"Well, all I can say," replied Henry, "is that the teachers there hold valid certificates from the state board of education. They are well qualified and use the same curricula as we do. They use the same textbooks. It's a regular part of our school system."

The Negro school, he said, is not as crowded as the white ones. The number of students per teacher was often lower than the white schools and "never higher." Forty-two students are enrolled in the Negro school.

From time to time, Negro parents have tramped into Henry's office as part of their continuing demonstration. Each time they demanded enrollment of their children in the white schools, while refusing to send them to the Negro facilities.

Each time, Henry told the Negroes their children were not in his school district and that he had been ordered not to enroll them.

Q. Do you have a school attendance law?

A. We have a compulsory school attendance law in Ohio, but it has been ignored by these people.

Q. And no attempt has been made to enforce it against them?

A. Well, this thing has been in the courts for two years and I don't know officially how that affected the local judge's decision.

'TELL IT NOT IN GATH, PUBLISH IT NOT IN THE STREETS OF ASKELON'–XII

Advertiser P. 2-B

By TOM JOHNSON
Of The Advertiser Staff

GOV. G. MENNEN (Soapy) WILLIAMS, Michigan's great detergent liberal, is a man whose sensibilities are easily wounded by Alabama segregation.

Wherefore he cancelled a scheduled speech before the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner last October in Birmingham on the grounds that, under the city's segregation ordinance, a Negro *might* be barred from attending.

JOHNSON

Said Soapy: "I am advised that the dinner committee is willing to sell to all applicants regardless of race. But the Birmingham ordinance cannot be suspended, and there would be no assurance that it might not be enforced against any Negro Democrat who actually attended."

(One Negro, E. D. Mixon of Montgomery, was, in fact, refused a ticket. Williams, however, did not appear to be certain of this when he cancelled his speech, indicating that the mere possibility was enough for him.)

Soapy, then, is on record in Alabama as being a vigilant guardian of the Negro—one whose sensitive nostrils pick up the scent of discrimination at great cross-country distances.

Paradoxically, this wonderful sense of smell fails him in such nearby places as Royal Oak, Dearborn, and Wyandotte, to name a few—all good Michigan cities with a fair share of Democrats.

Unlike Birmingham, Ala., these cities do not have the segregation laws which are so obnoxious to Soapy, called Soapsuds by pal J. Instead, Negroes simply are not allowed to reside within their corporate borders—a strikingly uncomplicated solution to the problem of race relations.

Soapy, A Puritan In Babylon

WILLIAMS did not hesitate to campaign in Dearborn, Wyandotte and Royal Oak. It is not recorded anywhere that he was offended by the fact that Dearborn's population of 130,000 Royal Oak's 70,000 and Wyandotte's 42,000 include *not one single Negro.*

Perhaps in the privacy of home or club, Soapy deplored the absence of Negroes in other heavily-populated suburbs of Detroit, but he has never publicly stated that he would refuse speaking engagements in Birmingham, Mich., Madison Heights, Southfield Township, Oak Park, Pleasant Ridge, Berkeley, Clawson, or Troy—all of which guard against the influx of any of Detroit's 500,000 Negroes.

Detroit Newspaper Scandal

ALL OF THESE towns lie immediately North of Detroit. They are populated mainly by white employes of Detroit's many factories and mills, the same source of employment for most of the Negroes.

The Negroes, in most cases, live to themselves in certain well-defined areas of Detroit. A few live in "mixed" communities but not always harmoniously. (Witness the riotous demonstrations in Detroit last week against an Indian family mistakenly thought to be Negro, which, as we will show thus week, was scandalously played down in Chicago's three newspapers).

They are not allowed, in any numbers, in any of the northern suburbs of Detroit, with one exception. That is Royal Oak Township (not to be confused with the city of Royal Oak), where well over 10,000 Negroes reside. The area is hemmed in on all sides by white settlements, and some of the Negro residents are becoming unhappy over the crowded, rundown conditions of their town.

Residents of the nearby white communities—fearful that some of the Negroes may be in a mood to move—have organized a planning commission to improve conditions in Royal Oak Township. They know that unless some improvement is made, the white communities might be picked as homesites by the Negroes.

Of Course

ROY GAST, a reporter for *the Royal Oak Tribune*, tells *The Advertiser* that the planning commission, which includes just one Negro member, is trying to attract federal and private funds for housing in Royal Oak Township.

Is the intense interest of the whites in the Negro housing conditions motivated by a fear the Negroes will move into white communities? we asked Gast.

"Actually," he said, "that's what it is. But practically, we also want to raise the Negroes' standard of living."

Asked why Negroes don't live in the city of Royal Oak, Gast replied: "That's a good question. I never thought about it."

He said he knew of no arrangements whereby Negroes are excluded, but he admitted that the white residents "probably wouldn't like it" if Negroes moved in.

Further, he said, the Negroes themselves aparently don't care to live in Royal Oak. (He didn't say so, but that apparently includes the discontented Negroes in congested Royal Oak township.)

He has heard, said Gast, that a Negro once decided to move to the city of Royal Oak and was dissuaded by another Negro who said: "We are getting along fine in our own sections. Don't stir up something."

From talking with Gast, we reached this conclusion:

Negro residents of Royal Oak Township are unhappy and probably anxious to move, but have no desire to move to the comfortable city of Royal Oak where there are no bans against Negroes by compassionate white citizens who probably "wouldn't like it" if Negroes moved in.

We Southerners Are Amateurs

GAST was not deliberately contradictory and illogical. What he said represents the kind of thinking often encountered among Northerners. It apparently never occurs to them that they are guilty of segregation, which is so horrendous to them when practiced in the South.

The Southern segregationist could learn some lessons from his Northern neighbors, who have succeeded in excluding Negroes from entire towns and cities. The Southerner seeks segregation merely socially and educationally—modest goals by comparison.

PUBLISH IT NOT IN THE STREETS OF ASKELON–XVII.

Advertiser P. 4-A
Montgomery, Ala.
Sat. 6-14-56

NAACP Official Says Housing Discrimination Found All Over North

By Tom Johnson

LIKE a grumpy old wine bibber, the egalitarian news editor of the North, in choosing his segregation news, prizes the imported product.

If he is truly discriminating, he accepts nothing less than Essence of Magnolia which is made far, far down South. As for the home-grown variety, horrible stuff! Best overlooked entirely or, that failing, censured with a discreet cluck, cluck.

JOHNSON

An example: The most widespread discrimination against Negroes in the North occurs in the matter of housing. Gloster B. Current, NAACP organizational director, calls it "our biggest problem" and says it is practiced everywhere, "including New York City."

He says bankers, realtors, and residents enter subtle conspiracies to exclude the Negro from whole towns and cities, something that is not done, to our knowledge, in the South. Less subtly, according to Gloster, school districts are gerrymandered in such places as Hillsboro, Ohio (denied by Hillsboro school authorities), to achieve plain old segregation.

Current says they are problems of great magnitude. It would not be apparent, however, from reading the Northern papers, which give only the most perfunctory coverage to local discrimination.

Unwritten Agreement

CURRENT, in a telephone conversation from New York yesterday, ticked off several examples without referring to files. They came immediately to mind.

Detroit: "I'm from Detroit. I was executive secretary (of the local NAACP chapter) there for five years, and I know that the attitude of the city government is not favorable to the Negro, for political reasons.

Suburban Detroit cities: "In Wyandotte, Lincoln Park, Gross Point, St. Clair Shores all down that shoreline there's an unwritten agreement not to sell to Negroes."

Benton Harbor Township, Mich.:

"There was an integrated, three-room school in the upper righthand corner of the township with a mixed faculty. I think the teacher in charge was a Negro. The authorities were ordered to move the school to another location because it was a fire hazard. Instead of building on that site, they went to the other end of the district where most of the Negroes lived and built the school right in the heart of it, which obviously was to be an all-Negro school by any districting arrangement. We were able to get them to make some shift which resulted in token integration, but they still placed an all-segregated school in that district."

Cairo, Ill.: "Two years ago, token integration took place, but the attitudes of the citizenry there are not good. There's a lot of friction. Illinois has equal accommodation laws, meaning you can eat in restaurants and hotels and other places. But in Cairo you find great difficulty using these facilities."

And so on.

Deft And Subtle

IT IS in housing, however, that the Northerner accomplishes the most successful segregation, and with a deftness and subtlety the South could never touch.

Says Current: "There's a whole story on housing segregation and discrimination which involves banks, trust companies, real estate brokers and others who, in every Northern City, operate in concert to deny Negroes occupancy and purchase of homes in certain areas. That's our number one problem—housing."

Just how, we asked, is this "concert" performed?

"Well, they do it this way," said Current. "You take FHA developments, cooperatives, new building projects. The Negro cannot buy in them. He is turned down for one reason or another—never for his race. Or if he gets to the point where he goes for the mortgage, he finds it difficult to obtain financing. They don't tell him it's because of his race, but that's actually what it is."

In mentioning the FHA (Federal Housing Authority), did he mean the government was a party to discrimination?

"Well, until recently, even the underwriters manual of the FHA carried suggestions about injection of inharmonious groups into certain neighborhoods. We were able to get that changed. However, it is still difficult in most Northern communities for a Negro to get a mortgage."

Laws Unavailing

THAT is true, he said, despite the fact that "many of the states, including New York, have attempted by legislation to guard against discrimination in housing."

Q. But doesn't that go into an area of human relations that is beyond the realm of enforceable law, where it's just a private agreement among homeowners in a community.

A. Well, it's a private agreement, but where FHA financing is involved, it becomes a public matter. Most housing developments are insured federally. That, we contend, is a misuse of tax money.

The situation is so bad in the North, said Current, that Negroes are finding it necessary to form their own lending agencies. Most of these agencies have modest resources and are not nearly adequate to offset the economic pressure against Negroes, Northern style. The technique is hard to beat.

Q. Has there been any evidence of economic pressure against Negroes in Montgomery.

A. I don't recall any from Montgomery.

PUBLISH IT NOT IN THE STREETS OF ASKELON—XVII

Advertiser

Soapy, Long Distance Liberal,

Reserves His Posturing For Deep, Deep South

Montgomery, Ala.

By Tom Johnson

THERE are a few things Alabamians should know about Michigan Gov. G Mennen (Soapy) Williams before writing him off as a complete bubblehead. They just fill in the picture; they don't alter it.

JOHNSON

1. When His Soapiness canceled a speaking engagement in Birmingham last fall because of that city's offensive segregation laws, he acted out of pure principle, set to fermenting by a fair amount of pressure.

2. Gov. Williams never has knowingly addressed a segregated meeting. True, he has spoken in Dearborn—a city of 130,000 where Negroes are not allowed to reside—but the Dearborn brand of discrimination is not open and legal. Therefore, it does not irk Soapy.

3. Gov. Williams and his aides consider it ridiculous to make a comparison between Alabama's legal segregation and Michigan's slight-of-hand discrimination.

'Just Left Town'

FOR this enlightening look at the peculiar logic under which the governor of Michigan operates, we're indebted to Soapy's press secretary, Paul Webber, with whom we had a long telephone chat this week. When I first placed the call to the State Capitol at Lansing, Webber's secretary said Webber was in a brief conference with Soapy but would call back shortly.

When Webber called, I asked if he could arrange for me to have a brief telephone conversation with the governor. Webber said he "might" but, unfortunately, the governor had "just left town" and wouldn't be back for several days. Meanwhile, could he be of service?

The purpose of the call, I explained, was to try to ascertain how Soapy reconciled his highly-publicized refusal to appear in Birmingham with his willingness to speak and campaign in the numerous Michigan cities which effectively discourage the settling of any Negroes within their corporate borders.

Said Webber: "Well, I seriously doubt that the governor would care to make a statement, to be perfectly frank with you. He's not here and if he were, I wouldn't ask him."

Yes But No

Q. Don't you agree that there is a valid comparison between certain conditions in Alabama and in Michigan?

A. No, sir. We recognize up here that the racial problem is not confined to Alabama or any other particular place in the country. I think it's a problem that you have in a sharper degree than we have, but we all have it. We feel, however, that in our state we have done—and are doing—everything to meet it.

Thus, we agreed that discrimination exists in Michigan. Would the discrimination such as is practiced in Dearborn, Wyandotte, Royal Oak and other places jolt the governor into the kind of affirmative action he displayed in the Birmingham incident?

Replied Webber: "There is no formal ban on Negroes in any community in the state of Michigan. There is no law that says they can't go into any community, buy a house and settle down. It is true that one of our mayors—the mayor of Dearborn—has made certain public statements indicating that he would not permit Negroes to move into Dearborn. I don't see how he could stop them if they sought to move there. But this is not something that is susceptible to intervention by the state. You ask me if I think it is a parallel—I think it is not, in the sense that we don't contend it is a good thing."

No Soap On Soapy

I TRIED again.

Q. But the fact is, by whatever means—formal or informal, legal or illegal—Negroes are excluded from such places as Dearborn. What does the governor think of that?

A. Let me make this point clear. When you say excluded, you are talking about a real estate operation down there. There is no exclusion of Negroes from the city of Dearborn. And I'm sure Gov. Williams never knowingly attended a meeting which was segregated in this state or elsewhere.

Q. Would you agree that there seems to be evidence of widespread discrimination in the Dearborn case?

A. No, I wouldn't agree to that because I don't know anything about it. Just what I've read in the papers, that the mayor of Dearborn made certain statements. One of the papers where I read it was in your paper where he gave an interview. That's as much as we know about it. We don't know anything about Ferndale or Royal Oak.

He Can Buy If He Can Buy

PERHAPS that explained Soapy's willingness to make speeches in Dearborn and Royal Oak—he somehow had missed the information that they don't like Negroes. But to be certain I phrased another question:

"You hadn't heard about that situation until you read the papers recently?"

Webber, hastily correcting himself, replied: "Oh, yes, we had heard about it before this. And I think you're correct when you say it's a matter of general knowledge that Negroes are not welcome in Dearborn. But there is no governmental ban—there is no law which says that a Negro may not go into any place in Michigan and buy any piece of property—if he can buy it. There are vast areas of Detroit where it would be extremely difficult for a Negro to buy a piece of property because of real estate considerations."

'What Could We Do?'

Q. Well, sir, you obviously don't agree with me that it is a valid question. But the point in calling the governor was this. He would not speak in Birmingham, Ala., because there is a law which says that Negroes are excluded. Now, in Dearborn and other places—granted there is no such law—it appears from all the evidence that Negroes are excluded nonetheless. Is that offensive to the governor?

A. Well, we certainly don't approve of it or like it, but Dearborn is a home-ruled city, operating under a charter, electing its own mayor. What could we do if we wanted to do anything about it?

Q. What could you do about Birmingham, Ala. It's a home-ruled city?

Principle and Pressure

WEBBER'S answer to this question raises some speculation as to which exerted the greater influence on Soapy's decision not to appear in Birmingham—principle or pressure.

Said Webber: "Let me point out to you that in the case of Birmingham, Gov. Williams went to the greatest lengths to iron that situation out, so tha he could come down and talk to that meeting. I'm sure you could check with your own governor and find that every effort was made during the 10 days before Gov. Williams announced what he was going to do. During that period, he was subjected to great pressure from people who wanted us to say what we finally did say.

"If there had been any way to iron that thing out, I'm sure we would have done so and he would have appeared there. He didn't do this because he wanted to, or because he wanted to precipitate the issue. The issue was thrown into his lap and he had to adhere to what he thought was right."

Webber is a capable, conscientious press secretary, mindful of his chief's political fortunes. At one point, he said: "Heaven, we had a very serious race riot in Detroit several years ago, although I would point out that that did not occur under this administration. It occurred under a previous one, and we had nothing to do with it at all."

'Try To Understand Us'

WEBBER can also be forthright: "We don't deny that the problem is here. There isn't any question about it. We have one of the biggest Negro communities in the country in Detroit. We don't deny that there is discrimination, but we do allege that we don't regard it as a good thing. We do everything we can to eliminate it and to approach the ideal which none of us has approached—that everybody gets treated exactly alike as far as civil and political liberties are concerned."

And it sounded downright strange to hear a Northerner say: "We know you people have got a problem down there. I just wish you'd try to understand us a little bit, too. We have our problems."

31a 1956

WHITE (TOM JOHNSON)

Advertiser P. 4-A Montgomery, Ala.

Chicago Papers Prefer Their Race News With A Southern Accent

By Tom Johnson

MONTGOMERY, Alabama, is a popular dateline these days.

In recent weeks, U.S. readers have seen it displayed with increasing frequency and prominence at the head of sociological reports on race relations.

JOHNSON

In Chicago, Detroit New York, the hometown papers play 'em big—the Till case, the Lucy misadventures. To augment the reports of the wire services, many of these papers dispatch their best reporters to do searching, on-the-scene stuff.

We have become—to use an O. Henry phrase of peculiar aptness—the "sinner sure of all eyes."

Tues. 3-13-56

And yet, as *The Advertiser* has pointed out recently, there is one ironic, almost ludicrous, flaw in the northern press coverage of racial news.

Put simply, it is this: If it is Southern racial disturbances, splash it across the front pages with lurid headlines. If it is a disturbance in the paper's own town, play it down.

Chicago is a fine example of this double standard of objectivity. There, according to our information, all newspapers, radio and television stations subscribe to a "code of ethics" which prescribes a temperate, moderate treatment of the many racial incidents that occur in the Windy City.

Knight Delays Comment

IN PRACTICE, "temperate, moderate" coverage is interpreted to mean: Play down the Chicago race strife news. If it cannot be ignored, handle it delicately and obscurely.

Yesterday I reached John S. Knight, publisher of the *Chicago Daily News, Miami Herald, Detroit Free Press, Charlotte Observer* and *Akron Beacon Journal*, in Miami. He declined to comment on what I have here written, preferring, he said, to make his statements in writing.

(Earlier in the day Publisher Knight had phoned Editor Hall to say that he was asking his editors in Detroit and Chicago to be of assistance should the Montgomery editor wish to go there to report on race strife. He also said the *News* is running a Pg. 1 series on what happens to the Negro in the North.)

Isaac Gershman, Author

OVER the weekend, we called a friend who has lived and worked in Chicago many years. He is a former first-rate newsman there, who is now in an allied but somewhat sensitive position. It would not be politic to quote him by name. Suffice it to say, he is an observant, thoughtful, trustworthy man.

According to him, the Chicago code of ethics was devised by Isaac Gershmann, manager of the City News Bureau. This is a newsgathering agency cooperatively maintained by Chicago newspapers and radio-TV stations. It furnishes news on the routine day-to-day activities of city hall, the police and fire departments and such.

KNIGHT

Our friend says the Chicago Press and Radio-TV embraced the code because they had found that giving publicity to the frequent racial incidents that occur in suburban Cicero, in Trumbull Park and in the city's Southside seemed to precipitate more such incidents.

So today, such news is hardly touched.

Southern racial news is another matter, however. It cannot be overplayed and the code does not apply here. The Till story got top billing in all Chicago papers. Likewise the University of Alabama demonstrations against Autherine Lucy. Likewise the boycott of Montgomery City Lines buses.

The Rationale

HOW is it Chicago papers can give such prominence to Southern news and ignore the local disturbances as being too inflammatory?

The Chicago man with whom we talked suggested that it is because race news from the South is old stuff. It is expected and is accepted as a prominent part of life down here. There is another reason, too. By playing up the Southern news, the newspapers divert the attention of Chicago Negroes from their own miserable conditions. It makes them think, says our friend: "Things could be worse." It is debatable whether they would think that if equal space and prominence were given to describing Chicago's racial violence and the squalid Negro sections of the city.

Discrimination Boo-Hoo

THE stories from the South do occasionally have reactions among the Northern Negroes. At Northwestern University recently, a Negro coed who had followed the activities of Autherine Lucy accused her white instructor of "discrimination" when he gave her a bad grade.

Relatively few Negroes attend Northwestern, a privately-endowed school in Evanston. One reason for this is that tuition is high, so most of them go to the state-supported University of Illinois.

At Northwestern, the Negro student is allowed to sit where he chooses in class, but beyond that his freedom of choice is questionable. Certainly, he cannot join a fraternity, where most Northwestern students live. If he insists on living on campus, the chances are he will be assigned to one of the International Houses and seldom if ever to the regular white dormitories. Social acceptance is virtually unheard of.

Discrimination In Policy

WHAT does all of this prove? Nothing, really, that hasn't been known a long time by most Southerners. But it is responsible for much irritation down here. The Southerner cannot comprehend why he is the object of the campaigns of righteous do-gooders who are the occupants of a house that is in anything but good order.

He perceives that there is merely a difference of technique between him and his Northern counterpart—the difference between open, unashamed segregation and, as a high NAACP official (Gloster B. Current, organizational director) pointed out in Montgomery Sunday, a variety composed of "subtleties and hidden aspects."

In such a sensitive area as race relations, a temperate and moderate policy of news coverage is needed. But isn't it a policy that should be applied without discrimination?

Harper's Editor Agrees They Publish It Not In The Streets Of Askelon (V.)

Advertiser Thurs. 3-29-56 P. 4-A Montgomery, Ala.

By Tom Johnson

WHEN it comes to covering—or uncovering — racial discrimination as it exists in the North, Editor-in-Chief John Fischer of *Harper's* magazine believes the Northern press is doing an inadequate job.

He so indicated to *The Advertiser* in a telephone conversation yesterday from New York.

JOHNSON

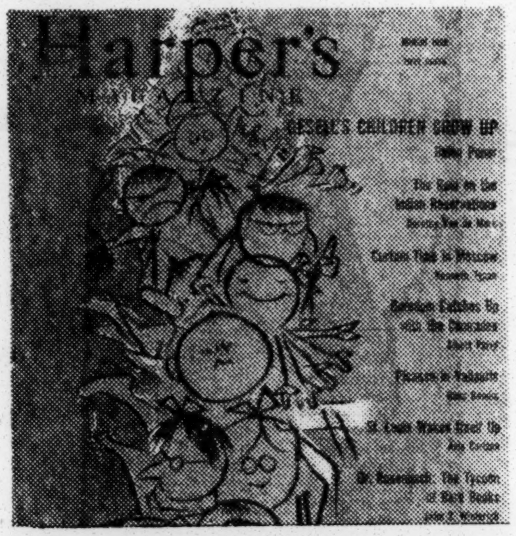
Fischer, an old newspaper hand from way back, is well qualified to assess the doings of the Northern papers. He has taken out after them on more than one occasion in the past.

A few weeks back, before it became fashionable to admit that the South's problem is a complex one, Fischer printed a lengthy article by Editor T. R. Waring of the *Charleston News & Courier* on the Southern viewpoint on segregation.

Fischer did so because, as he wrote at the time, he agreed with Waring that the Southern side of the story had not been told in the North.

What Fischer did would not seem to require any great amount of journalistic spunk. But the fact is, up to the time the Waring article appeared, Southerners had found the great journals of the North hermetically sealed against the infiltration of any rational discussion of segregation.

After Waring's article appeared in *Harper's*, there was a perceptible change in the velocity of the brickbats headed South. In short order, Adlai Stevenson, President Eisenhower, *The New York Times*, Dorothy Thompson and even *Life* either urged "moderation" or admitted that the Negro problem is not the exclusive property of the South. *U.S. News & World Report* deserves equal credit with *Harper's* for the Southern breakthrough.



Fischer, in commenting on the way Northern papers handle their own problems of discrimination, thought he saw an improvement in that direction, too, in the past few weeks. But, he added, "There is still a considerable distance to go."

Dixie Papers Equally Guilty

EDITOR FISCHER'S criticism of the press is not limited to the Northern press. He thinks Southern papers are just as guilty in another way.

"I think the Southern press has tended to ignore situations in which desegregation has worked pretty well, or to take any cognizance of the situation where Northern schools have been desegregated for a long period of time and it is working out," said Fischer. "I have seen Southern papers go out of their way to print every instance of friction in a desegregated school but never report the ones that work."

He cited the "initial friction" in Baltimore and Washington schools when integration was first imposed. That was well reported, he said, but now that the friction has either been removed or quieted down, nothing has been said. (*The Richmond Times-Dispatch* did a follow-up series on Washington to a farethewell.)

A number of Northern newspapers recently have achieved more balanced reporting of segregation news, he thinks, but Fischer isn't certain just what effect that is having on the readers.

"I would hope," he said, "that it would give them a little more balanced understanding of what the situation is. In conversations with the people I see, I think that a lot of Northerners are beginning to realize that the situation is more complicated than they originally thought."

Atta Boy, Grandma

COMMENTING on the recent series of *Advertiser* articles which point out that segregation abounds outside the South, Fischer said:

"I think it [that kind of reporting] is awfully healthy. It seems to me a good long start toward trying to find some serious solution instead of just stirring up temper. I think that sort of thing may, in the end, have some helpful repercussions in the North, particularly if you can get your stories reprinted."

We mentioned that it is not always easy to accomplish that and pointed out an example as recent as two days ago when the Associated Press refused to touch an *Advertiser* story on Northern papers' refusing to run the pictures of Negro brides.

Fischer immediately perked up. He asked for a copy of the story and details on the AP's refusal to handle it.

"I like to fuss a little about repression in one direction just as much as in the other," he said.

Muffed Or Muffled?

THEN Fischer suggested, almost apologetically, that *The Advertiser* might be interested in a New York example of great racial unrest which has not been handled to any great degree by the local press. According to Fischer, the trouble stems from Negro resentment of Puerto Ricans.

Said Fischer: "An awful lot of friction here is because Puerto Ricans have been moving into Negro areas which already were overcrowded—and because of competition for jobs, but also a sharp cultural difference. One group, Latin Catholic, coming up against a North American Protestant group with different folkways.

"Most of our little gang warfares in New York City is between groups of Negroes and groups of Puerto Ricans who are living in the same areas. So far as I know, this has never been looked into by any New York newspaper."

Fischer said he would happily aid in running down the story if *The Advertiser* cared to send a man North.

Unorthodox Orvie

Dearborn's Unique Mayor Comes Through With A Dossier Of His Life

Advertiser Montgomery Ala.
Tues 3-27-56

By Tom Johnson

TWO fat envelopes arrived at *The Advertiser* yesterday, bearing the inscription, "City of Dearborn, Michigan, Orville L. Hubbard, LL.B., Mayor." After scanning the contents of those envelopes, we are more convinced than ever that Orvie is the most unorthodox man mayoring today.

JOHNSON

First of all, as we printed extensively yesterday, he makes no secret of his love for Dixie and her ways on racial segregation. He has kept Dearborn free of any resident Negroes, though thousands work there in the Ford plant and approximately a half-million reside in Detroit, which begins where Dearborn ends.

They travel to and from Dearborn to work but not a single Negro makes it his home.

When we talked with him last week, Hubbar, chatting a mile-a-minute, promised to send us a David Lawrence column pointing out that integration is a long way off.

True to his word, Hubbard sent the column. He thoughtfully included the following:

A reprint from *Woman's Life* telling about "Mayor Hubbard's Marriage Bureau," an enterprise designed to help "lonely people everywhere."

A special printing of "A Message to Garcia," a pamphlet by Elbert Hubbard (apparently no relation) telling how Col. (then lieutenant) Andrew Roman in the Cuban War thrashed through the jungles to deliver a message to Garcia, leader of the insurgents, and concluding that the "world cries out" for men who can "carry a message to Garcia."

HUBBARD

A copy of the December, 1944, edition of *The American Mercury* containing an article on Southern racial problems by Archibald Rutledge, poet laureate of South Carolina.

A copy of *Pageant* (September, 1955) which devoted six pages to "Dearborn's Uninhibited Mayor."

A 5x7 potrait of Hubbard and two one-column mats of his picture, ready for immediate newspaper use.

There was reprint of an editorial in the Feb. 23, 1956, edition of the *Daytona Beach Evening News* and a bulky publicity folder telling about Hubbard's plan to build a Dearborn, Florida, a "sunshiny haven" for the elder residents of Michigan's Dearborn.

Platform, Past and Present

There was one other thing—a form letter with a line across the top saying, "Things I plan to do today for my community" and midway down the page after a blank space, a second line reading, "Things I did yesterday for my community." (Hubbard apparently mailed such letters out in large numbers, either to the citizens of Dearborn or to city employes.)

We discovered that Orvie Hubbard is the man responsible for the much-publicized order last year for all city department heads to lock themselves in their offices for the first half-hour each morning and do nothing but think.

The administrative memo which carried the good news to the department heads noted: "They can jot down any hot ideas. If they think enough, they may have some. That is the way Newton discovered the law of gravity."

Cusser And Cussed

Even among his constituents, who have kept him in office for 15 years, Hubbard is a much-cussed man. It must be said, too, that Hubbard is a fair cusser himself, possibly a throwback to his days as a Marine but attributable in part to the fact that the English language must strain to keep pace with him.

When Hubbard talks, the words stampede from his mouth as if escaping from a fire in his larynx. Such vocal activity quivvers the 250 pounds which are distributed about a rather short frame.

His weight doesn't bother his speed. He races through the streets of Dearborn at 70 miles an hour. And when it is the prudent thing to do, Hubbard scats across to Canada in nothing flat. Like the time a former city official obtained a $7,500 libel judgment against Hubbard, who was not to leave the county until he settled.

This came about as the result of something Orvie said during the 1950 elections. When he heard about the judgment, he scooted across to Windsor, Canada, set up shop in a hotel room, and had letterheads printed: "Canadian Headquarters, Dearborn Mayor-in-Exile." When he returned to Dearborn he had more letterheads printed: "Temporary Offices of the Mayor of Dearborn — Wayne County Jail."

Biting The Hand That Feeds

Though the Ford Company pays about 57% of Dearborn's taxes, it is a favorite target of Hubbard's. He has blasted the "high brows and stuffed shirts in the snobbish Ford Foundation" and the "vicious gambling racket at the Rouge plant," which is located in Dearborn.

The voters love him, at least most of them do. Let one call and complain that, say, a tree limb has fallen across his clothesline. Hubbard sneaks a memo to his secretary and then engages the caller in small talk while a city crew repairs the damage. Then Hubbard informs the caller that the limb has been removed and the clothesline re-strung and, if he doesn't believe it, just look outside.

This kind of thing has got him elected to eight terms as mayor, the margin of victory increasing with each succeeding election. When some disgruntled constituents succeeded in putting a recall petition to a vote, Hubbard won by 4,000 votes in what was light voting.

Orvie's shenanigans get plenty of publicity—and he loves it. When someone kidded him about his love of headlines, Orvie retorted: "You can't sell peanuts at the end of the parade."

Washington news beat

By...LEVI JOLLEY

Courier 4-13

Val J. Washington, Director of Minorities of the Republican National Committee, an outstanding speaker, who has toured the country in recent months, is guest columnist for this week. A former newspaper and insurance executive, he has received honors from several national groups for outstanding contributions in race relations.

Pittsburgh, Pa

Sat. 5-5-56

By VAL J. WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON—I have recently returned from a trip to Georgia and Alabama, and I think readers of this column might be interested in my opening statement to an audience in Birmingham: "I would not have ordinarily come to Alabama just to make a political speech, because here in the deep South it has been impossible for a Repulbicn to get a fair hearing. Alabama has not voted Republican since 1872. There is a more important reason for my visit tonight. Your state is in the throes of lawless turmoil which could develop into open conflict, if the saner minds among you do not keep emotions suppressed during these perilous days. It is to offer moral support to your unprecedented peaceful fight for your constitutional rights that I have come here tonight."

You can well be proud of the fearless demeanor, orderly conduct, and courageous manner in which our people are withstanding the prejudicial pressures which are being placed upon them in the South during these days of tension.

Eisenhower Washington

In discussing the Eisenhower program and the Negroes' rights, let me say that I do not think there is any better or more fitting time than now to recall the words of President Eisenhower at his inauguration on Jan. 20, 1953:

■

"My friends, before I begin the expression of those thoughts that I deem appropriate to this moment, would you permit me the privilege of uttering a little private prayer of my own. And I ask that you bow your heads.

"Almighty God, as we stand here at this moment my future associates in the executive branch of the Government join me in beseeching that Thou will make full and complete our dedication to the service of the people in this throng, and their fellow citizens everywhere.

"Give us, we pray, the power to discern clearly right from wrong, and allow all our words and actions to be governed thereby, and by the laws of the land. Especially, we pray that our concern shall be for all the people regardless of station, race or calling.

"May cooperation be permitted and be the mutual aim of those who, under the concepts of our Constitution, hold to differing political faiths; so that all may work for the good of our beloved country and Thy glory. Amen."

Before we take up the Eisenhower program I want to say that this is no time for demagogues in any sense. Conditions are much too serious for us to go off on tangents. Political ballyhoo and fakery were not so dangerous a few months ago as they are today. I would suggest that you keep an open mind and check thoroughly both sides of every question of importance to us, before acting.

■

President Eisenhower's administration has done so much in the field of civil rights to draw closer the wide gap of inequality between the races, mentally, morally, spiritually, intellectually, economically and constitutionally that anyone who challenges these facts would have to be blindly partisan.

Even Democrat Congressman Charles C. Diggs of Detroit had this to say about the Eisenhower Administration: "Millions of Negro voters will desert the Democrat party in November unless the Democrats stop pussy-footing over civil rights . . . The Negro generally voted for Stevenson in 1952. Mr. Eisenhower didn't have any record then on civil rights. There was no reason for Negroes to vote for him . . . Mr. Eisenhower now is regarded by Negroes as having established a pretty good record on civil rights."

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, urged at a meeting of 5,000 in Chicago on Thursday, April 12, to "help your brothers in the South by voting against the party that chokes you with men like Senator Eastland."

Personally, I am very happy about two commitments of the President and the Republican party, made before his election. We promised that (1) "A Republican administration will protect the basic freedoms of the people, and will not arouse false hopes of Negroes by promising what it never intends to deliver." We have not aroused false hopes, but we have done many things we never promised.

(2) The President said, "I pledge that if elected President of the United States I will serve all of the people irrespective of how they voted." We did not vote for President Eisenhower. What he is doing, he is doing because it is the right and honorable thing to do. Our President, through action, has placed himself in a leadership category beyond the realm of cheap partisan politics.

■

What this Administration has done is well known. The people are now interested in what we intend to do in the future.

1. **We intend to be fair always in our dealings with all of our people.**
2. **We intend to make the Constitution work for all citizens in every article and every amendment.**
3. **We intend to enforce the Supreme Court decision cause it is the law of the land.**
4. **We intend to recommend legislation where it is needed to uphold the law.**
5. **We intend that there shall never be another world war, but we will fight, if others force it upon us.**
6. **We intend to continue our fight for the use of atom for peace and prosperity instead of war and destruction.**
7. **We intend to strengthen our ties with our friends in the free world because in this atomic age we cannot stand alone even with our industrial might.**
8. **We intend to continue keeping America strong so that it can meet any emergencies which might arise from within or without.**
9. **We intend that there will never be another depression in this country.**
10. **We intend to continue our efforts to raise the living standards and better extend our prosperity to all those who have conscientiously helped to create it.**

■

A newspaper reporter's question (at the White House Press Conference on March 21, 1956, asked): Mr. President, there are indications some Negro leaders are switching to the Republicans. Would you care to discuss the reasons for this?

The President replied that he was trying to do a job for 166 million people, and did not separate them geographically, racially or religiously. "I am for America," he said, and he welcomes with open arms all those who want to come in under the umbrella.

Washington news beat

Courier P. 4

By...LEVI JOLLEY

Sat. 6-2-56

WASHINGTON—Some forty-odd years ago, the fact that Booker T. Washington, world-famous educator and president of Tuskegee Institute, was invited by President Theodore Roosevelt to a White House Conference and later had lunch there, created a nation-wide controversy.

The incident was spread across the front pages of thousands of newspapers and became a cause celebre in the North and South.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Grasping upon the racial conditions in the South, newspapers ran features and editorials giving all sides of the varied opinions.

During the Hoover Administration, a few outstanding colored citizens visited the White House. However, because he apparently feared unfavorable publicity, Mr. Hoover declined to have his picture taken with the colored visitors.

Things began to change in the Roosevelt era when the late beloved Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune and others had their pictures taken with FDR after conferences.

■

ON SEVERAL occasions, Mrs. Bethune and the late Dr. Mary Church Terrell were guests at luncheons, teas and other social affairs at the White House.

A gauge of the changing times is the fact that two Negroes, J. Ernest Wilkins, assistant secretary of labor, and E. Frederic Morrow, a White House aide, were among guests of President Eisenhower when he gave a diplomatic luncheon for Dr. Soekarno, President of Indonesia, and not one white newspaper bothered to mention the fact.

Prior to his heart attack, Mr. Eisenhower was photographed with more than 52 colored delegations, invited more than 40 Negroes to luncheon at various times and has had 31 outstanding Negro leaders as guests at his monthly stag dinners.

SPEAKING ABOUT the White House, a very interesting item was called to my attention recently.

Outside of a Presidential Cadillac, there are five parked in the White House parking area. One is owned by a retired Army officer now a high-ranking White House executive, while the other four are owned by executive office messengers, all Negroes, whose top salaries are slightly over $3,000 annually.

Paul Butler, the fashion-plate chairman of the Democratic Committee, who piqued five colored reporters several weeks ago when he expressed opposition to passage of civil rights legislation in this session of Congress, has done it again.

Washington news beat

BY...LEVI JOLLEY

Courier

WASHINGTON—Even considering the noise that has been raised over the farm conditions and foreign aid proposals, the bittest controversy to come before this session of Congress will involve the school-construction bill and the President's recommendation for a bi-partisan commission to study violation of equal rights in the South.

Adam Powell

Although this is a national election year, one should not be surprised to see a definite split in party lines when the controversial measures first are discussed in committees and later on the floor of both branches of the Congress. Sat. 1-21-56

The lid is likely to blow off at any minute.

Much to the surprise of solons and spectators, the pot began to boil when Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) threw a bomb in the House of Representatives less than an hour after the President's State of the Union message was read. P. 19

The New Yorker contended that Mr. Eisenhower was "buck passing" when he urged the appointment of the bi-partisan commission. Pittsburgh, Pa.

"We here in Congress have our responsibilities too. We must in this Democratic-controlled body press with vigor for more civil rights for the American people.

"I repeat, the Department of Justice and the FBI now can investigate and should be investigating any depriving of any citizen of due process of law and the right to vote."

Naturally at this point, the Southerners were staring in amazement that the New Yorker had grasp such an opportunity to air his reaction against the party for its failures and especially at this time.

* * *

BACKED BY a "secret bloc" of 120 liberal Congressman of both parties who have pledged to press for stronger anti-lynch, civil rights and anti-segregation regulations, Powell hurled his double-charged bomb in the faces of Democratic colleagues with "I think President Eisenhower's statement is a Republican challenge to a Democratic Congress which UP TO NOW HAS DONE ABSOLUTELY NOTHING IN THE FIELD OF CIVIL RIGHTS."

Angered by this statement, Southerners charged back to do battle for white supremacy.

Congressman Henderson Lanham (D.-Ga.) criticized the Supreme Court for its school integration decree, the Eisenhower administration for requesting the investigation into conditions in the South and the FBI for interference in administration of a state's criminal laws.

In his denounciations of every thing possible, he hurled a warning to the NAACP that efforts to force integration in the South "will lead to the mixing of bloods not in future generations, but in the gutters and streams of our land."

* * *

OTHER SOUTHERN Congressmen added more fuel to the fire with such terms as "mongrel race, the Georgia delegation, including James C. Davis, E. L. Forrester, Paul Brown, and L. Mendel Brown (D.-S. C.) ranted for close to an hour.

A few hours later, the Southern group held a caucus to a bloc of representatives to oppose all effort to have anti-segregation amendments attached to major legislation.

To the complete surprise of many legislators, House Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin Jr. (R.-Mass.), announced that he would support Mr. Powell's group in having an anti-segregation amendment attached to the administration's school-construction bill.

The Republican leader expressed a belief that the House will approve an aid-to-education **measure which would ban Federal funds to school districts** that continue to segregate.

* * *

SHOCKED BY this latest bombardment, the Southerners have been franticly seeking to organize under the leadership of Congressman Carl Vinson (D.-Ga.) to offset every move made by the so-called "NAACP Lovers" to secure for colored citizens their equal rights.

One can expect the lid to blow-off at any moment and the fireworks to begin since the whole atmosphere is electrified.

The words—civil rights, school desegregation and an amendment to school-aid—are virtual sticks of dynamite in the House cloakroom and the offices of the representatives.

Instead of going along party lines, scores of Northern Democrats have swung to the aid of the liberal bloc. For their actions, the liberals are accused as "traitors" and the Republicans are accused of using civil rights and racial question to gain the vote of Negroes in the North, East and West.

Preparing for a bitter battle, both sides have outlined strategy and methods of counter attacking. No field general has planned war in any greater detail than the Liberals and the Segregationists of the South are seeking a "secret" weapon. Around and round it goes, the result, nobody knows.

Washington news beat

31a Negro

BY...LEVI JOLLEY

Courier P7

WASHINGTON—Seemingly each day, the nation's capital becomes a bigger and still bigger battlefield for the politicians and segregationists. It goes from the individual duels to the skirmishes between the two major parties down to factions of bi-partisan groups attacking each other.

Pittsburgh

Proof of this is that the venon-spitting Senator James Eastland (D., Miss.) has attacked fellow-Democrats for their support of civil rights measures and added a few race-baiting words against those who have pledged to support Congressman Adam Clayton Powell's amendment to deny school construction funds to Southern states that refuse to follow the Supreme Court's school integration decree. Sat. 2-25-56

Knowing a few slick politicians, who have been able to double talk their way to important positions, I look at all with a searching eye. But Senator Eastland appears to me to be a very sick man mentally because he has poisoned his whole mind and body with racial hatred and is attempting to spread the germs throughout the South.

While he did not come to the forefront in taking an active part to draft a resolution to flay the U. S. Supreme Court for its school integration decrees, he was the leader in this movement. The Mississippian, a Southern gentleman, has organized the Senate and House of Representatives into a strong and bitter anti-integration unit in the present session of Congress.

The pressure wielded by this group can be, in part, the background for statements made in California by Adlai Stevenson. To gain the nomination, he will need the strong Southern delegations. Without the support of the strong men of the South, despite his big lead, the former Illinois Governor will get the axe and won't know what hit him—consequently he has shown that he is a weak sister in my estimation.

By the same token, we have to consider the facts in the organization of the liberal bi-partisan group that seeks civil rights legislation. Active members include Earl Chudoff (D., Pa), James Roosevelt (D.-Calif.) and Hugh Scott (R.-Pa), along with Adam Clayton Powell, who does most of the talking for the group and himself.

Pressured by Southern colleagues, the Democratic members became peeved when their plans are prematurely revealed.

The Republicans on the other hand are under pressure from the Administration which seeks to get the school construction bill through Congress at any cost. Members of the highly rated bi-partisan group are now bickering among themselves over the best methods to fight the Southerners' new attacks.

Without understanding and a strong faith and real understanding of each other's weaknesses, the liberal group who represents both political parties will find that they have been the victims of two pincer movements. Repeated secret meetings are held all over Washington by the Southern segregationists to perfect plans against civil rights movements and the liberals have to not only be better informed, but outline more effective gimmicks.

There are still scores of Congressmen who are on the fence. A freshman in the field of high power politics, your humble correspondent believes that any type of favorable statement by the President would secure passage of the school construction bill and the Powell amendment which would deny funds to states that insist upon segregation and defying the U. S. Supreme Court.

The President, whom I admire, could break the back of Southern opposition by insisting that the laws of the nation as interpreted by the Supreme Court be followed. A strong statement by him would seal the whole matter and make the rebels realize that this is one nation and that the Southern "tail" can't constantly wag the United States "dog."

Unless the President speaks now, the school construction bill will be lost.

Washington news beat

By...LEVI JOLLEY

Courier P. 19 Sat. 4-14-56

Clarence Mitchell, director, Washington Bureau of the NAACP, and a former newspaper colleague of Levi Jolly, is the guest columnist for this week. A militant worker for civil rights, Mr. Mitchell is the recent winner of a Russworm Award presented by the National Newspaper Publishers Association for his outstanding contributions to American life.

Pittsburgh Pa.

By CLARENCE MITCHELL

POLITICIANS ARE happiest when they attend burial services for issues on which they cannot obtain agreement within their own parties. A few years ago, they made funeral agreements for civil rights legislation, but instead of lying quietly in the coffin, the "corpse" got up and began talking about anti-segregation amendments.

In the Eighty-fourth Congress, Representative Adam Clayton Powell has offered necessary amendments against segregation in the vital fields of military training, housing and school construction. All of these proposals were introduced by him at the urging of the NAACP.

Mr. Mitchell

In each case other Congressmen, who come from districts where the colored vote is of great importance, had an opportunity to offer these amendments if they had wanted to do so. Mr. Powell offered them because he put loyalty to civil rights above loyalty to either party.

■

HOW ACCURATELY Mr. Powell reflected the views of voters is shown by the strong support given these amendments in the colored press and the persistence with which questions about them arise during press conferences of political candidates. Opposition to them could cost some Congressmen their seats in marginal districts.

Historically, Democrats have taken the lead in trying to switch attention from legislation in Congress to action by the courts and the executive branch of the Government. This has brought some progress in the form of integration in the armed services and sturdy blows at segregation in the District of Columbia. It must never be forgotten that it was a Democrat, Interior Secretary Oscar Chapman, who donned a bathing suit himself to see how his department was carrying out integration in the capital's swimming pools.

In their enthusiasm, however, the Democrats often overreached themselves and tried to give the false impression that they should also be credited for some of the hard-won court victories that resulted from legal skill and personal sacrifices of those who are the victims of racial discrimination.

At the same time that they were trying to shoot embalming fluid into civil rights bills, the Democrats were eagerly serving as parents for improved social security, minimum wage bills, farm benefits, school construction and enlightened foreign policy.

■

THEY ACTUALLY worked to convince colored people that there was no need for civil rights bills. A number of daily newspaper columnists and editorial writers who follow the Democratic line went to work against anyone who tried to raise the civil rights issue in committees of Congress or on the floor.

When the Republicans came into power in 1953, they did not have a civil rights program. It is true that the President had made certain statements about eliminating segregation in the District of Columbia. He had also announced a policy of no Federal aid to promote discrimination.

How little he knew about the far-reaching effects of such a policy is evidenced by the difference in the way he handled press questions on this subject in 1953 and 1954. In 1953, he struck out boldly against segregation in schools on military posts. In 1954, he hedged when he was asked whether he would apply the same principal to segregation in Government-assisted housing.

Like the Democrats, the Republicans decided to avoid action on legislation in Congress and act through the executive branch. Attorney General Herbert Brownell has made a valiant effort to keep anti-civil rights forces from capturing the machinery of justice. Many GOP officials have honestly tried, with varying degrees of success, to administer their departments without discrimination.

■

THE PPRESIDENT, as party leader, must take the responsibility of the GOP's failure to seek action on civil rights bills in the Eighty-third Congress. There is ample evidence that if he had asked for action he would have gotten it. FEPC is the only civil rights bill on which there is a major split in the Republican party. Many of the party leaders are indifferent on other bills, but they do not have the hostility of Southern Democrats.

An example of the difference between Democrats and Republicans is furnished by Representative Sid Simpson of Illinois and Congressman James Davis of Georgia. In the Eighty-third Congress, Mr. Simpson, as chairman of the House District Committee, did not actively promote the President's program of integration, but it is also true that he did not fight it.

When the Democrats came into power in the Eighty-fourth Congress, the first act of Davis, who is chairman of the District Subcommittee on Police and Fire matters, was the holding of a vicious hearing attacking integration in the fire department.

However, the extent to which Republicans followed the strategy of Democrats on civil rights is revealed by a statement inserted in the Congressional Record on Aug. 20, 1954, by the then majority leader in the Senate, William Knowland. All of his claims for civil rights progress by the GOP were based on happenings in the judicial and executive branches of the Government.

■

THE LESSON of the impact of anti-segregation amendments on party strategy is simple. If Congress will come to grips with basic civil rights bills, inclusion of such amendments will become routine. Until Congress does act on substantive civil rights bills, the need for the amendments will continue to be like the spiritual: "So high you can't get over them, so deep you can't get under them, and so wide you can't get around them."

31a 1956

NEGRO (LOUIS LAUTIER)

Attempt To Deodorize Mississippi A Failure

Call Kansas City, Mo.

Fri. 7-13-56

State Still As Stinky As It Ever Was

1/20 31a

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Efforts were made Monday to deodorize the state of Mississippi, but after a hearing lasting nearly three hours on civil rights the state was as stinky as ever.

Attorney General Joe G. Patterson of Mississippi, with the aid of Robert B. Young, a member of the professional staff of the Senate Judiciary committee, sought to do the deodorizing by giving the state a bath of innocence in the brutal murder of Emmett Louis Till and in the conduct of other criminal cases in which colored men are the defendants.

In the end, Patterson's testimony and the self-serving declarations of Senator James O. Eastland, Dixiecrat, of Mississippi, committee chairman, left unchallenged the state of violence in which colored people live in that state.

Patterson was the third Attorney General of southern states to appear before the Senate Judiciary committee and testify against the four-point civil rights program of the Eisenhower administration.

Aimed At One Section

In a prepared statement he read, he charged that the administration's civil rights program is aimed at one section of the country.

The record fails to show, he said, that Mississippi whites have ignored the civil rights of colored people.

Charges of economic pressure being exerted against colored people are absurd, he said, pointing out that there are prosperous colored business and professional men and farmers.

The Mississippi Supreme court, he declared, has guarded the rights of its citizens, regardless of race, long before the crusaders came upon the scene.

To prove this he cited a number of decisions of the Mississippi Supreme court, including the Willie McGhee case, showing that unfair convictions have been reversed.

The civil rights legislation proposed by Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr., will serve no good purpose, Patterson declared. The "same well-organized, radical groups" that caused introduction of the legislation, he said, will be just as "militant" in demanding that they be permitted to make policy and administer the proposed bipartisan civil rights commission and the proposed civil rights division in the Justice department.

Trying To Divide People

Eastland charged that Mr. Brownell is attempting to divide the people of the country in a "very crucial period." He said the attorney general could better use his time trying to "correct the pro-Communist decisions of the present Supreme court." He added that he had never had "adequate co-operation" from Mr. Brownell in helping to rid the country of subversives.

Senator William Langer, Republican, of North Dakota, brought up the Till case. He said he had received a great many letters concerning it and asked Patterson to tell him about the case.

The Till case was actually the third and most outrageous murder of colored persons in Mississippi in 1955. Till, a 14-year-old boy, was brutally slain and tossed into the Tallahatchie river near Greenwood, Miss.

First Of Three Outrages

He had nothing to do with such burning issues in Mississippi as colored persons voting or sending their children to white schools. His alleged offense was wolf-whistling at a white woman.

The first of the three outrageous 1955 murders in Mississippi was that of a colored Baptist minister, the Rev. Walter Wesley Lee, who had urged colored people to vote, and also championed desegregation of the public schools. His widow was convinced he was murdered by white men.

The second murder occurred just before the August, 1955, run-off primary. This murder was in Brookhaven, home town of Circuit Judge Tom P. Brady, a leader of the White Citizens Councils, for which Eastland is a spokesman.

The victim, a bird dog trainer named Lamar Smith, was shot and killed in the Lincoln County courthouse yard. He had been active in soliciting colored absentee votes for a white candidate in an embittered campaign for a local post.

No one was ever convicted of any of these three murders.

Mother Wanted To Testify

Mrs. Mamie Bradley of Chicago, Till's mother, sought unsuccessfully to testify concerning the murder of her son while she was in Washington several months ago, after speaking at a mass meeting.

Patterson said the Till case was prosecuted by an "able" district attorney and county attorney and special counsel employed by the Attorney General of Mississippi to assist the district attorney.

The jury acquitted, he said, adding that could happen in any state and does happen in other states as often as in Mississippi.

"Isn't it true that hostile papers stated that was a fair trial?" asked Eastland.

Patterson replied that he understood the Congressman from Michigan (obviously referring to Representative Charles C. Diggs, Democrat, of Michigan), who went down there, and others said the trial was fair but after they returned to their homes changed their minds and said other things.

Magazine Names Killers

Replying to leading questions by Mr. Young, Patterson said the case was given national publicity through Look magazine and Readers' Digest. The Look article, later reprinted by Readers' Digest, gave a detailed description of the murder, naming the alleged killers.

Patterson called the article "racial" and "anti-southern." Asked by Young whether Look "is a magazine that will not hire a Jewish writer," Patterson said he had not heard that.

Young then asked Patterson a series of questions concerning William Bradford Huie, who wrote the article. Patterson said he judged from reading the article that Bradford came to Mississippi to "fan the flames of hatred" between colored and white people.

Patterson had never heard about Huie's book, "Revolt Of Mamie Stover," a story of a prostitute.

Young asked Patterson whether he knew that Hue had written a story for the Saturday Evening Post dealing with professionalism in college athletics and that that magazine apologized to the University of Alabama on account of the Huie article

Doesn't Read Post

Patterson replied that he does not read the Saturday Evening Post. He also said he did not know that the Readers Digest has not had another Huie article since the one it reprinted from Look about the Till murder.

"Do you think it would be of interest if this committee had Huie here to testify under oath as to where he obtained the facts on the Till case in Mississippi?" Young asked.

"I think if he would go down there and show those people those facts they would appreciate it very

Young also questioned Patterson because he brought out facts no one seemed to know but him."

Young also questioned Patterson about circulation of Look and Readers Digest to show that Look sells 10 copies in the north to one in the South and that Readers Digest sells eight in the North to one in the South and that their articles, therefore, are pitched toward their northern readers and against their southern readers.

Referring to remarks made by Senator Paul Douglas, Democrat, of Illinois, concerning the Till murder, Patterson said it would be just as unfair for Eastland or him to say that "all the good people in Chicago and Illinois condone the ruthless murders that take place at the hands of mobsters every year—mobsters that go out and deprive people of their civil rights."

Cicero Did Less

He added that when a grand jury indicted the alleged perpetrators of the Till crime and when the district attorney went into court and prosecuted them, that was far more than was done to mobsters who beat up a citizen of Cicero, Ill.

That the defense of Mississippi in the Till murder was planned was evident from the presence at the hearing of Representative Jamie L. Whitten, Democrat, of Mississippi, who represents the district in which the murder occurred.

Mr. Whitten testified to the honor and integrity of Sheriff Strider of Tallahatchie county. He said the sheriff told him that the body recovered from the Tallahatchie river was that of a person four or five years older than Till was supposed to be.

He said the acquittal of the two defendants was based on reasonable doubt as to the identity of the body recovered from the river.

On the other hand, Mr. Whitten cited the case of William Clark Mitchell, a white man, who was indicted for the murder of two colored persons in the adjoining county of Yalobusha, and was twiced convicted by a jury of white men and whose conviction was twice upheld by the Mississippi Supreme court.

Mr. Whitten said nothing was published about that case

Eastland also praised Sheriff Strider as a "very able and conscientious law-enforcement officer."

"We have just as many honorable people in Mississippi as any other state in the Union," Eastland said, "and I would put our record in Mississippi against that of any other state."

Patterson said that Sheriff Strider was the first person to bring the Till case to public attention. "If he had wanted to suppress it, it could have been forgotten and nobody would have known it had happened."

Others who testified against the adminstration's civil rights program were John J. Wicker Jr., an attorney, Richmond, Va., and Ernest Goodrich, Commonwealth Attorney, Surry County, Virginia.

Senator A. Willis Robertson, Democrat, of Virginia, introduced the two Virginia witnesses. He said he had read Mr. Wicker's statement and endorsed it. He added that he had not seen Mr. Goodrich's testimony but he would endorse it, too.

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American

Sat. 7-7-56

By Louis Lautier

Baltimore, Md.

How Eastland's Partner operates

P. 4

Southern domination of Congressional committees through chairmanships is often commented upon by editors, columnists, and whatnot, but not very often, if ever, is there any comment on their domination of subcommittees.

F'ristance, Sen. John C. Stennis, Mississippi Dixiecrat, is chairman of the Senate District of Columbia Appropriations sub-

committee, the other two Democratic members of this subcommittee are Sens. John L. McClellan of Arkansas and Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas.

The Republican members are Sens. Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois and Milton R. Young of North Dakota.

* * *

THIS SUBCOMMITTEE along with the corresponding subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee virtually controls the purse string of the District of Columbia public schools.

Stennis is no demagogue like his colleague, Sen. James O. Eastland, of Mississippi, but, in his courtly way, he is just as much a pro-segregationist.

During hearings on the 1956 District of Columbia school budget, this colloquy took place between Stennis and Dr. Hobart M. Corning, superintendent of public schools here:

* * *

STENNIS—Doctor, you mentioned here your problem in connection with the teacher (shortage) matter as being accentuated by your integration program?

CORNING—Yes, sir.

STENNIS—Did you or the school board sufficiently anticipate this when you made your integration shift? Did you as superintendent anticipate this and point it out, or did your board realize it?

CORNING —I think we all realized that there would be problems.

STENNIS—What did you do about it? You saw these problems coming, what did you do to meet them?

CORNING—We have adjusted to the problems by more grouping of children, and more remedial work has been provided by the organization of more typical classes.

* * *

STENNIS—Before you went into the integration at all, what did you do then toward getting ready?

CORNING—In classroom procedures there was no time because the board's decision followed almost immediately after the Supreme Court decision.

STENNIS — You could have done a better job if the board had not been so quick in ordering this done?

CORNING—I am not so sure that that is the case.

STENNIS—Doctor, you have an opinion and if you do not, I do not know where we could go to ask for an opinion.

Could you not have done a better job on this problem of integration if you had had more time to prepare for it? Could you not have done a better job in solving these problems of integration if you had had more time to prepare for it?

* * *

CORNING—No, sir, I do not believe so. I think that the problems have to be met just as we are meeting them daily —now, as they occur, and we make what adjustments we can to meet the situation.

I do not believe that a year's time would have made it possible for us to do the job any better. That is my opinion, sir.

STENNIS—So you say that you have to have these extra teachers to help solve this problem, among other problems, but more time to prepare for it and plan for it and all would not have been helpful to you?

CORNING — I am not quite sure what you mean by more time, sir.

STENNIS—Well, you referred to the hasty and quick decision of putting this integration into effect. You said there was not enough time.

CORNING — There was not time to engage in a year or two of preparation for it.

STENNIS—But you say now time would not have helped you any?

CORNING—I still say that.

DIRKSEN —Has the matter been fully consummated, integration?

CORNING—It has been fully consummated so far as moving people and things around, but there is a great deal of difference between desegregation and integration and some of the problems that I am referring to.

In fact, the very fact that we need by all manner of means to maintain our high-school faculty at its present force at the present time is due to the fact that integration has not been completed.

Here were two entirely separate school systems operating entirely separately for years. It is quite natural that in those two school systems different practices would have been set up in teaching methods, administrative method, in control of children and the whole gamut of things.

Now, the integration involved putting these two school systems together and getting a commonality of experience out of it, and it is a whale of an undertaking and one that will not be completed this year or next year. It is a long process.

A Good Home For All Americans, Cole's Plan

By LOUIS LAUTIER
Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Efforts of the Housing and Home Finance Agency to eliminate racial discrimination in housing built under the Federal housing program have been "vigorous," "continuing," and "productive," Albert M. Cole, HHFA Administrator, has declared.

In a letter to Senator Prescott Bush, Republican, of Connecticut, detailing the activities of constituent units of the HHFA to eliminate discrimination, Mr. Cole said the prime objective of his efforts as administration "is the realization of a good home in a decent neighborhood for all Americans."

Mr. Cole's letter was in reply to one from Senator Bush asking for comments on letters he had received from Mrs. Frances Levenson, executive director of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, and from Hyman Haven of the same organization.

Senator Bush inserted Mr. Cole's letter in the Congressional Record of Thursday.

Leaders of the building and lending industry, with whom HHFA officials are in constant touch in the course of day-to-day operations, Mr. Cole said, "have reacted cooperatively and energetically to our continuous emphasis on housing for minority group families, and they are giving special and substantial effort to its production."

Other steps outlined by Mr. Cole in his letter included:

1. The National Association of Home Builders has established national and regional committees to stimulate its membership to provide minority group housing, and has distributed a "minority housing kit" with a packaged program and agenda for local meetings.

2. The Mortgage Bankers Association has taken similar action, and personnel of the Federal Housing Administration have assisted both associations in these undertakings and contributed to their trade publications.

3. Through last January, the Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program had placed a total of 12,000 loans. Of these loans, nearly 1,800 were for housing units specifically available to members of minority groups. The extent to which the remaining 10,200 units were for minority groups is unknown.

4. The policy of the Public Housing Administration is that programs must reflect equitable provisions for eligible families of all races, determined on the approximate volume and urgency of their respective needs, and that additional public housing for white families will not be assisted in communities which are found to be neglecting the needs of their racial minorities.

5. Under the 1954 Housing Act the small program authorized was based entirely upon the needs of families displaced by slum clearance and other governmental action.

"In allocating the units authorized by the 1955 amendments to localities, priority was administratively established for cities with relocation needs and cities needing the housing to provide a greater degree of racial equity in the housing supply for low income families.

In all public housing first preference for occupancy goes to families displaced from slum housing. Since racial minorities constitute a high proportion of slum-dwellers, the low-rent program is designed to serve their needs particularly.

While the selection of tenants and assignment of dwelling units are primarily matters for local determination, local housing authorities are encouraged to admit tenants without regard to racial consideration.

6. The Urban Renewal Administration has strengthened the requirements it imposes on local public agencies for relocating displaced slum families in decent housing. These agencies are required to maintain family relocation services to find housing for displaced families, but many families relocate themselves without using the services.

So far as possible such families have been traced to make certain that they are housed in standard units.

7. All contracts and instruments for sale or lease of land cleared under the urban renewal program prohibit the execution of instruments restricting the sale, lease, or occupancy of the land upon the basis of race.

Mr. Cole disagreed with the position of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing that as a condition to all types of Federal assistance in housing, applicants for such aid should agree to eliminate racial segregation and permit occupancy or purchase without regard to race.

Mr. Cole contended that such a requirement would be difficult to enforce and would result in some sections of the country in "a sharp cutback in the rate of housing production."

Federal-aid to public housing projects, which are locally planned and controlled would be rejected by many communities where the need for low-rent housing, especially among minority group families, is most pressing, Mr. Cole said.

31a 1956

NEGRO (LOUIS LAUTIER)

Capitol Spotlight

Call Kansas City, Mo

Fri. 8-24-56

LOUIS LAUTIER
NNPA Staff Writer

CHICAGO. — So far as this particular Democratic national convention was concerned, ex-President Truman occupied a unique role — that of unifying northern liberals and Dixiecrats.

It was a strange role for him. His role normal[illegible] of peacemaker.

Louis Lautier

His political reputation has been built upon the give 'em hell technique.

Certainly, he owes the Dixiecrats nothing, even though his grand - father fought with the Confederates in the Civil War. The Dixiecrats would have defeated him for election to the Presidency in 1948, if they had had the strength. They hoped that their ticket of J. Strom Thurmond and Fielding Wright would have won enough electoral votes to have thrown the election into the House of Representatives so that they could have had someone less favorable to civil rights than Mr. Truman in the White House.

The ex-President came to Chicago the week before the convention to support the nomination of Gov. Averell Harriman against Adlai E. Stevenson, who, at all times, was the front-running candidate.

Hurt Harriman's Cause

In the role of kingmaker, Mr. Truman did more harm to the candidacy of Gov. Harriman than good. In fact, every time he held a press conference and pressed his support for Gov. Harriman, he caused greater unity among the anti-Harriman forces.

Not only that, but he has hurt the chances of Mr. Stevenson against President Eisenhower in November by such statements at his press conferences as Stevenson "can't win" and "He lacks fighting spirit."

The tip off on Mr. Truman's position on civil rights at the convention came when he appeared before the resolutions and platform committee on Aug. 9.

At no time, in his relatively lengthy statement before the committee did he urge a single item in his civil rights program. Nor did he suggest anything that was helpful to the committee in writing the civil rights plank.

Little Help to Committee

Billed as an authority on civil rights, he was content to charge that the Republicans had done nothing since they entered into a deal with the Dixiecrats back in 1876 whereby Rutherford B Hayes was declared the winner of the President election and Union troops were withdrawn from the South, leaving colored people at the "tender" mercy of their former masters.

Mr. Truman's other contribution was a recital of the facts that he appointed a civil rights committee and sent to the Congress in 1947 the report of that committee.

In his performance from a box at the convention Tuesday night Mr. Truman reverted to the Truman who had not yet become President of the United States and did not know that it was necessary for the United States to prove its good faith in its professions to the colored peoples of the world by the treatment of its colored citizens within the United States.

Plank Is Weak

The civil rights plank as approved by the platform committee was weak. It recognizes the Supreme Court decisions outlawing racial segregation in the public schools, but did not pledge obedience and enforcement of those decisions.

The amendment proposed by the NAACP, organized labor, Americans for Democratic Action and other liberal organizations, was moderate.

Mr. Truman spoke against the amendment. He said he had gone over the 1956 civil rights plank and "it's the best one this convention has ever had put before it."

The majority plank was fully acceptable to him, Mr. Truman declared, adding:

"I've done more to implement civil rights than any other President of the United States."

History Will Judge

History will judge Mr. Truman's contribution to the fight for civil rights. Certainly he dramatized the issue as no other President has done and gave to the country a program for correcting some of the inequities that existed in 1948.

But whether that entitles him to hold back the forces of progress is another question on which each individual is entitled to his own opinion.

—

Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic Presidential nominee, said Thursday he would have preferred a civil rights plank in the party platform specifically endorsing the Supreme Court decisions outlawing racial segregation in the public schools.

The plank approved by the convention recognized the Supreme Court as a coordinate branch of government and said its decisions are "part of the law of the land."

In a statement issued Thursday, Mr. Stevenson said:

"Of course, I would have preferred a specific endorsement of the desegregation decision. However, the plank is a firm basis for moving ahead toward constructive solution of this critical problem.

"Because the Democratic party is the only truly national party, the only north-south party, this declaration is all the more hopeful. It reflects an encouraging area of agreement between realistic and thoughtful people from all sections of the country as to what can be done."

Blasted By Mitchell

Clarence Mitchell, head of the NAACP's Washington bureau called the civil rights plank "the biggest pile of fertilizer outside of the stockyards."

Pulling out all stops, Mitchell called the plank "a lot of double talk" and "a water-down version" of what pro-civil rights groups had asked the platform committee to approve.

"It is worse than appeasement," Mitchell said. "It is a document that will spread confusion in northern communities because there are a lot of liberal people who will feel called upon to defend it."

Mitchell charged that members of the platform drafting committee who voted for the plank "had made up their minds they were going to sell us down the river by putting the brightest kind of coloration on it."

"A Display of Semantics"

W. Robert Ming, former Howard university and University of Chicago teacher, now engaged in the private practice of law and a member of Stevenson's staff, commented:

"I think it is the strongest statement that any body composed of people from all parts of the country and all races, since the Supreme Court rendered its decision of May 17, 1954. I think the platform committee is to be commended."

Earl Brown, New York City councilman and a member of Life magazine's editorial staff, called the civil-rights plank "a great display of semantics."

He described it as "an attempt to appease both North and South" and said it "failed miserably to do either."

"I particularly object to the phase in the plank stating that the Democratic party is against the use of force to enfore the Supreme Court decisions against segregated schools," Mr. Brown said, adding:

A "Surrender" To South

"While that may be a double-edged statement, it clearly is a surrender to the southerners who have consistently brought up the bugbear of force, which no one has thought of using, except to protect the Constitution of the United States.

"This phrase is an unfair criticism of the court's decision and a subtle defiance of the law of the land as decreed by the court."

Mr. Brown also said he thought the plank was bad because it failed to pledge the Democratic party to support the implementation of the desegregation decisions:

He also said that while he favors aid to Israel, which the Democratic platform supports, "I am shocked that my party supports a pledge to a government half way around the world but has failed to support the Constitution of the United States."

Powell In Plea For Passage

Call [illegible]

Kansas City, Mo

Fri. 7-6-56

Predicts Passive Resistance If Measure Fails

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Failure of Congress to adopt his anti-segregation amendment might thrust colored American "into a massive, passive resistance program" such as is being carried on against Jim Crow bus companies in Montgomery, Ala., and Tallahassee, Fla., Representative Adam C Powell, Democrat, of New York, said Friday.

The New York congressman spoke on his amendment during general debate in the House on the federal-aid-for-school construction program.

His amendment will not be formally offered for adoption until the reading of the bill for amendment is begun under the five-minute rule.

The House moved Friday toward completion of six hours of general debate on the federal aid bill. Reading of the bill for amendment was due to begin Monday, July 2, but a roll-call vote on passage of the bill is not likely to be taken until after July 4.

Expect Close Fight

The fight over the Powell amendment will be bitter and close. Representative John W. Martin of Massachusetts, the Republican floor leader, is expected to throw Republican support behind the Powell amendment, despite White House opposition to it.

With Republican support, passage of the Powell amendment was virtually assured. But doubt has arisen since it became known that Representative William L. Dawson, Democrat, of Illinois, will not support the amendment. He believes that adoption of the Powell amendment will kill federal aid for school construction. He is for such aid without the Powell amendment

The issue involved in his amendment, Powell told the House, is "moral and ethical" as well as legal.

"You cannot teach law and order in schools built in defiance of law and order," he said, adding:

"You cannot teach loyalty to 'one nation indivisible' in schools that Jim Crow its students in absolute defiance of the Supreme court. You cannot bring integration about through segregated schools."

White House Against It

Although President Eisenhower has called his amendment "extraneous" and "unnecessary," Powell said, the White House has not indicated that he would use the powers of the Presidency to deny funds to states that "are in defiance of the law of the land."

The Comptroller General has told him, Powell said, that "it is for the Congress to say how and on what conditions public monies shall be spent."

Powell also asserted that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has indicated that it will do nothing to withhold federal grants to states which are not complying with the Supreme court decision against segregated schools. He added that the Supreme court has ruled that a taxpayer's suit may not be used to obtain an injunction against the grant of federal funds to Jim Crow states.

The recently merged American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations was assailed by Powell. He said "reactionary, anti-civil rights" members of the AFL-CIO are lobbying against his amendment.

Tenth Member Of Court

He called Arthur J. Goldberg, associate counsel of the AFL-CIO "a self-appointed tenth member of the Supreme court, one of the non-voting members," because Goldberg gave an opinion that "public schools built with federal aid constitutionally can only be operated on a non-segregated basis."

"Goldberg's "opinion is ridiculous," Powell declared. He pointed out that in the two years since the Supreme court held segregated public schools unconstitutional public schools have been built with federal funds in federally affected areas.

Powell also argued that the Supreme court lacks the power to compel compliance with its decisions.

"How are you going to force an entire sovereign state to comply with a Supreme court decision?" he asked. "No one dares suggest the use of federal troops. This would be a confession of the moral decadence of our country.

"There aren't enough federal marshals to force compliance. So, that is an utterly ridiculous statement."

Ample Precedent

Powell argued that there is ample legislative precedent for the type of amendment he is proposing. He pointed out that non-discriminatory amendments had been written into the draft law, the Hill-Burton hospital construction act, and the federal school lunch program.

The federal - aid - to - school

construction bill gives the Congress its first opportunity to implement the Supreme court decision against segregated schools, he said.

Powell disagreed with individuals who say his amendment is right in principle but the issue of segregation should be taken up separately. He pointed out that Representative Isidore Dollinger, Democrat, of New York, has been introducing for nine years a bill to withhold federal aid from schools which practice racial or religious discrimination, and nothing has been done about it.

The fact that 300,000 children have been integrated in the past two years, Powell said, is not sufficient "to excuse the eight states which, by legislative action, are totally in defiance of the Supreme court and have not integrated a single school district."

What Rejection Means

Rejection of his amendment, Powell said, would mean:

1. Nullification by Congress of the Supreme court decision against segregated schools.

2. A gain for the Soviet Union among the nations of Asia and Africa.

3. The possible thrusting of colored Americans "into a massive, passive resistance" movement.

4. The holding of the United State and democracy up to ridicule before the whole world "as a nation of pretense and preachments but not practices."

A majority of Republican members have agreed to vote for his amendment, Powell said. If the amendment is defeated, he said, it will be defeated by his fellow Democrats.

Would Be Tragedy

"What a tragedy it would be if the party of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman became in 1956 the anti-civil rights part of reaction," he said.

Answering the charge that his amendment is supported by "an unholy alliance between people who want to kill the bill and people who want civil rights," Powell said:

"Thank God, it is because it it was not for an unholy alliance you would not have got this bill or the civil rights bill out of the Rules committee."

Powell called "sheer and utter stupidity" the statement that if his amendment is adopted, the Senate will kill the bill. He said his amendment, if adopted, will not come before the Senate because that body will take up the bill sponsored by Senator Lister Hill, Democrat, of Alabama.

Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Democrat, of New York, has said he will offer an anti-segregation amendment to federal-aid-for-school construction legislation in the Senate.

Powell also said statements that there will be a filibuster in the Senate against a school-aid bill containing an anti-segregation amendment were "absolutely ridiculous, sheer nonsense, propaganda and, in some instances, downright lies."

Powell was not interrupted during the delivery of his speech. At the end there was applause, mostly on the Republican side but some on the Democratic side.

CAPITAL SPOTLIGHT

Daily World 9-4
Atlanta, Ga.

BY LOUIS LAUTIER For the NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON — The District of Columbia public school system is facing a congressional investigation because the Board of Education had the temerity to carry out President Eisenhower's wish that schol integration here be made a model for the 17 states which had Jim Crow schools.

The District of Columbia Board of Education did not wait until the Supreme Court decided how and when its decision of May 17, 1954, should be carried out, but immediately began the desegregating process after the court ruled that segregated schools were unconstitutional.

Fri. 8-10-56

When the court heard arguments on how and when its decision should be carried out, desegregation of the public schols here was just about complete except for a few kinks that needed ironing out.

That made the Confederates in the Congress mad. The House District of Columbia Committee, heavily loaded with Confederates, voted to investigate the school system. Representative James C. Davis, of Alabama, an ex-Ku Klux Klansman, was named chairman of the subcommittee to carry on the investigation.

Davis first picked Leader C. Perez, a Louisiana politician, who was one of the prime movers in forming the Dixiecrat party in 1948, as chief counsel for the committee. Perez has an unsavory reputation in race relations. [illegible] the daily papers broke the st[illegible] Perez's selection, the appointm[illegible] stunk so that Davis and Perez had to hatch the excuse that Perez was too busy to take it.

Davis then picked Willie Gerber of Memphis, described as "an overbearing political fixer and hatchetman who served as Boss E. H. Crump's top lieutenant until he suddenly fell from favor and felt the hatchet across his own throat in 1948."

Crump was the Memphis political boss. You will probably recall the lines of William C. Handy, famous musician and writer of "blues," that "Mr. Crump don't 'low no easy riders here."

Whenever any colored person bucked Crump, he was ordered to get out of Memphis. That happened to the late Bob Church, whose father was reputed to have been worth a million dollars. Church himself was once the political boss of Memphis. But when Crump sent him word to 'git,' he had to move to Chicago. Ditto Dr. J. B. Martin, the Chicago baseball magnate who was a prominent druggist in Memphis until he ran afould of Crump.

Gerber is finding out, however, that Washington is not Memphis and colored people here don't have to be sycophants. He also is running across some white persons in the school system, who resent his interrogating them about race relations in the schools which they administer or in which they teach.

Nevertheless, Davis and Gerber will run the investigation of the District of Columbia public school system whenever they decide to put on their "Tobacco Road" show.

As an indication of what Washington educators will face, here is Senator John C. Stennis, Democrat of Mississippi, chairman of the District of Columbia appropriations subcommittee.

Here is what he said to Mrs. Arcadia N. Phillips, vice president of the Board of Education, during hearings on public school appropriations:

"Assuming we were going to have integration of our schools—it is a policy I don't think is sound or well to take, but assuming we are going to have it, it is unthinkable to me that there should be the wild scramble, the way it appears to me, just to leap in the dark."

The thing that makes Stennis a key figure in relations to mixed schools here is that it is vital that the schools be given adequate funds to carry out the changeover from a segregated to a nonsegregated school system.

"The job of integrating two school systems which previously were so completely separate cannot be accomplished without damage to the children unless the schools are adequately staffed," Dr. Hobart M. Corning, superintendent of schools, testified before Stennis' subcommittee.

"Do you think it would have been better to have taken this (integration) slowly and let it evolve over the years rather than pitch it in 100 per cent and work it out the best way you could?" Stennis asked.

"No, sir," replied Corning. "My opinion as an educator was to do it the way we did it. However, the Board of Education determined that and very definitely I would not differ with them," replied Corning.

"... I am of the opinion that it would be better to move along with it than to drag it out.

"If you get the picture of an elementary school with the first grade integrated and the rest not, then the next year the second grade is integrated and the rest is not, I think the result would have been pretty chaotic from the administrative standpoint. So I am definitely of the opinion that it was better to go ahead with it as we did."

To Decide On Tenure of President

Call 9-1
Kansas City, Mo.
Fri. 9-7-56

How Long Should One Man Remain In Top Position?

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

DENVER, Colo. — (NNPA) — The hottest issue which may reach the floor of the 76th annual session of the National Baptist Convention USA Inc., which opened here Wednesday morning, is that of tenure.

Sidewalk talk among the preachers here for the convention is that Dr. J. H. Jackson, of Chicago, convention president, four years ago campaigned for the office on a platform calling for limiting the service of the convention president to four terms of one year each.

The convention laws were amended to carry out that plank of his platform. But a year ago, ministers say, he began a campaign for repeal of the law. The question is expected to come up before the convention elects a new president or reelects Dr. Jackson and adjourns.

Special Trains Arrive

Delegates to the convention did not begin to arrive here for the convention in numbers until Monday morning. Six special trains brought them in droves here Tuesday.

Special trains came from Detroit, St. Louis, Alabama, Tennessee and Texas.

Large numbers of delegates from various sections of the country had the cars in which they were traveling connected to special trains at those points.

Despite a strike of Union Station employees called by the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes Local 87, the Station Master said all arriving delegates were handled "beautifully."

Call 9-4

No Red Cap Service

No Red Cap service was available at the station to help arriving delegates with their baggage. Three colored striyebreabers were working as Red Caps, but were able to furnish very little service to the arriving delegates, most of whom were heavily laden with baggage.

The cabs which crossed picket lines were aumented by "courtesy" cars.

Fri. 9-7-56

The drivers of these "courtesy cars" helped some delegates with their luggage from inside the station to the loading platform. These "courtesy cars" also carried passengers from the station to their destinations.

Under the arrangements made by the local committee, drivers of the "courtesy cars" were not supposed to charge fares but were to accept whatever their passengers gave them.

But some delegates complained that they had been overcharged by "courtesy car" drivers.

The biggest preconvention event was a musical program Tuesday night.

The convention headquarters, the New Hope Baptist church, had an overflow crowd of delegates, visitors and members at morning and evening services Sunday. The Rev. M. C. Williams, pastor of New Hope, is the convention chairman. Special services also were held Monday evening.

The Rev. Henry Stephenson, pastor of Zion Hill Baptist church was the speaker at morning services at New Hope Sunday.

He called for "religious unity" within the United States as the "first step for world peace and brotherhood."

Before the convention adjourns it also was expected to consider a number of resolutions dealing with the Presidential election and civil rights. A number of the ministers attending the convention are political leaders in their local communities and states, including Dr. Jackson.

The subjects which the resolutions are expected to cover include:

1. Civil rights with particular reference to the part of the church should play in southern states where the NAACP has been outlawed.

2. Whether the church should press for immediate integration or favor moderation and gradualism.

3. Development of an overall educational program for Baptist schools.

4. The Baptist ministerial retirement fund, which has been a part of Dr. Jackson's program.

The musicale Tuesday night feature a 500-voice chorus at the city auditorium. Mrs. Jessie W. Maxwell, Denver educator, directed the musical. Mrs. Anna Lee Williams and William Johnson were featured vocalists.

Ala. Boycott Among Cases On Supreme Court List

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Property, Commie issues in dispute

Sat. 10-20-56

P. 13

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON

The U.S. Supreme Court hearing this week the first arguments of cases in this term, faces a variety of questions in appeals involving colored persons.

The cases range from the taking of private property by the City of Hutchinson, Kan., to the appeals of the Montgomery (Ala.) Board of Commissioners and the Alabama Public Service Commission in the Montgomery bus boycott.

The case of Lee Walker against the City of Hutchinson was argued last week. It was one of a number of cases brought over from the last term. The court begins a new term each October.

* * *

MR. WALKER, an 80-year-old man with a sixth grade education, sought an injunction against the City of Hutchinson and its various officers in the District Court of Reno, Kan.

He alleged that he had owned real estate for 49 years. The city on April 12, 1954, brough suit to condemn his property to acquire a right of way for improving certain streets. Mr. Walker claimed he had never received any notice.

The city acted upon its purported power to bring condemnation proceedings after one publication in the official city paper. Such publication had been had, but Mr. Walker never learned of the proceedings until several months after the court action had been concluded.

The District Court ruled only on the question of constitutionality. It held that the law authorizing condemnation proceedings after a single notice published in the official paper did not violate the due process clause of the 14th Amendment. The Kansas Supreme Court affirmed.

* * *

SET FOR argument this week is the appeal of Claude M. Lightfoot, admitted Chicago Communist, who was convicted under the "membership" clause of the Smith Act.

Mr. Lightfoot is seeking to overturn the judgment of the Seventh U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals affirming his conviction on a charge that:

Continuously from July 26, 1945, to May 14, 1954, the date the indictment was returned against him, he was a Communist party member with knowledge that it taught and advocated the overthrow of Government by force and violence.

After his conviction, he was sentenced to five years in prison and fined $5,000.

In his brief filed in the Supreme Court, Mr. Lightfoot contends:

1. That the decision of the Court of Appeals that the evidence was sufficient to sustain the verdict, violated accepted and constitutionally protected standards of government proof of guilt. He says there was no proof of guilty knowledge or of intent.

2. The "membership" clause of the Smith Act is unconstitutional. 3. Prosecution evidance was erroneously admitted.

4. Prosecution of the offense charged in the indictment was barred by the provision of the Internal Security Act that neither the holding of office nor membership in any Communist organization by any person is a criminal offense.

(The membership clause makes membership in a Communist organization with knowledge of the alleged illicit advocacy of the organization or its members a criminal offense.)

* * *

5. THAT THE finding of the Communist Control Act deprived him of the right to a fair and impartial trial. The act declares that the Communist party of the United States is "an instrumentality of a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States."

The government contends:

1 That the evidence sustained the jury's finding that Lightfoot knew the Communist party's unlawful purposes and personally intended their achievement.

2. That the membership clause of the Smith Act is constitutional.

3. The evidence, to which Lightfoot objects, was properly admitted to show the doctrines and objectives of the Communist party and Lightfoot's knowledge in intent.

4. That Lightfoot is mistaken in his argument that the Internal Security Act amends the "membership" clause of the Smith Act so as to give immunity from prosecution to members of the Communist party who know the party's purposes and intend their achievement.

* * *

PAUL ROBESON, singer and actor, is asking the Supreme Court to reverse the judgments of lower courts refusing to pass upon his right to a passport until he exhausts his administrative remedies in the State Department.

Mr. Robeson had passports between 1922 and 1950. In July, 1950, the State Department was informed by the American Embassy in Rome that Mr. Robeson had been invited to be the principal guest at a meeting of the Communist-sponsored National Council of Peace Partisans in August, 1950.

The department cancelled his passport and asked the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Customs Bureau to prevent his leaving the country.

Mr. Robeson later sought and was refused passports to attend the International Peace Delegation in Paris in 1951, a celebration in Peking of the Second Anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China in September 1951, and to travel to Paris in 1951. He had planned to argue a petition before the United Nations charging that acts committed against colored Americans by United States officials violated the genocide convention.

* * *

ALL OF these refusals, the State Department says, were based on determinations that Robeson's travel would be contrary to the best interests of the United States.

Robeson filed an application for a passport Jan. 30, 1953. The State Department refused to issue it. He again applied for a passport July 29, 1953, for travel to England, France, Norway, Sweden and Denmark.

After more negotiations, Robeson brought suit in the District Court here on Jan. 13, 1955, to compel the State Department to issue him a passport.

On July 18, 1955, Mr. Robeson and his counsel met with Loy W. Henderson, deputy under secretary of state, and other department officials, including Miss Frances F. Knight, who succeeded Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley as director of the passport office.

At this conference Mr. Robeson was informed that further action on his passport application would not be taken because he failed to comply with a request for an affidavit as to whether he had ever been a member of the Communist Party.

* * *

MR. ROBESON and his counsel indicated that they considered the requirement of such an affidavit as illegal and said no such affidavit would be filed. The District Court dismissed Mr. Robeson's complaint, holding that he had failed to exhaust his administrative remedies.

Mr. Robeson contends that the Secretary of State may not legally decline to issue a passport to members of the Communist party, such as he is alleged to be, or prevent such persons from leaving the United States for countries in the Western Hemisphere, for which no passports are required.

He argues that travel abroad is a right protected by the Constitution.

The government contends that it is not necessary for the court to pass upon the questions he attempts to raise and since he has not exhausted his administrative remedies and the Secretary of State has not yet had an opportunity to pass upon his application for a passport, his request for judicial review is premature.

* * *

ANOTHER case brought over from last term is that of William E. Fikes who is seeking a review of his conviction of first degree burglary in Dallas County (Ala.) Circuit Court.

He asks the Supreme Court to pass upon the question of whether his indictment by a grand jury and conviction by a petit jury, from both of which colored persons had been systematically excluded, denied him due process of law guaranteed by the 14th Amendment. The state contends there was no such exclusion.

Fikes also contends that he was denied due process of law by a ruling of the trial court that he could not take the stand to testify that his confession was involuntarily made without subjecting himself to general cross examination. The state says that is Alabama law.

* * *

THE CENTRAL of Georgia has asked the court to rule on the question of whether the Railway Labor Act imposes a legal duty on it to bargain in behalf of a group of colored employees, for whom the act has made a labor organization exclusive bargaining representative.

The suit was originally brought by a group of colored trainmen employed by the Central of Georgia. They have substantial periods of continuous service. They have worked either as brakemen on road service or as switchmen in yard service.

The Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, exclusive bargaining representative under the Railway Labor Act, bars colored trainmen from membership.

* * *

THE BOARD of commissioners, the police chief of Montgomery and the Alabama Public Service Commission are appealing from lower Federal Court decisions holding the city and state laws requiring segregation of passengers on buses in Montgomery unconstitutional.

The Mansfield (Texas) Independent School District also is appealing from the judgment of the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ordering desegregation of the Mansfield High School.

The school district contends that the decision is in conflict with the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court of May 17, 1954, outlawing racial segregation in public schools.

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

By Louis Lautier

Sat. 11-3-56

31a Negro

Bunche and UN

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Under Secretary of the United Nations, really likes his assignment. For the past couple of years his principal responsibility has been the UN program on the peaceful use of atomic energy. It keeps him abreast with the development in nuclear physics for peaceful purposes the world over.

P. 4

Bunche, who had a 9 o'clock appointment with President Eisenhower the other morning, did not come out of the President's office until about 9:45. Photographers, who made pictures of the President and

Bunche, were kept waiting for about 10 minutes in the corridor leading to Mr. Eisenhower's office.

Usually, when they are alerted they are admitted in a minute or two, but they had to wait for Mr. Eisenhower and Bunche to finish their chat. Reporters went in with the photographers to get a close-up of the President. He looked fine.

* * *

THE BUSINESS on which Bunche came—extending an invitation to Mr. Eisenhower to close the 82-nation conference on international atoms for peace — took only about five minutes. But the President and Bunche, who are old friends, chatted amiably for the rest of the time.

Bunche felt uneasy about taking so much time of a busy man, but, since the President wanted to chat, there was nothing he could do but chat with him.

* * *

JOHN W. NEWMAN of Hartford, Conn., is leaving the States Nov. 7 to take up his duties as assistant United States Attorney in the Virgin Islands.

Born in Palatka, Fla., Newman got a B.S. degree from Ohio State University College of Commerce and Administration in 1935, and an LL.B. degree from Columbia University Law School in 1946. He was admitted to the bar in New Haven, Conn., in 1947, and has been practicing ever since.

When he was about a year old, Newman was taken to Cleveland. He attended public schools there, graduating from East High School in 1931, and entered Ohio State the same year.

Between 1935 and 1941, Newman was employed by the Atlanta Life Insurance Co., in various capacities, such as special representative, auditor, assistant to the vice president in charge of investments, and so on. He resigned in 1941 to study law because he had become intrigued with the legal aspects of his work.

Newman was inducted into the Army in September, 1941. He was honorably discharged as a private first class Jan. 20, 1943. He resumed his law studies at Columbia in 1945.

* * *

PERRY W. HOWARD, Republican National Committeeman for Mississippi, spent the final week of the Presidential campaign campaigning in Kansas for the Republican ticket. But when he gets back to Washington, he promises to carry on a hotter campaign within the Republican organization for recognition of his "black-and-tan" faction as the regular Republican party in Mississippi.

During the so-called investigation of integration in the District of Columbia public schools, the pro-segregation investigators, Representatives James C. Davis of Georgia and John Bell Williams of Mississippi and committee counsel, Willie Gerber of Memphis, sought to make much of academic retardation.

Incidentally, Williams has bolted the Democratic party and come out in support of a states' rights slate of electors. The states' righters are hoping to keep both President Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson from getting a majority of the electoral vote, thereby throwing the election of a President into the House of Representatives.

* * *

INFORMED SOURCES here, however, believe that Williams has a deal whereby he will get the support of Democrats who want to ditch Gov. James P. Coleman of Mississippi, in the next gubernatorial race in that state.

Davis, Williams and Gerber sought to make it appear that only colored children were academically retarded and that white pupils in the public schools were being held back by integration.

But long before the House District of Columbia Committee had ever voted the investigation of District of Columbia public schools here, Dr. Hobart M. Corning, Superintendent of Schools, told the Senate District of Columbia Appropriations subcommittee, headed by Senator John C. Stennis, of Mississippi: "One of the problems discovered but not resulting from desegregation is academic retardation.

"It is not confined to students of either race. Although the problem is common to all levels, it becomes especially serious at the high-school level because this is the last opportunity for students to be upgraded in the basic fields.

* * *

"IF SPECIFIC provision is not made for remedial instruction, the retarded students slow up the educational process of the average and above average students."

THOUGHTS OF THE FOUNDER

Times have changed and if we would be wise, we will change with it.

Suez Canal crisis linked with colonialism, Egypt's equality

Afro-American Baltimore, Md Sat. 10-20-56

P. 13

.... By LOUIS LAUTIER ....
.... (For NNPA) ....

WASHINGTON

The controversy over the Suez Canal is linked with the issue of colonialism because the governments of Great Britain, France and the United States apparently are unwilling to treat with Egypt as a wholly independent and equal nation.

Both the French and the British invaded Egypt. Britain, which supervised the administration of Egypt by European powers after 1882, made Egypt protectorate ended in 1932, but Britain reserved defense, se- protectorate ended in 1932, but Britain reserved defense, security of British communications and nationals and the Sudan.

The Suez was built by a French corporation. Benjamin Disraeli, British Prime Minister, obtained control by buying 176,752 shares from the Khedive (governor) Ismali of Egypt for nearly $20,000,000. Britain later increased its holding to 295,026 shares out of 652,932.

* * *

THE CANAL was to revert to Egypt in 1968. By an agreement of July 27, 1954, Brtain agreed to withdraw all troops within 20 months after the pact was signed on Oct. 19, 1954.

Tht first reaction of Britain and France to Egypt's seizure of the canal was to threaten the use of force. But Secretary of State John F. Dulles expressed the determination of the United States to seek a "just and peaceful solution" to the problem.

After Egypt's rejection of the 18 - nation proposals, President Eisenhower made it clear that, so long as he is President, this country will not go to war without the approval of Congress, unless there should be a a surprise enemy attack.

HE SPECIFICALLY said the United States, under present conditions, did not plan any military action.

Secretary Dulles indicated that the United States would join in an association of users of the canal in concert with Britain and other nations, but he stressed America's peaceful intent.

He said if acceptable arrangements could not be made to get ships through the canal and if physical force were used to prevent passage, the United States would send its ships around the tip of Africa rather than use force to "shoot our way through."

The Secretary of State has also said this country will n ot use economic sanctions to try to compel Egypt to negotiate an agreement satisfactory to the user nations.

It was against this background that discussion of Egypt's seizure of the canal opened Friday before the United Nations Security Council.

* * *

THE COUNCIL has before it a British-French resolution. The resolution asks the Council to indorse the principle of international operation of the canal and recommended that Egypt "cooperate by negotiation" in working out a settlement based on the 18-nation proposal adopted at the first London Conference on Suez.

Mr. Dulles said Friday that the United States will stand behind the decisions of the first London conference. Informed sources, however, reported that the United States favors leaving the door open for negotiation with Egypt in the hope of achieving a settlement.

Supreme Court To Rule On Issues Vital To Negroes

Informer Sat. 10-13-56

By LOUIS LAUTIER

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Desegregation Hearing

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Houston Texas

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Alabama Bus Situation

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Railroad Men's Seek Rule

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Robeson Seeks Reversal

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Seeks Review of Conviction

Another case brought over from last term is that of William Earl Fikes, who is seeking a review of his conviction of first- degree burglary in the Dallas County (Ala) Circuit Court.

He asks the Supreme Court to pass upon the question of whether his indictment by a grand jury and conviction by a petty jury guaranteed by the 14th Amendment from both of which colored persons had been systematically excluded, denied him due process of law guaranteed by the 14th Amendment. The State contends there was no such exclusion.

Elks Urged To Aid Work Of NAACP

Daily World Thurs 8-30-56 Atlanta, Ga. 31a p. 1

BY LOUIS LAUTIER
Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

LOS ANGELES — (NNPA) — Elks were urged at the opening session of their 57th annual grand lodge session here Tuesday to take over the work of the NAACP in states that are trying to drive that organization out of existence.

The proposal was made by Robert H. Johnson of Philadelphia, grand exalted ruler, in his annual report.

He had previously suggested the general idea at a meeting Saturday of district and traveling deputies, state and regional directors of all departments of the order, and other appointees, at which Herbert E. Jones of Washington, D. C., grand organizer, presided.

In his report Mr. Johnson denounced violence used to suppress colored people in the South.

GO FORWARD

"This nation will survive, this organization will prosper, the orderly business of life will go forward only if men can speak in what ever way given them utter what their hearts hold," Mr. Johnson told the delegates to the convention.

The Elks, he said, "are the complete hops of the light of colored people of the future.

"You know, as I know, that the NAACP has been forced to close shop in Mississippi and Louisiana."

In each of these states, he reported, the membership of the order has grown during the last grand lodge year, which extended from Aug. 1, 1955, to July 31, 1956.

"I feel that one of the great accomplishments of this convention would be to open the dors f our order in these states to permit the NAACP to carry on its work, if it so desires, under the banner of the Elks," he said adding:

"No one would dare question our right to proprietorship in these state. We own real estate in this un-American section and have thousands of members within the state lines of Mississippi and Louisiana.

Daily World

"I am sure that the advancement of our people can go on, working from the inside of our various ldges and temples women's auxilries.

"Open your doors and your hearts to the NAACP. I call you to take battle stations in your areas and to contribute to the cause in any manner by which your brothers in the South may benefit."

p. 3

Mr. Johnson recited several incidents which have occurred in the last year, including the brutal murder of Emmett Till, 14-year-old Chicago boy, whose body was recovered from the Tallahatchie River in Mississippi.

RACE HATRED

Thurs. 8-30-56

He called the trial and acquittal of the two white men charged with the Till boy's murder a "comedy" and the two men who were freed "the crown princes of race hatred."

The time is close, Mr. Johnson warned, when southern race haters will declare the Elks are one of the American organizations working to secure full citizenship rights for colored people.

The Elks, he said, had urged the Justice Department to investigate the Till murder. He added that Hobson R. Reynolds, grand director of civil liberties, had gone to Mississippi at his direction to see what could be done there to relieve racial tensions in that state.

Mr. Reynolds also referred to the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott and said the blus had aided the people in Montgomery who refused to ride city buses there because of Mistreatment of colored passengers.

Both the Republican and Democratic parties, he said, are being urged to speak out on the civil rights issue. He promised to use the power of the office of grand exalted duler to see that they carry out their promises.

AMBITIOUS FOR OFFICERS

Elk programs are working better than he hoped, Mr. Johnson said, and the only criticism directed at the order is coming from perosons who are ambitious for offices within the organization.

Session of the grand lodge were held in the Jefferson High School Auditorium. Sessions of the grand temple, the women's auxiliary, were held in the Carver Junior High School Auditorium.

Despite a stricke of Yellow Cab drivers over wages, delegates managed to get to the business session of the two groups. But attendance at pre-convention activities was affected by the strike. The city is virtually without taxicab service.

Events Sunday included a memorial service for departed Elks, graduation exercies of the Purple Cross Nurses, a meeting of the Shrine and Public Relations Department, and a baccalaureate s e r m o n under auspices of the educational department.

At the memorial service, held at 11 o'clock Sunday morning, Grand Exalted Ruler Johnson conducted a lodgge of sorrow, during which Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, grand daughter ruler, delivered the eulogy, and "Thanatopsis" was read by Ralph M. Hutcherson of Detroit. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Otis Dunn, assistant grand chaplain, Ashland, N. C.

The highlights of the graduation exercises of Purple Cross Nurses at the Carver Junior High School Auditorium Sunday was the oath graduating class took and their capping by Mrs. Anna B. Jones, grand directress of Purple Cross Nurses.

Diplomas were presented by Dr. Carter L. Marshall, New Haven, Connecticut, Elks' grand director of health, and members of his staff. Dr. Marshall, a graduate of Howard University Medical School, is an assistant Clinical professor at Yale.

Others who participated on the program included Dr. James E. Jones of Elizabeth City, N. C.; Mrs. Jennie P. Marzett, Los Angeles, who delivered a welcome address, and William C. Hueston, grand secretary, who made remarks.

GOAL OF $10,000

Delegates who attended the Shrine and Public Relations Department meeting, also at Carver Junior High School immediately following the Purple Nures program, heard Mrs. Bertha McKanlass of Detroit, grand directress of the shrine, say she had set a goal of $10,000 for the last grand lodge year but actually had raised more than $11,000 for the shrine -- the John Brown Farm near Harper's Ferry, W. Va.

Judge Jackson of Cleveland, Ohio grand treasurer, was the principal speaker.

He told the audience that Charles P. McClane, Public Relations and shrine direction, has persuaded Harvey Firestone Rubber Co., Akron, Ohio, to make a special trip to the John Brown Farm to determine whether his company should contribute to the development of the shrine.

He also said Mr. McClane has also the promise of Fred Seaton, Secretary of the Interior to visit the John Brown Farm to see what the Federal Government can do to perpetuate the memory of the abolitionist.

Mrs. Lethia Fleming of Cleveland, grand directress emeritus of the public relations department, was cited for her years of service to that development.

The principal speaker was Miss Erma Henderson, of Detroit, grand directress of public relations.

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American Sat. 11-10-56

By Louis Lautier

Baltimore, Md.

One place Ike has failed to act

p. 4

The White House needs to call Bob McLaughlin, president of the District of Columbia Board of Commissioners, and Major Robert V. Murray, chief of police, on the carpet about racially discriminatory assignment and promotion practices in the Metropolitan Police Department.

The large crowds that will attend the Presidential inaugural ceremonies in January, and the pickpockets and other law violators attracted by the crowd, are not going to be impressed with what they see of the Metropolitan Police Department.

No tan officer has been promoted to the rank of lieutenant since Lieut. Dan Pittman was retired a few years ago.

* * *

HERE ARE other things that the White House might question McLaughlin and Murray about:

There are no colored officers — sergeants or corporals — in No. 8 and No. 6 Precincts.

There are no colored detectives or plainclothesmen in Precincts 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10 and 11.

There are no colored officers in the Harbor Police.

There are no colored detectives on the fugitive, the safe, the auto, the homicide, the check and fraud, and the pawn shop squads.

There is only one colored woman on the sex squad and only one colored detective on the general assignment squad.

There are no colored officers in the identification bureau.

There are no colored officers on the accident investigation squad.

Colored police are assigned to scout cars only in the 14th and second precincts.

While there was an equal number of them on the new Juvenile Patrol, they have all been taken off this assignment and put back on beats.

* * *

PERRY W. HOWARD, Republican National Committeeman for Mississippi, will demand the resignation of Leonard W. Hall, chairman of the Republican National Committee, over recognition of Ed Yerger of the lily-white faction as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Mississippi instead of S. W. Miller of the black-and-tan faction.

It all happened out in San Francisco at the Republican National convention when Howard's faction was given four seats in the national convention and the lily-whites seven, and Hall reportedly told the lily-whites he was interested in the retention of Howard as the Mississippi Republican National Committeeman.

But Rep. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, general counsel of the Republican National Committee, is said to have held back the chairman's badge for the Mississippi delegation and later given it to Yerger.

Hall's alibi will be that under Mississippi law he had no choice in the matter.

But Howard is planning a fight to the finish.

* * *

A LOOK AT THE Democratic National Committee report of receipts and disbursements, filed with the Clerk of the House by Matthew H. McCloskey, treasurer, for the period Sept. 1 to Oct. 25, shows these contributions:

Sept. 14, Elmer W. Hender-

son, an attorney with the House Government Operations Committee, $150; Sept. 26, Richard R. Atkinson, a Washington attorney, $100; Oct. 3, Armond W. Scott, retired judge of the District of Columbia Municipal Court, $100; Oct. 22, Robert N. Landrum, 4805 South Parkway, Chicago, $100; Oct. 25, Judge Irvin C. Mollison of the United States Customs Court, New York City, $200.

Disbursements shows included:

Oct. 2, Venice T. Spraggs, an employee of the Democratic National Committee, advance to be accounted for, $75; Oct. 11, Roy Garvin, a Washington attorney, reimbursement of expenses Oct. 4 (hotel, meals, telephone, telegrams, postage, taxes, tips), $41.72; Oct. 24, Mrs. Spraggs, advance to be accounted for, $120.

* * *

THE WEEKLY PAYROLLS, beginning with the week ending Sept. 1, show:

Margaret A. Stewart, $90 a week; Mrs. Spraggs, $150 a week; Patricia Roberts Harris, $115 a week for the weeks ending Sept. 1, 8 and 15.

The payroll for the week ending Sept. 29 showed Charles H. Wartman, Detroit, $466 67, and Andrew J. Hatcher, San Francisco, $350. Thereafter Mr. Wartman received $200 a week and Mr. Hatcher, $150.

The payroll for the week ending Oct. 20 showed Thomasina Norford, New York City, $150; and Alfred Duckett, Chicago, $283.33 for the week ending Oct. 27, Mrs. Norford received $150, and Duckett, $100.

* * *

BOUNDARIES FOR District of Columbia public schools, about which the Davis-Williams-Gerber House District of Columbia subcommittee which investigated integration of the local public schools made so much fuss, were drawn when the schools were integrated on a very carefully thought out plan.

Dr. Hobart M. Corning, superintendent of schools, said school officers had tract maps made for every single section of the city, every school as a center showing exactly where the children lived by grades and so on.

There was a further check in the business department, running students through the IBM machines. Officers and employees worked night and day doing that, giving exact locations of children, block by block, throughout the city.

Political dualism doomed to failure

Afro-American

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON

Baltimore Md.

P. 20

Politicians should get one important lesson from the Nov. 6 election—that the colored voter has become an important factor in American politics and neither party can afford to ignore him in any section of the country.

The Republican lesson should be that a two-party system can thrive in the South if the Republican Party will open wide its doors to colored voters in that area.

It cannot be a lily-white party in the South and successfully seek the support of colored voters nationally.

The Democratic lesson is crystal clear: The Democratic Party cannot be liberal in the North and promote racialism in the South.

* * *

WHENEVER President Eisenhower rolled up unprecedent pluralities to pile up 41 votes with 457 electoral votes and hand Adlai E. Stevenson his second defeat, a sizeable shift in the colored vote from the Democratic column in 1952 to the Republican column in 1956 occurred.

With counting still unfinished the popular vote stood this way in 144,139 of the nation's 154,874 precincts: For Eisenhower 33,685,121, and Stevenson 24,651,172.

Stevenson carried only Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, and the border state of Missouri, with a total of 74 electoral votes.

* * *

IN EVERY Assembly district in NYC, Mr. Eisenhower ran better than he did four years ago. In the predominantly colored districts he made a substantial improvement in his showing.

For example, in the 11th Assembly district, Mr. Eisenhower

MR. PHILLIPS

DEAN ANDERSON

son.

(Editor's Note: Dean Anderson is a former curate at St. James P. E. Church.)

* * *

MR. PHILLIPS said he was en route to Gordon's Seafood House when they were stopped by the officers.

"They said they had to hold all of us because of the guns," the school principal said.

"They had to check to see whether the guns actually belonged to him, whether they were registered and whether they had been fired illegally."

According to Captain Rollins, Mr. Smith must appear in Traffic Court on December 3 on charges of speeding, reckless driving and going through a red light.

Asked why the two passengers were held, the captain explained: "Because we found two guns in the car and we had to check ownership of the guns."

He declared that this was not an unusual procedure.

The Traffic Division Chief added that the investigation in this particular case was speeded up "so these gentlemen could be released as soon as possible."

Captain Rollins said the normal routine is to request a check by the crime laboratory and hold those under investigation until the report is returned. He added:

"But in this particular case, we had the lieutenant who would have been off at 7 o'clock in the morning wait and follow it through personally and he didn't get away until 9:30 a.m. in order that we could expedite this and get rid of these gentlemen.

He said, "We rushed it through as quickly as we could just because of the type of men we were dealing with."

polled 8,026 votes to 17,997 for Mr. Stevenson (15,930 Democratic and 2.067 Liberal Party). This gave him 36.5 per cent the vote, compared to 16.75 percent in 1952—a gain of 14 percent.

In the 12th district, Mr. Eisenhower got 18,371 votes to 31,864 for Mr. Stevenson (27,880 Democratic and 3,984 Liberal party). This game hi m36.5 per cent of the vote, compared to 28.5 percent in 1952—a gain of 8 percent.

In the 13th district, Mr. Eisenhower received 12,094 votes to 21,651 for Mr. Stevenson (18,943 Democratic and 2,708 Liberal Party). This gave him 35.87 percent of the vote—a gain of 12.87 percent.

In the 14th district where Manhattan Borough President Hulan Jack is the Tammany leader, Mr. Eisenhower polled 5,959 votes to 16,670 for Mr. Stevenson (14,911 Democratic and 1,759 Liberal. This gave him 27 percent of the vote—a gain of 10.5 percent.

* * *

MORE SURPRISING than the New York results were the results in Fulton County (Atlanta), Ga., where colored voters abandoned their traditional loyalty to the Democratic Party in the Congressional race as well as the Presidential contest.

Rep. James C. Davis, a Democrat and an ex-Ku Klux Klansman, was opposed by Randolph Thrower, who had sought to become the first Republican Congressman from Georgia since Reconstruction Days.

Colored precincts in Atlanta gave Mr. Thrower such lopsided votes as 1,666 to 150. In the same precinct (3-B), President Eisenhower received 1,551 votes to 232 for Mr. Stevenson.

* * *

In 1952, colored voters in Atlanta gave Stevenson 69 per cent of the votes they cast. Complete returns gave Davis 84,131 votes to 57,812, the Atlanta Republican getting slightly more than 40 percent of the vote in the district.

* * *

THE COLORED vote in Baltimore is believed to have won that city for Mr. Eisenhower and Senator John M. Butler, Republican, who beat George P. Mahoney by about 50,000 votes.

The colored vote in Kentucky is believed to have supplied the margin of victory in that state not only for Mr. Eisenhower but also for John Sherman Cooper and Thurston B. Morton, who defeated former Gov. Lawrence W. Wetherby and incumbent Sen. Earle C. Clements, respectively.

A factor in giving the electoral vote of Louisiana to Mr. Eisenhower was the shift of the colored vote in New Orleans and other cities throughout the state.

In the light of the election returns, it appears that the Republican National Committee may profitably study the question of racial integration of the Republican party in the South.

Democratic leaders may well devote themselves to ways and means of ridding the party of Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi, Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Herman Talmadge of Georgia, and Rep. Davis of Georgia and John Bell Williams of Mississippi, and others of their ilk.

GOP Plank Stronger Than Democrat--But

Afro-American Sat. 9-1-56 P.7 Baltimore, Md.

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

SAN FRANCISCO (NNPA)—The Republican platform committee approved a compromise civil rights plank stronger than the Democratic plank but weaker than anticipated.

The language is clearer on the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in the public schools than that of the Democratic plank.

But liberals who were in San Francisco working for a liberal plank were displeased with the statment that segregation in public schools "must be progressively eliminated."

* *

AT THE same time, the plank said desegregation should be accomplished, in the language of the court, with "all deliberate speed," locally through Federal district courts.

The committee apparently revised the plank to meet objections of southerners. This was indicated by a statement that "use of force or violence by any group or agency will tend only to worsen the many problems inherent in the situation."

The plank, however, calls for encouragement and support of the work of the courts "in every legal manner by all branches of the Federal Government."

* * *

CONCESSIONS TO the Southerners were made to aid Republican chances of victory in senatorial contests in Kentucky and congressional races in other southern states where the Republicans believe they can pick up seats.

The White House was said to have been impressed by this argument in the cases of John S. Cooper, ex-ambassador to India, and Thurston Morton, ex-assistant secretary of state.

Mr. Cooper is running for the unexpired term of the late Sen. Alben W. Barkley, who defeated him for re-election in 1954. His opponent is Lawrence Wetherby, former governor of Kentucky.

Mr. Morton is a candidate for the full six-year term. He is opposing Sen. Earle C. Clements, Democrat.

* * *

THE DEMOCRATIC plank on civil rights "recognizes" the Supreme Court as a coordinate branch of the Federal Government and says its decisions are the law of the land. It is silent on the question of carrying out the desegregation decision.

It said the decision has brought consequences of vast importance to the country as a whole and the communities directly affected. It rejects the use of force "to interfere with the orderly determination of these matters by the courts.'

* * *

THE REPUBLICAN plank praises the achievements of the Eisenhower administration in the field of civil rights, particularly the ending of racial segregation in public facilities in the District of Columbia, and in Federal employment and veterans' hospitals.

It claims that the Eisenhower administration has made greater progress in the field of civil rights in the three and a half years it has been in office than in any similar period since 1876.

It pledges the Republican party to continue to enforce impartially existing Federal civil rights statutes.

* * *

IT COMMENDS the administration for the progress made in eliminating job discrimination by plants and firms having Federal contracts.

It also pledges support to the civil rights program presented by President Eisenhower to the last session of Congress.

This program called for the creation of a civil rights commission with subpoena powers, to establish a civil rights division in the Justice Department, and to give the attorney general power to bring civil actions for injunctions and damages to protect the right to vote and prevent violations of civil rights.

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

By Louis Lautier

Sat. 9-29-56 P.4

Motives of Probe

Investigation of the District of Columbia public schools by a special House District of Columbia subcommittee is not strictly a local matter by any means.

It is necessary to know the composition of the committee before one can really understand the ulterior motives behind this inquiry.

The committee was appointed by Representative John L. McMillan, Democrat, of South Carolina, committee chairman, who, under the pretext of an investigation, bluffed F. Joseph (Jiggs) Donohue, who was chairman of the three-member Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, into not going through with a proposed integration in the District of Columbia Fire Department during the Truman Administration.

* * *

McMILLAN appointed Representative James C. Davis, Democrat, of Georgia, as chairman of the committee to investigate the schools. The other members he named were Representatives John Bell Williams of Mississippi and Woodrow N. Jones of North Carolina, both Democrats and A. L. Miller of Nebraska, Joel T. Broyhill of Virginia, and DeWitt Hydge of Maryland, Republicans.

Miller and Hydge have indicated that they have no intention of attending any of the hearings. Boyhill was there the first day, was absent the second day, and stayed just about 10 minutes on the third day.

Jones was absent the first day but put in his appearance at the afternoon session of the second day. His questions have simply been directed toward finding out whether juvenile delinquency is on the increase in the public schools.

* *

THE REAL sparkplugs of the investigation are Davis and Williams. They are strong advocates of white supremacy. Apparently they have hoped to prove that colored pupils are incapable of learning as fast and as much as white pupils and that mixing them in the District of Columbia public schools has resulted in reducing the quantity of education white children are getting.

In this they have an able ally in Willie Gerber, whom the Nashville Tennessean editorially called "an offensive, overbearing political fixer and hatchetman who served as Boss E. H. Crump's top lieutenant until he suddenly fell from favor and felt the hatchet across his own neck in 1948."

What Davis, Williams and Gerber shut their eyes to is the fact that all of the problems which their biased witnesses have testified grew out of integration are educational and not racial.

* * *

THESE PROBLEMS have been known by school officials for sometime, but Congress has been dragging its feet by not appropriating the tax money of District of Columbia residents to remedy the situation.

For instance, Giddings School, at the end of the last school year, had 15 classes which were considerably above 36 pupils, although the pupil-teacher ratio in the District is 30 students to one teacher in the elementary schools.

At the Webb School there are three first-grade classes of 46. The second and third grades were about the same.

In the elementary schools there were 655 classes with more than 36 pupils representing 41 per cent of the elementary school classes. There were 131 classes, or 8.2 per cent, above 40.

* * *

AS TO THE seriousness of oversize classes, let's take Dr. Hobart M. Corning, superintendent of schools in the District of Columbia, as an expert witness.

Dr. Corning says "children do differ in all respects." That is just one of the things that Davis and Williams fail to recognize.

"They differ in native ability, in mental maturity, in academic achievement, in physical development, and stamina, and in social and economic background," says Dr. Corning."

To illustrate, he took a class in one school that has 41 children in it. "Of the 41," he said, "5 are emotionally maladjusted, two of them to such an extent that they are recommended for clinical treatment.

"Of the 41, 18 are very slow learners, three are requiring remedial reading, one is extremely malnourished, three are especially gifted, 20 are of average ability, two are seemingly neglected in the home by reason of the fact that they come to school hungry and all that.

* * *

"THREE OF them are definite behavior problems, one presents a serious attendance problem, nine of them have not responded to any of the motivation and they seem completely disinterested in what goes on in school, and five are extremely immature.

"Now that teacher with 41 children has to adjust not only her direct teaching but all of her dealing with those children to all of those varying differences which exist among those children, and it just cannot be done with that many children."

Incidentally, this case was taken at random, and Dr. Corning says it can be duplicated "many, many times over the city."

GOP Plank Accepts School Decision

Afro-American Sat. 9-1-56 P. 6
Baltimore, Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

(Text of Civil Rights Plank on Inside.)

SAN FRANCISCO — With a nod from the White House in deference to Dixie feelings, the Republican Platform Committee softened the civil rights plank Monday.

The wording of the plank, finally adopted says the party "accepts" the Supreme Court decision on school integration.

The Democratic plank last week used the word "recognizes" in its mention of the desegregation decision.

The Platform Committee's chairman, Sen. Prescott Bush of Connecticut, described the modified plank as "helpful to the North as well as the South."

THE SOUTHERNERS were threatening to offer a civil rights plank more moderate in tone than the one primarily approved by the platform committee.

Some southerners also opposed any platform statement outrightly endorsing the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights program, but were overruled.

The southern members of the platform committee did succeed in getting the civil rights plank watered down at a meeting Sunday with Sen. Everett Dirksen of Illinois, chairman of the civil rights committee.

The southerners were led by Thad T. Hutcheson of Texas and Charles Beaird of Louisiana.

* * *

THE CIVIL RIGHTS plank proposed by the Southerners read:

"We recognize the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases, as in all of its other decisions, as the law of the land. However, we also recognize that the decision overturns the customs and traditions established for generations throughout many sections of the country and that adjustment to this decision can be produced only by consideration and understanding.

"We propose to follow the course of moderation and gradualism pointed out by President Eisenhower."

THIS RESOLUTION was offered in the platform committee by Miss Margaret Twiggs of Georgia. It was adopted in part.

Delegates from seven southern states who objected to the proposed civil rights plank, met in a caucus Saturday morning. The states were Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Virginia and North Carolina.

Hutcheson, of Houston, a member of the platform committee, led the caucus. The delegates agreed to seek a softening of the civil rights plank by the 105-member platform committee.

Thomas Stagg Jr., of Shreveport, La., said after the caucus the southerners would consider filing a minority report and taking the issue to the convention floor unless the full committee revised the proposed plank to their liking.

A PLEDGE to implement the Supreme Court decision, as repeatedly advocated by Senator Dirksen, would be "unsavory" to the south, Stagg said. The pledge was removed.

In a television appearance, Rep. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, one of the leaders of the civil rights bloc in Congress, gave an interpretation of the civil rights plank Sunday.

Mr. Scott's television statement follows:

"All who believe in the spiritual equality of men are glad that President Eisenhower and the Republican party have used their days in public office to protect the rights of all Americans against segregation and prejudice.

"The key words to Republican policy and Republican practice are decency and fairness.

In fact, these principles of American conduct are imbedded in the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, which the Republican party recognizes as the law of the land, to be implemented as all other laws are implemented.

* * *

"TODAY FOR the first time in history colored persons are employed in the White House in responsible positions.

"After 20 years of Democratic delay, segregation was removed by Executive order in the nation's capital. Men who would not live there before Eisenhower, now enjoy freely human and decent recognition of their rights.

"More than 300 prestige positions, including the first colored Assistant Secretary of Labor, have been filled by our colored citizens under the Republican Administration.

"There are no longer all-colored units in our defense forces.

"No segregated veterans' hospitals.

"No segregated service or government cafeterias.

"No segregated schools in our Armed Forces.

* * *

"DEMOCRATS ARE pledged to use every parliamentary device to defeat civil rights legislation in Congress. In a straddle, designed to deceive all elements of their party they have substituted for their party symbol of the stubborn donkey, the slithering profile of the weasel.

"A majority of the standing committees of the Congress are in the hands of sectional and senior Democrats who successfully oppose the passage of civil rights legislation and will continue to prevent the passage of just laws as long as the Congress is controlled by the Democratic party.

"A Republican majority in Congress can do what a Republican minority has not had the votes to do—and that is to enact human and decent guaranties of just and fair treatment to all Americans.

* * *

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER submitted civil rights legislation to Congress to set up a civil rights commission with subpoena powers; to establish a civil rights division in the Department of Justice; to give greater protection to the right to vote and to provide effective remedies in the Justice Department for their enforcement.

"Republicans in Congress by their votes on the record backed the President every step on the long road to equality of colored people. The Democratic - controlled Congress set up a death watch to kill this vital legislation. And it always will!

* * *

"TODAY IT IS the law of the land that discrimination between people is illegal.

"The Republican party is the only party with the capacity to implement this decision. An elected Republican House and Senate can and will win for Americans of any color or status their God-given rights to decent protection and human treatment."

Ike admits force must be used in school controversy

Afro-American Sat. 9-22-56
Baltimore, Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — President Eisenhower indicated Tuesday that both the Federal Government and the States have power to restrain violence in southern states over the issue of public school desegregation.

BY REQUEST of Dr. Carl Murphy, president of the AFRO AMERICAN Newspapers, Mr. Eisenhower was asked:

"If, as you say, changing of traditions and the hearts of men will unfortunately take a long time, is not the solution of the present disorders in many parts of the South over segregation, this namely:

"That citizens must be restrained from expressing their prejudices in public actions when such public acts are in violation of the law?"

Mr. Eisenhower's answer indicated agreement with the general tenor of the question, but that he would leave it to the Federal courts to hold a person in contempt for violation of their orders and then have U.S. marshals to take violators in custody.

THE FEDERAL court must determine whether there is someone in contempt of its orders, Mr. Eisenhower said. He knows of no other way such matters can be determined, he explained.

But when the local (Federal District) court makes such a determination and calls upon the Attorney General, that officer will assist in the proper way, Mr. Eisenhower added.

Earlier, Mr. Eisenhower was asked whether he considered the situation at Texarkana, Tex., a proper one for intervention.

Texas Rangers rejected a plea Monday for Ranger escort for two colored students seeking to enter Texarkana Junior College.

If the Texarkana situation was not a proper one for Federal intervention, Mr. Eisenhower was asked to give one.

REPLYING, Mr. Eisenhower outlined a situation where a Federal District Court issues an order for the entry of a colored student into a certain school.

Due to certain circumstances, violence, for example, the colored student cannot enter. The Federal District Court then must decide whether it believes someone is in contempt of court, Mr. Eisenhower said.

At that point, he added, it is customary for the court to call upon the Justice Department to assist in presenting evidence.

If anyone is held in contempt, Mr. Eisenhower said, he assumed that the U. S. marshal would take him into custody.

* * *

NO ONE COULD deplore violence more than he does, President Eisenhower said. "I think violence sets us back years," he said, adding that he thought youngsters who were indulging in violence were not being counseled properly at home.

Apparently, this latter remark was intended to clarify the statement he made at his press conference on Sept. 5 when he was asked if he had any message for the nation's youth.

At that time, Mr. Eisenhower said it was difficult through the use of law and force to change a man's heart.

He urged that all Americans seek to bring about a change in spirit so that extremists on both sides will not interfere with the broad principle of equal rights for all.

MR. EISENHOWER, at his press conference Tuesday, said the first responsibility of officials is to carry out the political function to preserve law and order and to make sure no one is injured.

Secondly, he said, they should see that orders of the Federal district courts are carried out. When that does not happen, he said, there is a failure somewhere.

Mr. Eisenhower contrasted the violence that was occurring in certain localities with the peaceful changeover from segregated to unsegregated public schools in Louisville, Ky.

MR. EISENHOWER called attention to the fact that Dr. Omer Carmichael, superintendent of schools in Louisville, had carried on an educational program for two years before integrating Louisville's school population of 50,000 children, of whom 12,500 are colored.

"Mr. Carmichael must be a very wise man," the President said, "Because he pursued a policy I think must bring success." He added that he hoped to meet and talk with Dr. Carmichael.

Asked whether he had seen the school desegregation order issued by a Federal judge in the Texarkansas Junior College case, Mr. Eisenhower replied that he had.

He said Attorney General Herbert Brownell had obtained a copy of the order and sent it to him with the comment on it which he had made concerning contempt proceedings against those who violate such orders.

Capitol Spotlight

Call P.20 Fri 4-13-56
Kansas City, Mo.

LOUIS LAUTIER
NNPA Staff Writer

WASHINGTON. — In his speech against the Daniel-Mundt-Thurmond resolution to change the method of electing the President and Vice President, Senator Paul O. Douglas, Democrat, of Illinois, made some rather illuminating remarks on disfranchisement in the South, which he referred to by the more polite term of "lack of voter participation."

Louis Lautier

The resoultion, sponsored by Senators Price Daniel, Texas Democrat, Karl Mundt, South Dakota Republican, and Strom Thurmond, South Carolina Dixiecrat, was recommitted to the Senate Judiciary committee after a test vote showed that its proponents lacked the required two-thirds for adoption.

It provided for a division of the electoral votes in proportion to the popular vote in each state, or choice of electors on a congressional district basis, with two electors being chosen from the state at large.

Douglas is a member of the economics department at the University of Chicago. What he told the Senate about lack of voter participation in the South shows conclusively that the one-party southern states wield political power out of proportion to the number of their citizens who vote.

Enforcement of 14th

The solution of this situation, of course, would be enforcement of the 14th amendment, which gives Congress the power to reduce representation in the House of Representatives in proportion to the number of disfranchised citizens to the total number of inhabitants of voting age in the state.

The proponents of the Daniel-Mundt-Thurmond resolution argued that under the winner-take-all electoral system minority groups voting en bloc can decide the outcome of Presidential elections in the large northern states with big electoral votes.

Douglas pointed out that there are many flaws in that argument. "In the first place, people do not always vote as blocks," he said. "The various ethnic groups are composed of individual human beings who cast their votes as individual human beings. We know, too, that leaders of ethnic groups, farm organizations, labor organizations, and political parties have never been able to control their membership in Presidential elections, or other elections, as some would have us believe."

For the proponents of the resolution to argue that one minority group does or can control the outcome of an action, Douglas said, "is to assume an insight into human motives and human behavior that few can really assume in certainty."

But even if that argument were true, Douglas asserted, abolishing the electoral college and dividing the electoral votes among the three leading candidates in proportion to their popular vote in each state would not cure the evils.

The former university professor pointed out that under the proposal much greater weight in the electoral vote would be given to the one-party states and particularly the South.

Small Proportion Votse

"There, as we all know, a very small proportion of people vote at all. Those who do vote are in most cases the native, white middle and upper class minorities in the areas.

"For proponents of this measure to argue that they wish to solve what they call the problem of 'minority' control of Presidential elections by offering proposals which would give even smaller minorities in crucial one-party areas the control over President elections, is at best to jump from the frying pan into the fire.

"If the propoents of this measuer really desire to do away with minority control of elections, they will give the ballot to the great mass of people in the southern states for one reason or another do not exercise the vote."

To support his argument, Douglas cited figures on voter participation in the South and the rest of the country. The eleven southern states had a population in 1950 of 36,550,115, or 24.3 per cent of the total population of the United States. They also had 128 electoral votes or 24.1 per cent of the total 531 electoral votes.

But in the 1952 election they cast only 8,555,000 votes out of a total vote of 61,679,882, or 12 per cent of the total.

The 1950 population, electoral votes. and the popular vote in the 1952 Presidential election follow:

State	Population	Electoral Votes	1952 Presidential Vote
Texas	7,711,194	24	2,076,000
NC	4,061,929	14	1,211,000
Georgia ..	3,444,578	12	656,000
Virginia .	3,318,680	12	620,000
Ten'see .	3,291,718	11	893,000
Alabama .	3,061,743	11	426,000
Florida .	2,771,305	10	989,000
Loui'ana .	2,683,516	10	652,000
Miss	2,178,914	8	286,000
SC	2,117,027	8	341,000
Arkansas .	1,909,511	8	405,000
	36,550,115	128	8,555,000

"What minorities are the proponents of this measure so concerned about?" asked Douglas. "Should they not be equally concerned about the minorities which control elections in the South?"

Capital Spotlight

P.4 Afro-American
Sat. 4-21-56

By Louis Lautier

50,000 Voteless Citizens Register

Baltimore, Md.

Disfranchised District of Columbia residents are taking seriously the limited right to vote Congress has given them. They are now registering to vote for delegates to the Republican and Democratic national conventions.

"Home rule," which both parties have promised, is being withheld because Southern members of Congress fear that colored voters would run the District of Columbia if local residents were given the right to elect a mayor, board of commissioners, city council and school board.

Actually, small cliques, who have held themselves out as Republicans or Democrats, have been electing delegates to the national conventions, but they have done it through small area gathering which elected delegates to a District of Columbia convention, which selected delegates to the national conventions.

* * *

PUBLIC LAW 376, 84th Congress, which provides for the election of delegates to national political conventions, requires a permanent registry of voters to be kept accurately and currently.

The registry is to be kept open and any person may apply for registration or change his registration. The registry also will be purged to keep it free of ghost voters and persons who moved from the District.

The Board of Elections for the District of Columbia is composed of two lawyers, Newell W. Ellison and Arnold Levy, and a soldier-businessman, Col. West A. Hamilton.

Registration of voters will continue until May 1. Congress appropriated $40,000 for this work.

* * *

THE DISTRICT of Columbia Commissioners are asking Congress for $7,000 for the second year of operation of the program. The sum of $4,000 would be used to pay a full-time secretary and $1,185 to pay a part-time consultant to render technical assistance in making changes in rules and procedures that experience in the 1956 election will show, to be necessary.

The rest of the money will go to pay for miscellaneous supplies, postage, telephone and telegraph services, printing and reproduction.

The number of persons who will register before the books close will surpass the most optimistic estimates.

The estimate in February was that 30,000 or 40,000 persons would register More than 50,000 have registered and there are still two weeks to go.

The qualifications are residence in the District of Columbia for a year prior to the election. The applicant must not claim voting residence or the right to vote elsewhere, and must be at least 21 years old by May 1.

* * *

THERE ARE NO educationnal requirements. If an applicant is unable to read and write, he may make his mark on an affidavit.

He must not, however, have been convicted of a felony in the United States or, if so convicted, he must have been pardoned.

An applicant must not have been adjudged mentally incompetent by a court.

The registration lists will have no effect on the number of persons subject to the District of Columbia income tax law. The District gets information on individual incomes from other sources.

It gets statements from employers as to the salaries paid to residents, which it, in turn, checks against its records for tax returns. But the registration lists may be valuable in a small way in pinpointing some few cases where individuals claim to be domiciled in a state and are wholly or partially exempt from income tax in the District.

* * *

MRS. ROBERT L. VANN, publisher of the Pittsburgh Courier and John Keilogg, Cleveland (Ohio) city councilman, were recent visitors at Republican headquarters here.

The Rev. Wellington D. Abrams, pastor of Trinity Baptist Church, Newport News, Va., offered the invocation at the Tuesday (April 10) morning session of the National Conference on Parole.

Ariel Melchior, editor and publisher of the Daily News and the Virgin Islands magazine, and Iva Gereau a member of the Daily News staff both of St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, attended the National Housing Conference here last week.

Howard University and Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark., were among 34 colleges and universities to which the Fund for the Advancement of Education has made grants totaling $501,615 to support planning and experimental programs designed to effect use of their teaching resources.

Racial Issue Plays Big Part In President's Press Meet

Daily World Sat. 3-24-56 Atlanta, Ga. P. 1

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Discussion of racial segregation played a big part in President Eisenhower's press conference Wednesday.

The questions ranged from United States policy on African movements for national independence to whether Mr. Eisenhower intended to mobilize religious and other leaders for a program of moderation and progress in the fight over desegregation.

Basically, the President's positions in a nutshell were:

1. Wherever there are local antagonisms and troubles, the United States seeks mediation rather than conflict.

OPEN ARMS

2. With regard to the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott trials, he believes it is incumbent on all people in the South to show some progress.

3. If colored voters are switching from the Democratic to the Republican party, he welcomes them with open arms.

4. The pulpits have a very great responsibility in a program of moderation and progress in school desegregation.

5. The Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, is the basic law.

On the issue of colonialism, Mr. Eisenhower referred to a speech made in Paris Tuesday by C. Douglas Dillon, United States Ambassador to France, whom the President said spoke with his approval.

LIBERAL SOLUTION

Mr. Dillon announced in his speech "whole-hearted support" by the United States of France in her search for "liberal solutions" of her North African problems.

As Mr. Dillon was speaking, France and Tunisia signed a diplomatic document ending the 75-year protectorate over the North African territory and recognizing the independence of Tunisia.

The Ambassador's speech brought bitter reaction from an Algerian nationalist leader, Messali Hadj, who is now under forced residence in Angeuleme, France. He charged that Mr. Dillon's speech constituted support of "colonialist policy in Algeria" and is "contrary to the principles of American democracy."

Lincoln White, State Department spokesman, said Mr. Dillon stressed "our traditional anti-colonial policy."

GOP NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The question concerning a return of colored voters to the Republican party was based on information from the Republican National Committee.

GOP Rights Plan Puts Dems On Spot

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 5-12-56

By LOUIS LAUTIER (For NNPA)

P. 3

WASHINGTON

The Eisenhower administration's civil rights program has the Democratic congressional leadership in a difficult position.

If it passes, the Republicans will get credit for it. If it fails, the Democrats will be blamed.

The predicament in which the Democratic leadership finds itself is not altogether fair to them. Civil rights legislation cannot be passed in this Conaress without Democratic support.

It therefore would be wise for the Democratic and Republican leadership to reach an agreement that civil rights legislation will be a joint, bipartisan effort and that neither party will claim all credit for its enactment.

Such an agreement also should provide that the Democratic leadership will insist upon the Celler bill being given a rule sending it to the House Floor for consideration.

* * *

IT SHOULD likewise insist upon Sen. James O. Eastland(Dem. Miss.) quitting the filibuster he is carrying on in the Sena'e Judiciary Committee, of which he is chairman, and permitting that committee to report favorably the proposals made by Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr.

Action on civil rights in the House Judiciary Committee gives an excellent example of what can be accomplished by bioartisan action.

The Celler omnibus civil rights bill was sent back to a subcommittee for study along with the Brownell recommendations.

A coalition of northern Democrats and Republicans, without delay, substituted the Brownell proposals for the omnibus bill and returned the amended bill to the full committee over the opposition of Rep. E. L. (Tic) Forrester (Dem., Ga.) and other Southerners.

* * *

IN THE FULL committee the Southerners again sought to delay the bill. They succeeded in delaying action for a day. But the next morning, again a coalition of northern Democrats and Republicans, by a voice vote, approved the amended bill.

Reps. Kenneth Keating of New York, ranking Republican member of the Judiciary Committee, and Hugh Scott (Rep., Pa.) had introduced the Brownell proposals, but they permitted Rep. Emanuel Celler of New York, committee chairman, to get credit for the bill.

All of the provisions of the Celler omnibus bill were stricken out and the Brownell prposals substituted, but the bill retains the number of the Celler omnibus bill and, in fact, it became the Celler bill.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Afro-American

Gets first chance at church meeting

P. 4 Baltimore, Md.

In a newspaper career spanning a long number of years, I have covered virtually every type of assignment that a reporter usually gets—from the District of Columbia morgue to the President's press conferences and from Elks' conventions to Republican and Democratic national conventions.

But the 35th quadrennial session of the General Conference of the AME Zion Church is my first experience in covering a national or international church conference.

Sat. 5-12-56

If you forget that bishops are clergymen and look at them solely as men possessing all the human frailties of other men, a church conference does not seem to be very much different from any other national convention of like size.

THE CONVENTION atmosphere and political jockeying behind the scenes are going on.

Delegates say three bishops are to be elected at this session to fill vacancies caused by the deaths during the past four-year period of Bishops John W. Martin of Chicago, Cameron C. Alleyne of Philadelphia, and James C. Taylor of Montgomery, Ala.

The hottest tips are that Dr. F. Claude Spurgeon, general secretary-auditor of the AMEZ Church, Washington, D.C.; the Rev. Felix Anderson, member of the Kentucky legislature, and the Rev. Joseph B. Cauthen, pastor of Metropolitan AMEZ Church, Norfolk, Va., will be the winners.

* * *

OTHER CANDIDATES for the bishopric include the Rev. Richard A. G Foster, pastor of Cooper AMEZ Church, Oakland, Calif.; the Rev. R. H. Collins Lee, pastor of Martin Temple Church, Chicago; the Rev. W. A. Hilliard, pastor of St. Paul Church, Detroit, and the Rev. J. S. Nathaniel Tross, publisher-editor of the Charlotte (N.C.) Post, a secular paper, and pastor of Myers Tabernacle, Charlotte.

If Dr. Spurgeon is elected to the bishopric, the Rev. J. B. Adams of Johnston, Pa., is a candidate to succeed him as general secretary-auditor.

The Rev. Elizabeth Anthony, an evangelist, is candidate for director of the bureau of evangelism. The present director of the department of evangelism is Dr. W. S. Dacons, Charlotte, N.C.

* * *

INCIDENTALLY, Bishop William J. Walls of Chicago is the senior bishop but not in terms of age. Two bishops older than he is are the Rt. Rev. William C. Brown of Brooklyn and the Rt. Rev. Walter W. Slade of Charlotte. Walls is 70. Both Brown and Slade are 78.

Bishop Walls is the only remaining bishop of the five elected in Indianapolis in 1944 The others, now dead, were Bishops E. D. W. Jones, B. G. Shaw, J. W. Martin and C. C. Alleyne.

Among the delegates are the Rev. Harold Clement, pastor of Mt. Zion Church, Montgomery, Ala.; the Rev. R. T. Hunter, Hartford, Conn.; the Rev. A. F. Hooper, presiding elder of the Miami District and pastor of Cornish Memorial Church, Key West, Fla.

THE REV. MR. CLEMENT is not one of the defendants in the Montgomery bus boycott case. He was transferred to Montgomery from San Francisco only about two weeks ago.

In San Francisco he pastored the First Church, 104 years old, said to be the oldest church on the West Coast.

Dr. F. Claude Spurgeon was accompanied here by his wife, Mrs. M. Helen Spurgeon. Also here with him is his mother, Mrs. Minnie C. Spurgeon, of Johnson City, Tenn.

Also attending the conference are Bishop M. M. Matthews of Washington, retired, and Mrs. Matthews.

Capt. James E. Stewart, an Army chaplain, stationed at Ft. Campbell, Ky., and Oscar W. Adams, Birmingham (Ala.), attorney, were made honorary delegates to the General Conference.

A PLACE IN HISTORY

Philadelphia—I have read the stories written by your Al Sweeney on the Alabama bus boycotters with great interest.

I appreciate the tranquil way that they have conducted themselves.

I marvel at their equanimity! They have made history for there was never a strike or demonstration, to my knowledge without violence.

The judge saw these people as "conspirators." One is always considered a conspirator, or even a rebel, when he revolts against the regime of things, whether it be good or bad; or whether he is peaceful or violent.

But to me, those people are heroes and pioneers of freedom.

Heretofore, I have longed to see the day when some of our people would rise up and demand better treatment in this land where our ancestors slaved and died.

As one that has traveled abroad, I have noticed that we do not demand our rights as American citizens.

We will even let a white foreigner come here and chase us out of places.

We do not defend ourselves on the grounds of citizenship.

Long live the bus boycotters of Alabama! And when history is written by the younger generation, I trust that the names of these people will have a prominent place.

LUCY LUCAS

THOUGHTS OF THE FOUNDER

If God is Father, all men must be brothers.

October 18, 1914

JOHN H. MURPHY SR.

Second Manifesto to Have No Effect on Rights Bill

Call Kansas City, Mo. Fri. 7-20-56 P.1

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—The second "manifesto," signed by 83 members of the House from southern states, including four Republicans, was not expected to have any effect on the outcome of civil rights legislation.

The House was due to take up the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights program Monday, but other legislation was expected to delay debate on the bill until Tuesday.

While the "manifesto" pledges its signers to use every "legal and parliamentary weapon" to defeat the bill, supporters of the measure were confident that the House would pass it.

Rabid racists in the House will resort, as they usually do when civil rights measures are up, to every dilatory tactic that House rules permit them to use, but they lack the strength to either send the bill back to committee or defeat it on final passage.

Watch Amendments

Proponents of the bill said they would guard against any strategy designed to load the bill with amendments which would go beyond the recommendations of Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr.

Mr. Brownell's recommendations were substituted by the House Judiciary committee for the provisions of an omnibus civil rights bill which Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat, of New York, committee chairman, was sponsoring.

The substitution was acceptable to Mr. Celler and to Representatives Kenneth B. Keating of New York and Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, both Republicans, who had introduced the Administration's proposals.

Representatives Charles A. Halleck, Republican, of Indiana, recalled Friday that numerous Administration bills, apparently certain of passage in the early stages, had been killed off by amendments. Such changes, he said, had turned staunch supporters of the original version against the final bill.

Wanted GOP Conference

Mr. Halleck favored calling a Republican conference to urge members to resist amendments that might result in a loss of support for the bill. He also suggested urging Republicans to stay on the floor to block efforts at delay.

Southern strategy will undoubtedly involve frequent points of "no quorum." If such a point is made and a count by the presiding officer shows that a quorum is not on the floor, the clerk is ordered to call the roll. Such roll-calls normally take from 20 to 30 minutes.

Mr. Keating, ranking Republican member of the Judiciary Committee and co-sponsor of the bill, said he believes the southern "manifesto" means nothing in terms of changing votes.

He predicted that the bill will "command the support of nearly all Republican and half of the Democrats to assure its passage" in the 435-member House.

He anticipated "not more than 20 votes against it on the Republican side."

"Equally vital," said Mr. Keating, "Congress should not adjourn until the Senate acts on this key measure of President Eisenhower's program."

Old Record Re-Played

Chairman Celler, under whose name the bill goes before the House, said the southern manifesto "is an old record being replayed." But now, said Celler, "we can't any longer tolerate second-class citizens in America."

Although Celler had favored a stronger civil rights bill, he and Keating were agreed that any southern backhand move to make the bill more drastic for the purpose of defeating it should be recognized as a "subterfuge" and defeated.

The bill is designed to strengthen the law-enforcement functions of the Federal Government in the entire area of civil rights.

The bill would create a six-member bipartisan commission on civil rights in the executive branch of the Government, with subpeona powers.

This commission would be directed to investigate allegations that colored citizens are being deprived of the right to vote or are being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures because of color, race, religion, or national origin.

It also would be directed to make studies concerning economic, social and legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws and to evaluate the laws and policies of the federal government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the constitution.

Another Attorney General

The bill also provides for the creation of an additional Assistant Attorney General in the Justice Department in charge of a new civil rights division. At present in the criminal division there is a civil rights section.

The civil rights section is responsible for the enforcement of the civil rights statutes. In addition, it also is responsible for the enforcement of the criminal provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, the penalty provisions of the Safety Appliance Acts, dealing with railroads, the Kickback Act, and certain statutes relating to elections.

The bill also would supplement an existing civil rights statute, sometimes called the Ku Klux Klan Act.

At present, this act provides a civil remedy in damages to any person injured as a result of conspiracies to deprive of certain civil rights.

It establishes liability for damages against any person who conspires to interfere with a Federal officer in the discharge of his duties and as a result injures another or deprives another of rights or privileges of a United States citizen.

A second subsection establishes liability for damages against any person who conspires to intimidate or injure persons, witnesses or jurors involved in any Federal court matter or conspires to obstruct the due course of justice in any state court matter with the intent to deny to any citizen the equal protection of the laws if the result of these conspiracies is injury to another or deprivation of another's rights or privileges as a United States citizen.

The third subsection establishes liability for damages against any person who conspires to deprive another of the equal protection of the laws or of equal privileges and immunities under the laws, or of the right to vote in Federal elections if the result is to injure another or deprive another of rights or privileges as a United States citizen.

The bill would add two new subsections. One of them would give the Attorney General the right to bring a civil action or other proper proceeding for relief to prevent or redress acts or practices which would give rise to a cause of action under the existing law.

This subsection is designed to provide a new remedy to secure the rights presently protected. It is not intended to expand presently protected rights.

The other subsection makes clear that Federal district courts have jurisdiction and dispenses with any requirement that state administrative or other remedies must be exhausted before suits can be brought in Federal courts.

The bill also would amend and supplement the existing civil voting statute which declares that all citizens who are otherwise qualified to vote at any election (state or Federal) shall be entitled to vote without distinction of race or color.

The statute is limited, however, to deprivations of voting rights by state officers or other persons purporting to act under authority of law.

The bill would:

1. Prohibit anyone from threatening, intimidating, or coercing an individual in the exercise of his right to vote, whether claiming to act under authority of law or not, in any election, general, special, or primary, concerning candidates for Federal office.

2. Authorize the Attorney General to bring injunction or other civil proceedings on behalf of the United States or the aggrieved person in any case covered by the statute, as changed.

3. Eliminate the requirement that all state administrative and judicial remedies must be exhausted before access can be had to the Federal court.

Weasel platform is thrown away

Afro-American P.1 Baltimore, Md. Sat. 8-18-56

By LOUIS LAUTIER

CHICAGO—Southerners Sunday were conceding defeat in their fight to keep any reference to the Supreme Court out of the civil rights plank of the 1956 Democratic platform.

Until Friday, a majority of the committee appeared to accept or skirting the decision and rewriting and submitting to the convention the 1952 civil rights plank.

Then spokesmen for labor, liberal and minority groups sent their big guns to swing sentiment toward unequivocal support of the Supreme Court's school integration decisin.

CRUSHING SOUTHERN opposition under the sheer weight of their persuasiveness were such pro-civil rights witnesses as George Meany, George Harrison, Roy Wilkins, Joseph Ruah, James B. Carey, Sen. Herbert H. Lehman and John T. Blue.

And adding the death blow was the testimony of Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr. of South Carolina, the only opposition witness to a strong plank.

Governor Timmerman's implied threat of a Southern revolt if such a plank were adopted, only stiffened the determination of committee members from states where the colored vote counts.

* * *

THE PARADE of witnesses Saturday definitely changed the decision to avoid mention of the Supreme Court.

A tentative draft of the plank, reportedly approved by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, which leaked out of the committee Thursday, made no reference to the Supreme Court.

This plank, now abandoned, would have read:

"Every American child, irrespective of race or national origin, economic status or place of residence, has full right under the law, without discrimination, to every educational opportunity to develop potentialities."

The remainder of the plank consisted of a mere rewording of the 1952 platform, which the Southerners had agreed to accept.

* * *

BUT ALL of that was thrown away Saturday.

Mr. Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, started the fight for a ringing platform declaration on civil rights.

"Failure on the part of this convention to specifically support the historic decision of the Supreme Curt by direct reference," Mr. Meany said, "would, in labor's opinion, be a direct evasion of this issue."

AFTER MR. MEANY finished reading a prepared statement, Rep. Emanuel Celler of New York, a committee member, told him he had touched on a sensitive nerve when he said the Democratic plank should contain specific mention of the decision.

"There are some who feel that the Supreme Court decision is the law of the land and there is no need to mention that decision in any plank of the platform," Celler said.

"I would like to get your views on that subject and have you tell us why you so emphatically feel that we should have a plank that specifically mentions the Supreme Court decision."

"I think it is unfortunate, and an unhappy moment," Meany replied, "when I have to come before a committee of one of the major parties and ask that they specifically mention a decision of the Supreme Court."

* * *

MEANY POINTED out that decisions of the Supreme Court

8-18-56

are usually accepted by the American people as the law of the land.

Normally there would be no need to mention the decision, Meany said, "The reason we feel it should be mentioned in this platform," he continued, "is that the decision has been challenged not by criminals.

"It has been challenged by public officials, and we find a number of states openly defying that decision of the Supreme Court by passing legislation that would thwart and evade that decision.

"Because of that situation, we feel that a clear statement in favor of law and order and the Constitution is not sufficient.

"Here is a decision that has been challenged. We feel that it should be met head on."

A burst of applause and shouts greeted Meany's remarks.

* * *

MEANY SAID there was no Supreme Court decision against segregated schools in 1952, and the 1952 civil-rights plank was sufficient. But since there has been a decision, Meany said "The Democratic party should say as a party that it is not in favor of thwarting and evading a decision of the United States Supreme Court."

As a contrast with the attitude of Southerners toward the decision, Meany pointed out that in 1947, when the Taft-Hartly labor law was passed, organized labor was urged to evade and defy the law and make it unworkable.

But the AFL convention in San Francisco that year rejected completely that advice and said it did not like the law, but it had been passed over labor's protest and that labor had been given "a fair count."

He suggested that the people who do not like the decision seek to get a constitutional amendment adopted overturning it.

* * *

"BUT THEY have no right to refuse to obey the law," Meany said. "That is the reason labor feels this issue should be met fairly and squarely and in simple language, and you cannot do that unless you mention the decision that has been challenged in several states."

Again there was applause.

George Harrison, chairman of the Democratic National Committee's Advisory Committee on Labor, and president of Clerks (AFL-CIO), on behalf of 17 unions, deplored that President Eisenhower "has abdicated executive leadership in the field of civil rights during the recent crucial years."

He urged adoption of a "strong civil rights plank," pledging equal opportunities for education, economic advancement and decent living conditions.

* * *

MR. WILKINS, executive secretary of the NAACP, urged approval of a plank calling for Federal action to carry out the decision in the school segregation cases, the strengthening of existing Federal civil rights laws, the creation of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, protection of the right to vote, and federal fair employment practice legislation.

He also urged a pledge to change Senate and House rules to eliminate filibusters in the Senate and the power of the House Rules Committee to keep legislation from reaching the House floor.

The plank he proposed also called for the selection of chairmen of congressional committees on some basis in addition to seniority.

The decision against segregated schools, Wilkins said, is the overriding civil rights issue.

* * *

THE 1956 platform will be highly unrealistic, morally and politically, if it fails to recognize and pledge executive and legislative action to implement this new development in our national life," Wilkins said.

The NAACP executive secretary also attacked "a variety of ways, many crude, but many ingenious," used by some Southern states to disfranchise colored people.

* * *

HE CITED the testimony of Attorney General Herbert Brownell before the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland, Dixiecrat, of Mississippi, that colored persons seeking to register and vote in Mississippi had been asked "How many bubbles in a bar of soap?"

In Alabama, he said, colored applicants for registration, had been asked what was the name of the 14th state admitted to the Union and how many people are there on the Federal payroll.

Wilkins also recalled two murders in Mississippi attributed to efforts of the victims to vote.

They were Lamar Smith, shot to death in front of the courthouse in Brookhaven, Miss., Aug. 13, 1955, and the Rev. Gerge W. Lee, shot to death in Belzoni, Miss., May 7, 1955.

* * *

THERE ARE 497,000 colored persons of voting age in Mississippi, but only 22,000 were registered in 1954, and that number has been purged down to less 8,000 through economic pressure, threats and violence.

In the murder of Emmett L. Till, 14-year-old Chicago boy, in Mississippi, and the trial in which two white men were acquitted, the Federal Government was powerless to act, but in the Brinks robbery case in Boston, where $2,000,000 were stolen, the FBI worked six years until the case was solved and the suspects arrested.

"We must have civil rights machinery to secure justice for men as well as laws which root out and punish those who steal money," Wilkins said.

* * *

JOSEPH L. RAUH, chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, told the platform committee that the Supreme Court decision "is in politics because Southern segregationists, not the Northern liberals, put it there."

He called it "arrant nonsense to suggest that a Supreme Court decision which is openly defied by a substantial number of states and by the leaders of the Democratic party in those states is not a political issue demanding of platform resolutions."

He urged broadening the civil rights plank of 1952 to include a statement recognizing that the decision against segregated schools are "morally right and must be implemented with deliberate speed by the Presidency and the executive and legislative branches of government."

* * *

JAMES B. CAREY, president of the Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (AFL-CIO), trained his guns on the selection of congressional committee chairmen by seniority.

"The strongest civil rights plank in the world will not do us a bit of good," Carey said, "if we continue the terrible custom of assignment of members of Congress to committees on the basis of length of service alone and without regard to their competence in the field entrusted to the committee."

Senator Lehman told the platform committee that the Democratic party "can do no other than to embrace" the decision in the school segregation cases.

"Those who speak of reversing that decisin by so-called lawful means know that they are speaking only words," Lehman said. "They speak in vain. They try only to gain time. I will not pass judgment on their efforts.

* * *

"THE DEMOCRATIC party, however, cannot be a party to these efforts. It must be a party against these efforts if it is to be a national party, a party representing not only the people but the spirit of the people."

Max A. Kostein of Chicago, representing the American Jewish Congress, urged a plank pledged to giving the Attorney General the power to seek injunctions to enforce civil rights.

Such power, he argued, would enable the Justice Department to "seek injunctions against conspiracies by White Citizens Councils to deprive individuals of their constitutional rights.

* * *

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, said colored people wll "deeply resent any civil rights plank which does not specfically and unequivocaly express determination, immediately" to carry out and enforce the Supreme Court decision.

"If colored people are ready for integration in the District of Columbia public schools," he asked, "why are they not ready for integration in Mississippi and Alabama?"

* * *

GOV. TIMMERMAN urged a 1956 Democratic platform pledging protection of states' rights, local control of local institutions, and condemnattion of "the unconstitutional usurpation of authority" by the Federal Government.

He was the only witness to appear before the platform committee in opposition to a strong civil rights plank.

Nothing short of the type of platform he advocated, plus a "strong candidate" can win for the Democrats in November, Timmerman said.

* * *

"THE ISSUE before this convention is not sectionalism, race per se or special privilege," Timmerman said. "It is the issue of whether this great Democratic party of individual freedom and states' rights shall survive or rot with radicalism."

Timmerman said the Republican party has now adopted the 1952 Democratic platform on civil rights and integration, but the Democratic party cannot be elected against the party in power on a "me-too" platform.

Racial crimes by integrated troops overseas, Timmerman charged, is creating hatred against the United States and a demand for such troops to be sent home.

* * *

TIMMERMAN CHARGED that the Republicans have "created a mess" in District of Columbia public schools. He was referring to integration of thoes schools flowing the Supreme Court decision.

When Timmerman finished reading his statement the next witness was called. Belford V. Lawson, an attorney, member of the committee from the District of Columbia, sought to question Timmerman, but Mrs. Thelma P. Sharp of New Jersey, committee co-chairman, ruled there was not time.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL:

Afro-American P.5

War on Supreme Court proves Byrnes still shackled to past

Sat. 5-26-56 Baltimore, Md.

(For NNPA)
By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON

James F. Byrnes, a bitter and frustrated old man, has held high office in both state and Federal Government.

He has been a representative, U.S. Senator, associate justice of the Supreme Court, director of economic stabilization, director of war mobilization, secretary of state and governor of South Carolina.

A man who has held such positions, it seems, would have grown in stature, shed his provincialism and would be thinking in terms of liberty and equality for all mankind.

BUT NOT JIMMY BYRNES. Despite high office, he has retained the mentality of prosecuting attorney of Spartanburg County, S.C., from whence he sprang upon the the national scene.

In an article in U.S. News and World Report he demonstrates again that he is shackled to the past.

Byrnes bitterly attacks the Supreme Court for its decision outlawing segregation in the public schools. He repeats the argument of the diehard segregationists that the decision was based upon the writings of sociologists.

THIS ARGUMENT was fabricated to delude the public. The legal history of the cases involing segregation in education shows that the court moved cautiously, step by step, until it finally ruled that the 60-year-old "separate but equal" doctrine had no place in the field of public education.

In the case of Lloyd Gaines, decided Dec. 12, 1938, the court ruled that Missouri had to provide legal instruction for colored students or admit them to the University of Missouri if it afforded white students an oportunity for legal education within its borders.

Chief Justice Charles E. Hugher wrote the opinion in the Gaines case. He cited ample legal authority to sustain the proposition that the failure of Missouri to provide instruction in law for colored students within the state was a discrimination that constituted a denial of the equal protection of the law.

ALSO CITED was the opinion of the Maryland Court of Appeals in the case of the University of Maryland v. Murray, where a provision for scholarships to enable colored students to attend out-of-state schools for professional study was found inadequate.

If the decision in the Gaines case was sound, then the decisions in the other cases were legally sound.

The Supreme Court took its next step in the case of Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher on Jan 12, 1948, when it ruled that Oklahoma had to provide legal education for her in conformity with the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment "and provide it as soon as it does for applicants of any other group."

The per curia (by the court as a whole) cited the Gaines case.

IN THE CASE OF G. W. McLaurin, decided June 5, 1950, the court held that the University of Oklahoma, having admitted McLaurin to the graduate school, could treat him no differently than it did other students.

The opinion, written by Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson, cited the Heman Sweatt case, decided the same day.

In that case, the court ruled that the equal protection clause required Sweatt's admission to the University of Texas Law School — that legal education equivalent to that offered by the state to white students could not be obtained in a separate law school at Texas State University.

IN ACCORDANCE with the Sipuel-Fisher and Gaines cases, the court said "petitioner (Sweatt) may claim his full constitutional right: Legal educaton equivalent to that offered by the state to students of other races."

Application of the equal protection clause to public grade and high schools was a logical step.

In the Sweatt case the court reserved decision on the "separate but equal" doctrine. In the school segregation cases it rejected that doctrine in public education.

Byrnes Attacks Supreme Court

Informer P.4 Sat. 5-26-56 Houston, Tex

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

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Sat. 5-26-56

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Houston, Tex

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Application of the equal protection clause to public grade and high schools was a logical step.

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BYRNES REVERSING

In 1941 Justice James F Byrnes, who now condemns the Supreme Court for the sedition decision which overturned the Pennsylvania state law, and all other state laws on sedition, wrote himself an opinion turning over the anti-migration laws of California and 26 other states.

On the question of respect for past law, which he accuses the present Supreme Court of having abandoned in the sedition case, Justice Byrnes said in that opinion in 1941, "We do not consider ourselves bound by the language referred to * * *" He, of course, is referring to the language of the previous United States Supreme Court which he was then overruling.

Then he was not afraid to overturn the old theories, and was not concerned about the world's coming to an end if they were overturned in the interest of keeping the law abreast of modern times, if the old law "no longer fit the facts." As to restriction on state powers, he then wisely noted: "It is frequently the case that a state might gain momentary respite from the pressure of events by the simple expedient of shutting its gates to the outside world. But, in the words of Justice Cardozo: 'The Constitution was framed * * * upon the theory that the people of the several states must sink or swim together, and that in the long run prosperity and salvation are in union and not division.' "

Byrnes argues that southern whites will close the public schools rather than integrate them. He says colored prefer to have their children attend segregated schools. He charges the NAACP with jeopardizing the continued existence of colored schools as well as of white schools.

Well, here's news for him: Colored people are unalterably opposed to all racial distinctions imposed by law.

Only eight states have taken no step toward ending segregation in their public schools. If public schools are continued in those eight states, 95 per cent of the colored people are resolved that those states must comply with the Supreme Court decision.

As for the NAACP, 95 per cent of the colored people are in accord with the steps taken by its legal staff to end racial segregation in public education, recreational facilities, travel and places of public accommodation.

Byrnes appeals to people who believe in states' rights to urge the Congress to curb the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Those who believe the court should be the final arbiter of the validity of state laws should urge the Congress not to tamper with the powers of the court.

Capital Spotlight

P.4 Afro-American Sat. 6-2-56

By Louis Lautier

Baltimore, Md.

Richardson Does

31a Negro

In a town that is full of publicity seekers, one Presidential appointee who has gone quietly about doing a first-rate job is Scovel Richardson, chairman of the Federal Parole Board.

Richardson, former dean of the Lincoln University (Mo.)

School of Law, has been a member of the Parole Board since July 24, 1953.

Not only does he rate orchids for his official work, but as a father he rates close to Eddie Cantor. He is the father of four daughters—Frances, Alice, Marjory and Mary. The latter two are twins.

* * *

PAROLE BOARD members are directly responsible to the Attorney General and receive $11,000 a year each. Richardson's term will expire September 30, 1956.

Mr. Richardson is one of the few colored Government officials who appear before the House and Senate Appropriations Committee to justify appropriations for their agencies. Without checking, one other comes to mind. He is J. Ernest Wilkins, Assistant Secretary of Labor.

For the fiscal year beginning July 1, Richardson is asking for an appropriation of $321,530, an increase of $76,000 over the appropriation for the current fiscal year.

Up to July, 1955, the board operated with six members. It was increased in July to eight members.

* * *

OF THE INCREASE requested for fiscal 1957, $62,900 is for 16 new positions. Of that amount, $41,450, or 66 per cent, will go to the Youth Division, and $21,540, or 34 per cent, would be used for general expenses and salaries of the board.

The additional funds are being requested because of the increase in the board's workload. The prison population is estimated to be about 1,600 in fiscal 1957 over what it was in the current fiscal year.

A new institution has been opened at Terminal Island, California, which requires parole hearings at that institution. The hearing dockets in most of the institutions have been lengthened.

Also last year the board adopted the policy of having hearings in Washington for attorneys, relatives and friends of inmates instead of the old procedure under which they came in without an appointment and talked with first one board member and then another.

* * *

THE NEW procedure gives attorneys, relatives and friends of inmates a better opportunity to present cases to the full board, and gives the board protection against any questions of what might have been said between a visitor and a board member in the privacy of the board member's office.

There has been an increase in the number of prison mailbox letters. In the second quarter of 1955 there were 901 letters, in the second quarter of 1956 there were 1,332, an increase for the quarter of about 432. For the year, the increase is expected to be between 1,700 and 1,800.

The bulk of the work of the parole board is the holding of hearings in the institutions throughout the country and the consideration of parole cases after the board returns to Washington, in addition to hearing attorneys and relatives at board headquarters in Washington.

* * *

PRISONERS COMPLAINED about the use of form letters on a number of replies to their letters, due to the shortage of stenographic services in the Washington office.

At one time the board could send some of its letters to the stenographic pool in the Justice Department, but that service was discontinued.

Then there was an increase in the number of prisoners serving long sentences due to an increase in the more serious offenses.

This resulted in an increase in annual progress reports. The board requires annual progress reports on all inmates so that there would be no forgotten man in prison. Richardson sees that these reports are carefully checked.

* * *

MR. RICHARDSON also is asking for $1,600 for board members to attend meetings of the National Probation and Parole Association, administrators of the compact for the supervision of parolees and probationers, a state organization, the United States Judicial Conference, and the American Congress of Correction.

These are professional organizations at which the board should be represented so that the role of the Federal Government in the field of parole will be more adequately understood.

* * *

SCOVEL, WHO IS doing an A-1 job, is a member of the Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity and a Baptist.

James E. Scott, a real estate operator, was a guest at the National Press Club luncheon for President Sukarno of Indonesia the other day. Cliff W. Mackay, editor of the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers, and George E. C. Hayes, chairman of the District of Columbia Public Utilities Commission, were the guests of this reporter at the White House Correspondents' Association dinner for the President at the Sheraton Park Hotel Thursday evening.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL:

Afro-American Sat. 5-19-56 Baltimore, Md. P. 19

No scruples against rights double-cross

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON — The scheme of the democratic leadership to defeat the Powell amendment to the Federal aid for school construction bill again show that political leadership has no scruples against double-dealing when civil rights are at stake.

The Powell amendment would deny Federal funds for school construction to school districts not complying with the Supreme Court decision against segregated public schools.

Funds withheld, however, would become available to such school districts whenever they complied with the court's decree to desegregate their schools

* * *

THE ISSUE over the Powell amendment is simply: Shall Federal funds be given to states which are in rebellion against the Supreme Court to help them build more segregated schools?

To this question it appears that there is only one answer. The Federal Government should not aid any state in disobeying the law of the land, particularly rebellion states preaching false doctrines of interposition, nullification and secession which were settled by the Civil War.

The House Democratic leadership has devised the scheme to have representatives favoring the Powell amendment to stay off the House floor while its opponents are voting it down.

* * *

THE VOTE would be, first, a voice vote and then a teller vote, but never a roll-call vote. Thus, there would be no record vote to embarrass members in their districts in their campaigns for re-election.

Speaker Sam Rayburn, of Texas, and Rep. John W. McCormack (Dem.-Mass.), the floor leader, must share responsibility for this scheme. Yet without Republican connivance, it is doubtful that it can succeed.

Rep. Joseph W. Martin Jr., (Rep.-Mass.), the GOP floor leader, has repeatedly told reporters at the White House, after conferences of Republican congressional leaders with President Eisenhower, that the Powell amendment would be adopted if it reached a vote.

* * *

THESE STATEMENTS have been interpreted to mean that Republicans would vote for the Powell amendment.

The school construction bill is bottled up in the House Rules Committee.

Rep. Graham A. Barden (Dem.-N.C.), chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, more than two months ago asked the Rules Committee for an open rule and two hours of general debate. An open rule would permit amendments to be offered to the School construction bill.

Barden told the committee that he himself was opposed to the bill in its present form.

His opposition and that of other Southerners, including Rep. Howard W. Smith, of Virginia, chairman of the Rules Committee, is based on the segregation issue and the provision in the bill for payment of the "prevailing wage" under the terms of the Bacon - Davis Act.

After several days of listening to arguments on the merits of the bill, the Rules Committee adjourned the hearings on the rule, subject to the call of the chairman.

Mr. Smith has not yet had his group vote on a rule to send the bill to the House floor for consideration.

* * *

THE RULES Committee will do what the speaker wants it to do. It consists of four Republicans and eight Democrats, four of them from the South. If Rayburn tells Smith he wants the bill reported, it will be reported.

But Rayburn is too old to professional politician to give the green light to the bill unless there is an understanding with the Republicans on the Powell amendment because a bitter floor fight on that issue would further disrupt the Democratic Party — already badly split on civil rights — and also further alienate the colored vote.

In the circumstances, therefore, it is hoped that the Republican leadership will not agree to any scheme to aid the rebellion of southern states against the Supreme Court and longer deny to colored children in those states their constitutional rights.

Lament of a Democrat

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. P. 1

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON

"I think the course which the Senate has followed will prevent the American people, in a legislative fashion, from ever proceeding to defend the rights of the colored minority in this country.

Sat. 8-4-56

"I say this with all sadness, but I think it is the fact. . .

"I say that great wrongs are being perpetrated upon the colored people of this country.

* * *

"I REGARD this as a great blot upon the American people and as unworthy of the ideals upon which this country was founded.

"I want to say that the Senate of the United States, along with all the other matters it has to conceal, has a heavy burden upon its conscience."

Thus spoke Sen. Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) Wednesday on the U.S. Senate floor as the Republican and Democratic leadership teamed up to write finis to efforts to get a civil rights bill enacted at this session of Congress.

In the floor battle Senator Knowland teamed up with Majority Leader Johnson and Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), unofficial leader of the southern bloc, against Sens. Douglas, Lehman of New York and Hennings of Missouri, Democrats.

Afro-American

The bill is now buried in the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen James O. Eastland (Dix., Miss.)

P. 2

* * *

SEN. WILLIAM KNOWLAND (R., Calif.), minority leader, backing up Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D., Texas), asserted that unless the Senate follows "orderly procedure, a chaotic situation would result."

Sat. 8-4-56

Senator Knowland added:

"If I were interested in a type of legislation in which the President is interested, I would try to schedule it early in the session when the Senate would not be involved in such a situation as this.

"I shall not destroy the orderly processes of the Senate. I intend to back up the majority leader so long as I feel he is treating the party on this side of the aisle (Republicans) equitably and is following the rules of the Senate."

That was "technically" true, Douglas said, but Senate rules "have been very skillfully devised to prevent any action on civil rights which is obnoxious to the members from the South."

* * *

DOUGLAS ADDED: "I think it is now clear from our experience of yesterday (Tuesday) that it will be impossible under the rules of the Senate, with the present temper of the southern senators and with the temper of the leadership on both sides of the aisle, ever to bring a civil rights measure to a vote in this body."

Douglas said he did not believe that the American people can permit postponement of dealing with the civil rights issue, "but the members, who are in this quiet and sometimes pleasant club will be subjected to the scrutiny of public opinion, not only of this country but of the world.

Knowland disagreed with Douglas on the impossibility of civil rights legislation.

"TO THE contrary, I think it is quite possible to get civil rights proposed legislation to the Senate," Knowland said. "But I do make the point that there should not be an effort to get it through in the last four days of the session."

Sen. Richard Neuberger (Dem., Ore.) said "Some of us who are sympathetic and persistent advocates of civil rights have been placed in a somewhat unfair situation by this episode."

(Neuberger, a selfstyled liberal, has been on the wrong side of every civil rights issue that has come up since he has been in the Senate.)

"I believe there is a proper and strategic and appropriate time for everything," Neuberger said.

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American Sat. 6-16-56 Baltimore, Md.

By Louis Lautier

Two-Ring Circus On Civil Rights

The civil rights issue has developed into a two-ring circus at the Capitol. Performing in one ring is Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and eight attorneys general from Confederate states.

About to begin their performance in another ring are some specimens from the biggest collection of race-baiters on any Congressional committee.

The House District of Columbia Committee has 25 members—14 Democrats and 11 Republicans. Of the 14 Democrats, 11 are from Confederate states, two of them from Mississippi.

* * *

THE COMMITTEE chairman is Rep. John L. McMillan of South Carolina. One of the members is Rep. John B. Williams of Raymond, Miss., who can out-demagogue Eastland.

Williams has levelled the same type of attack at the Supreme Court and colored people as has Eastland, except that he includes in his diatribes all of the old tripe about colored people being more criminal and more diseased than whites.

Another member is Rep. James C. Davis of Stone Mountain, Ga. He is an ex-Klansman. He is more vicious than Williams because he is more intelligent.

Other Southern Democrats on the House District Committee are Reps. Oren Harris, Arkansas; Thomas G. Abernethy, Mississippi; Howard W. Smith, Virginia; Olin D. Teague, Texas; James E. Morrison, Louisiana; Tom Sneed, Oklahoma; Woodrow W. Jones, North Carolina; and J. T. Rutherford, Texas.

* * *

THE THREE Northern Democratic members are Reps. Arthur G. Klein, New York; William L. Dawson, Illinois; and Roy W. Weir, Minnesota.

Of the 11 Republicans, one is Rep. Joel T. Broyhill of Virginia and another is Rep. DeWitt S. Hyde of Maryland.

Broyhill represents the 10th district (Northern Virginia), which is fairly liberal. The district in January voted against a constitutional convention for changing the Virginia constitution to permit public funds to be used to pay the tuition of children whose parents object to their attending mixed schools in counties where public schools are abolished rather than integrated.

But one would never know from Broyhill's attitude that he represents a liberal district. He is a segregationist.

* * *

THE HOUSE District Committee the other day voted to set up a five-member special subcommittee to investigate alleged "lowered standards" in the District of Columbia public schools and "juvenile delinquency" here.

So far, only one committee member, Mr. Weir, has sounded off in opposition to the investigation.

Williams, in pushing for the investigation, was made because the Board of Education refused to give him some racial statistics he had requested.

House leaders are Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas, Rep. John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, the Majority leader, and Rep. Carl Albert of Oklahoma, the Majority Whip.

* * *

IF THE House leadership permits politics to be injected into the District of Columbia public schools because the District of Columbia complied immediately with the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools here—let the Confederates have their field day.

But the voters of the country should be informed of how and why voteless District of Columbia is being kicked around by Dixiecrats as a political football.

District of Columbia public schools are responsible to Congress like all other agencies of the District of Columbia government. Congress appropriates funds for their operation and maintenance.

The superintendent of schools and members of the Board of Education must appear before Senate and House Appropriations committees to justify their requests for funds.

Sen. John C. Stennis of Mississippi is chairman of the Senate District of Columbia Appropriations subcommittee.

Stennis' attitude on segregation is identical with that of Eastland, Williams and Davis. But Stennis is a gentleman and has refrained from abusive language in his discussions of the Supreme Court decisions against segregated schools.

* * *

AT RECENT hearings conducted by Stennis and Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (Rep., Ill.), Dr. Hobart M. Corning, superintendent of schools, testified that children differ in all respects—in native ability, academic achievement, physical development and stamina, and social and economic background.

With records before him of several classes taken more or less at random, which he said could be duplicated over and over again in Washington, Dr. Corning cited as a typical classroom a class in one school that has 41 children in it.

Of the 41, he said, five are emotionally maladjusted, two of them to such an extent that they are recommended for clinical treatment; 18 are very slow learners, three requiring remedial reading, one extremely malnourished, three are especially gifted, 20 are of average ability;

Also two apparently are neglected in the home and come to school hungry; three of them are definite behavior problems.

Professor Pleads For More Technical Assistance

Daily World p. 1 Atlanta Ga. Tues. 6-19-56

By LOUIS LAUTIER
Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Dr. Flemmie P. Kittrell, professor of home economics at Howard University, made a hit with members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for her testimony in support of technical assistance and nonmilitary foreign aid in the 1956 Mutual Security bill.

Dr. Kittrell testified in behalf of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, founded in 1951 by Jane Addams, a great social worker.

She urged support of $170 million for development assistance (economic aid in addition to technical assistance to nations which have not undertaken military programs in the common defense) $15.5 million for the United Nations expanded technical assistance program, and $1 5 million for the technical cooperation program of the Organization of American States.

She als urged $2.3 million for the United Nations Refugee Fund, $7 million for the United States escapee program, $10 million for the United Nations Children's Fund, $15.4 million for ocean freight charges on relief packages, $100 million for the President's special fund for the Near East and Africa, and $5.95 million for research reactor projects to further peaceful uses of atomic energy.

When Dr. Kittrell had completed her testimony, Senator Mike Mansfield, Democrat, of Montana, asked her if she had spent some time in Asia. She replied that she had spent altogether three years in India under the auspices of the International Cooperation Administration.

"So you speak from firsthand knowledge of that particular part of the world?" Senator Mansfield asked.

"I think I do," replied Dr. Kittrell.

"I just wanted to compliment you on your statement, Doctor,' said Senator Mansfield, "and to say that I personally appreciated your emphasis on the nomilitary aspects of the aid program."

Dr. Kittrell testified that it is the moral duty of the United States to do what it can to close the gap between the nations that have and those that have not.

"It is part of the laws of the universe that in doing this we contribute to our own welfare, and fulfill the obligation to our own citizens," Dr. Kittrell said in her testimony, made public Sunday, adding:

"For men will rise or fall together. Abraham Lincoln said that this Nation could not remain 'half-slave and half-free.'

"It is equally true that humanity as a whole cannot continue indefinitely half in misery, half in comfort. Our prosperity, our security, the future of democracy and our chances for peace are linked irrevocably to conditions and economic progress among the other countries of the world.

"Economic crises and despair often drive underprivileged people to the desperate remedies offered by totalitarianism. On the other hand economic and social welfare promotes the growth of peace and democracy.

"Therefore, technical assistance and economic aid are the means of creating the conditions for peace—which in today's world is indivisible. It is for all of us or none."

Dr. Kitrell urged support of President Eisenhower's long-rang programs. She said a long-range program makes possible better planning and the securing of better personnell and can be carried out more economically and efficiently.

"The Women's International League for Peace and Democracy urges that economic aid based upon the need of the people be kept wholly apart from military assistance," she said.

"People in new and in underdeveloped countries need to experience a greater measure of individual liberty, self government, education and progress than can grow when aid is conditioned on the acceptance of military obligations." aid is conditioned on the acceptance of military obligations."

Tid-Bits From Washington

Call p. 18 Kansas City, Mo. Fri. 6-29-56

BY LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

Val Washington, director of minorities for the Republican party, was host at a party tossed in the East lounge of the National Press club the other evening for Ambassadors George Zephirin of Haiti, and Richard L. Jones, United States Ambassador to Liberia, who is here for consultation.

The guests, mostly newspaper people included Carl Murphy, publisher, and Cliff Mackey, editor of the Afro American newspaper.

Some top Elk officials are having income tax troubles. Washington hears that a deficiency tax of $18,000, including penalties and interest, has been assessed against one of them. Internal Revenue Service agents are examining the records of another and a third is on deck.

The Rev. R. H. Colline Lee, a minister who was a candidate for the bishopric at the AMEZ church General Conference in Pittsburg in May, has been transferred from Martin Temple in Chicago to Metropolitan AMEZ church, 211 D street southwest, Washington, D. C.

Metropolitan AMEZ church is in the area in southwest Washington which is being cleared for redevelopment and must be relocated. Shifting the Rev. Mr. Lee there is as tough as sending him to a mission. His congregation is being scattered all over Washington—wherever they can find housing—and he must either build or buy a new church.

The Rev. Mr. Lee is grand chaplain of the Elks.

Good reports continue to reach this column about colored Government employees.

F'rinstance: Scovel Richardson chairmen of the United States Board of Parole, has had two promotions since his appointment as a member of the board in July 1953. His salary is now $12,690 a year.

James L. Jones has been promoted from GS-7 Attorney with the Civil Aeronautics Board to a GS-9. He is doing a good job for the CAB and is handling increasingly important cases.

He recently returned from California where he handled four big cases. He has tried foreign air carrier cases, control cases, and has done some work in connection with foreign freight forwarders.

At present, he is handling two different trunkline cases—the Pan American Madrid—San Juan case and the West Coast—Europe case.

Besides, Mr. Jones has completed all the work necessary for his master's degree in marketing and is working on his thesis.

He received his AB from Howard, and his LLB from Lincoln University School of Law in St. Louis in 1952. He served as an instructor in business administration and marketing principles in the College of Pharmacy. Before his teaching assignment he was employed in the Aeronautical Chart and Information Center in St. Louis. He was born in Wentzville, Mo., in 1924.

As a type of the opponent to the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights bill there is, for example, Representative Elijah L. (Tic) Forrester, Democrat, of Georgia.

Forrester was the prosecuting attorney who got a conviction of Rosa Lee Ingram and her two teenage sons, Wallace and Sammie Lee, for the muder of their white neighbor, John E. Stratford, in Ellaville, Ga. He also got them death sentences but the sentences were commuted to life imprisonment.

He is the grandson of Confed

erate soldiers on both the paternal and maternal sides but is married to a Yankee woman.

He can't pronounce the word Negro. Testifying before the House Rules Committee Thursday against a rule which send the civil rights bill to the House for floor action, he showed not only his racial prejudice but his animus against Jews and Catholics.

Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat, of Harlem, was one of the members of Congress who attended the cocktail party and buffet supper given by the Brooklyn Democratic organization for Representative James L. Richards, Democrat, of Lancaster, S. C., chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, who is retiring from Congress at the end of his present term in January.

Actually, the purpose of the party was to persude Dixecrats that Gov. Averell Harriman is a "moderate" on the civil rights issue and that he did not say he would send Federal troops into the South to enforce the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in the public schools.

The evening before the party, Powell knew nothing about it when reporters asked him if he had received one of the gold encrusted invitations. He promised to find out about the party and have something to say the next day, probably at a press conference.

But when reporters called his office the next day he said he had received an invitation and would attend.

The party was at the Mayflower hotel. Reporters were ushered out of the room in which it was held. But one of those who attended the party was Representative L. Mendel Rivers, Democrat, of Charleston, S. S., who is a pro-segregationist and is opposed to mixed schools.

Wonder what will his Gullah speaking constituents say when they learn that he and Powell toasted Richards in fine liquers, nibbled on caviar and other canopes and dined together on filet mignon on terms of social equality?

Powell Scores Victory But It Doesn't Last Long

Call Kansas City, Mo.

F.M. 7-13-56

(The House of Representatives in Washington passed the Powell amendment to the federal school aid bill on Tuesday, July 2, but two days later defeated the school bill itself. Following is the story of Congressman Adam Powell's short-lived victory.)

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat, of New York, scored a great victory Tuesday, July 2, when the House adopted his amendments to the federal-aid-to-school construction bill.

Representative Francis E. Walters Democrat, of Pennsylvania, presiding, declared the Powell amendments carried on a voice vote.

A teller vote was then demanded. Representative Graham A. Barden, of North Carolina, chairman of the House education and Labor committee, and an opponent of the anti-segregation amendments, and Mr. Powell were appointed tellers.

The teller vote was 164 to 116. Republicans voted overwhelmingly for the Powell amendments. The Republican leadership - Representatives Joseph W. Martin of Massachusetts, the minority leaders; Charles A Halleck of Indiana, Clarence W. Brown of Ohio, and Leo A. Allen of Illinois, who voted in the Rules committee against sending the bill to the House for floor action - led Republicans in voting for the amendments.

On the other hand, Speaker Sam Rayburn, of Texas, voted against the amendments.

Bolling Against It

A determined effort was made to defeat the anti-segregation amendments. During the debate, Representative Richard A. Bolling, Democrat, of Missouri, read a letter from former President Harry S. Truman urging defeat of the amendments.

Representative William L. Dawson, Democrat, of Illinois, chairman of the House Government Operations Committee and vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, twice spoke in opposition to the amendments.

Because Representative James Roosevelt, Democrat, of California, spoke in support of the amendments, an attempt was made on the floor to smear the Roosevelt name and particularly to slur his mother, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, widow of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The segregation fight began shortly after the House began reading the bill under the 5-minute rule for amendments Mr. Barden offered an amendment to strike out nearly all of title I of the bill authorizing an annual appropriation of $300 million for five consecutive years.

Amendment to Amendment

The Barden amendment would have deleted provisions for allotment of funds to the states on the basis of school-age population after the United States Commissioner of Education has approved state plans outlining the construction projects.

Representative Frank Thompson Jr., Democrat, of New Jersey, offered an amendment to the Barden amendment. His amendment would have permitted judicial review of alleged violation of "the law" instead of merely "the act."

Speaking in support of the Thompson amendment, Powell urged defeat of the Barden amendment. He said the Barden amendment would remove the bill from all existing provisions of law, including the Supreme Court decisions outlawing racial segregation in the public schools.

The Barden amendment, which simply provided for the Commissioner of Education to allot the federal appropriations to the states for the construction of school buildings was rejected by a standing vote of 89 yeas to 124 nays.

Three Powell Amendments

Powell offered three amendments and obtained unanimous consent for their consideration as one amendment. They provided:

1. That the state plan shall provide that the school facilities of the state are open to all children without regard to race, in conformity with the Supreme Court decisions against segregated schools, except that if a state plan does not so provide, it shall not prevent payment of funds to such state for use in school districts that are operating their schools on a nonsegregated basis.

2. That the state plan shall state that the school district in which each project is located is operating its schools without regard to race, in conformity with the court decisions, but a state plan which meets the requirements of the Commissioner of Education in every other way shall be permitted to be put into effect in those.

3 Any funds alloted but not paid to a state because of failure to comply with the court decision shall be paid to the state at such time as it does comply if the compliance occurs within three years after the bill is enacted.

Call 7-14

Will Help Integration

Powell told the House that his amendments will help school districts to integrate. He argued that if his amendments were adopted in the bill drafted by the House Education and Labor subcommittee, headed by Representative Augustine Kelley, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, they will not come before the Senate because the Senate will take up its own bill.

Answering the argument that Congress should not implement the court's decisions, Powell said whenever there is an executive order, a judicial decision or legislative action, "immediately it is incumbent upon all other branches of government to yield to whatever that decision, order of legislative action may be."

N.A.A.C.P. For It

F.M. 7-13-56

The only group that can speak for colored people was the National Conference of the NAACP, held in San Francisco last week, Powell said, and that convention voted unanimously that any vote against the Powell amendment is a vote for segregation.

"This is not a political amendment," Powell said. "Although it has given great concern to some members on my side of the aisle because they feel the Republicans are going to make hay out of the Powell amendment, the only reason is because the Democrats are not using their scythes and sickles."

Representative Stuyvesant Wainwright, Republican, of New York, who was opposed to the bill, said he would vote for it if the Powell amendment was passed and the states were required to match Federal funds.

Mr Bolling told the House he had wrtten Mr. Truman on April 19 for his views of the Powell amendment.

Mr. Truman replied on May 4 that he strongly favored federal aid-to-school construction legislation, that the need for classrooms is critical and "legislation to meet it should be our primary objective," Mr. Bolling said.

Truman Give Opinion

Mr. Truman added, however, that while he had no doubts the Powell amendment was put forward to protect the rights of all citizens, if the House adopted it, there would be no legislation at all and the losers would be the children without regard to race, Mr Bolling said.

The Missouri Congressman also pointed out that President Eisenhower had called the Powell amendment "extraneous."

Representative Peter Frelinghuysen Jr., Republican, of New Jersery, said the Powell amendment would interfere with the judicial process, impede rather than hasten school intergration, kill Federal aid for school construction at this session of Congress, penalize children because of their place of birth, threaten Federal aid to states in many vital areas of need, and impose a degree of Federal administrative supervision over local school matters.

Mr. Roosevelt told the House that no Federal money should be spent in opposition to the Supreme Court decisions banning segregation in the public schools.

"It would be an entirely different proposition before us today if statements had not been made over and over again, and action taken to indicate, not whether some states need more time to conform to the Supreme Court decision," he said, "but they have openly stated that under no circumstances will they ever conform to that decision."

Roosevelt Is Outspoken

Roosevelt added that as long as that was the publicly stated position of some states, he did not believe that any legislative body "has the right to give public funds to those who are in open defiance of the Supreme Court of the United States."

Representatives George S. Long, Democrat, of Louisiana, after 1 1-2 minutes allotted to him to speak against the Powell amendment, made a preferential motion to strike everything in the bill after the enacting clause. This gave him an additional five minutes.

When he finished speaking, he asked unanimous consent to withdraw the motion. Dawson objected. This entitled him to five minutes.

Dawson reminisced about his birth and childhood in the South "when schools for colored kids were open a few months in the year when they did not need us in the field."

"I recite these things to you to let you know that I know something about the system, but I believe in America and I believe in her institutions, and that is why I am opposing the Powell amendment.

"A survey shows that hundreds of thousands of schoolrooms are needed in these United States. Those who claim the states have the ability to build them are met with the proposition that they have not done it and a national crisis now faces this nation of ours."

Says Bill Won't Pass

Dawson said education of the young "is a fundamental for the preservation of this nation as the maintenance of a standing army."

"I am of the opinion, and that is opinion based upon 14 years of experience, that if you adopt the Powell amendment to the school bill, you will have no school legislation at this session of Congress."

Representative L. Mendel Rivers, Democrat, of South Carolina, attacked Mrs. Roosevelt in his 1 1/2 minute speech.

"No family in the history of the nation has done as much to hurt my people than that from which he comes." Rivers said, referring to Jimmy Roosevelt. "He speaks with authority. Every day we see articles written by a member of his family talking about my people" Rivers said, referring to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

Following Rivers, Representative Marguerite Stitt Church, Republican, of Illinois, said she wanted to "pay testimony to a great lady with whom I seldom agree politically. I know no heart that beats harder for the children of America than Eleanor Roosevelt's."

Mrs. Church added that she could not vote against the Powell amendment and "stand consistently for those things in which I have believed - the common brotherhood of man."

Diggs For Amendment

Representative Charles C. Diggs, Democrat, of Michigan, said he could not see how "any reasonable or prudent person" could oppose the Powell amendment. He challenged anyone to bring forth a better approach to the desegregation of the schools.

Representative Hugh Scott, Republican, of Pennsylvania, and general counsel for the Republican National Committee, said it was "shocking" to him "to hear the distinguished vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee (Dawson) argue against the Powell amendment."

Representative Barratt O'Hara, Democrat, of Illinois, referred to Dawson as "the real leader of 15,000,000 colored people."

Representative Clare Hoffman, Republican, of Michigan yielded his 1 1-2 minutes of speaking time to Diggs, who said no one in the House holds Dawson in higher esteem than he does, but that Dawson spoke as an individual and not the leader of colored people.

Using the 1 1-2 minutes of time allotted him, Dawson spoke a second time. "If I believed that this school bill would pass this Congress with this amendment, I would be for it," he said.

Rebellion Against Federal Authority Charged To South

Informer
Sat. 2-18-56 P. 1

B U L L E T I N

BIRMNGHAM — Late Monday the University of Alabama made it known the school will go to the Supreme Court in appeal from the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans decision last December which upheld U. S. District Judge Hobart Grooms of Birmingham in contending Negroes cannot be barred from the school because of color.

Houston Texas

RIGHT NOW MISS AUTHURINE LUCY is awaiting a new court decision on wherther or not she can return to the University of Alabama campus.

Says Southerners Took Oath To Uphold Federal Constitution

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For The NNPA News Service

Not only is there a breakdown of law and order in Alabama and Mississippi. But Federal authority is being challenged in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana.

Major responsibility for this rebellion must be placed upon United State Senotors Jame O. Eastland of Mississippi and Strom Thurmond of South Carolina; Governors Thomas B. Stanley of Virginia, George B. Timmerman, Jr., of South Carolina, Marvin Griffin of Georgia, Jim Folsom of Alabama, and J. P. Coleman of Mississippi, and Representatives Watkins M. Abbitt and William A Tuck (former governor) of Virginia, Prince M. Preston, E. L. Forrester, John J. Flynt, Jr., James C. Davis (former Klansman) and Henderson Lanham o Georgia, and John Bell Williams of Mississippi.

INCITED REBELLION

They have incited rebellion in their states to Federal law, resulting in rioting on the campus of the University of Alabama, the bombing of the homes of two colored families in Montgomery, and the murders of Emmett Till, 14-year old Chicago boy, near Greenwood, Miss.; of Lamar Smith in the Lincoln County courthouse yard at Brookhaven, Miss., home town of Circuit Judge Tom P. Brady, a leader of the White Citizens Councils movement, and of the Rev George W. Lee, a Baptist minister, who had urged colored people to vote and had championed desegregation.

Intimidation and economic pressures, coupled with violence, have been used to keep colored people from registering and voting in Mississippi and Alabama.

Each of the United States Senators and Representatives in Congress, who are carrying on a campaign to have their states resist, and in the case of Miss Authurine J. Lucy, forcibly resist, the mandates of the Federal courts, have taken an oath to uphold the Federal Constitution.

In their madness, however, they are seeking to destroy that Constitution and make state sovereignty paramount to that of the Federal Government.

Informer

Just how far their madness will carry them and their states nobody knows. But certainly the Federal Government is not impotent to deal with the situation they are creating.

P. 10

The Federal Government has all the powers "necessary and proper" for carrying out the law of the land, including United States Supreme Court decisions, as well as other Federal court decisions, against racial segregation in public education.

The Federal Government has a powerful executive, a complete system of courts through which it determines the scope of its own authority, the power to use the Army, Navy and Air Force to suppress insurrections, and the power of reaching anywhere and everywhere within its territorial limits those who forcibly resist its laws and punish them.

The individuals who participated in mob violence to keep Miss Lucy from attending classes at the University of Alabama should be singled out and punished for contempt of court for interfering with the carrying out of an order of the Federal District Court at Birmingham.

But, beyond that, the Federal Government has a duty to meet squarely the challenge of the states which have passed resolutions of "interposition" asserting the rights to put their authority between the United States and their citizens and stop implementation of the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools.

Of course, these resolutions have no more weight than the opinion of a group of drunks congregated at a bar in some dive.

But the theory that the states can nullify decisions of the United States Supreme Court is misleading some people into acts of violence, including murder, and is causing a complete breakdown of law and order in some communities.

It is such resistance to Federal mandates that the Federal Government must meet squarely if the Union is to endure.

Calls 'Interposition' Resolutions 'Treason'

Afro-American Sat. 2-11-56 P. 5
Baltimore, Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER
(For NNPA)

WASHINGTON — "The law of the United States must be executed. I have no discretionary power on the subject; my duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution.

"Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution deceived you; they could not have been deceived themselves . . .

"The object is disunion. But be not deceived by names. Disunion by armed force is treason."

* * *

SO SAID President Andrew Jackson in 1832 to the State of South Carolina when John C. Calhoun revived the doctrine of "interposition" by maintaining that South Carolina had the sovereign power to nullify a tariff act that displeased its citizens.

Led by Virginia, the states of South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi are attempting to block implementation of the Supreme Court ruling that a "prompt and reasonable start" be made to end racial segregation in the public schools.

A key point in their program of defiance is "interposition," another word for nullification.

* * *

UNDER THE THEORY of "interposition," the states are the judges of whether the Federal Government has abused its power, and if they so decide, they have the right to interpose their sovereignty "for arresting the progress of the evil."

No matter how the resolution of "interposition," passed by the Virginia General Assembly on Feb. 1 may be sugar-coated, the fact is that "interposition" carried to its logical conclusion means nullification, secession or revolution.

* * *

NULLIFICATION and secession were based upon the theory of "interposition" and were disposed of when Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox. The right of revolution is another matter.

Certainly, the Federal government has the power to resist a second rebellion of Confederate states. The Constitution gives it that power.

The framers of that document took every precaution to give the Federal Government the power of self-preservation.

Leaders of the movement of resistance to the Supreme Court decision continuously stress that they are making a "legal" fight.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Supreme Court decisions are the law of the land and are just as much to be obeyed as a congressional enactment

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL:

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md. Sat. 2-18-56
P. 13

Southern defiance of U.S. whipped up on Capitol Hill

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON — Not only is there a breakdown of law and order in Alabama and Mississippi; but Federal authority is being challenged in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Louisiana.

Major responsibility for this rebellion must be placed upon U.S. Sens. James O. Eastland of Mississippi and Strom Thrumond of South Carolina;

Governors Thomas B. Stanley of Virginia, George B. Timmerman, Jr., of South Carolina, Marvin Griffin of Georgia, Luther H. Hodges of North Carolina and J. P. Coleman of Mississippi;

Reps. Watkins M. Abbitt and William M. Tuck (former governor) of Virginia, Prince M. Preston, E. L. Forrester, John J. Flynt Jr., James D. Davis (former Klansman) and Hender- John B. Williams of Mississippi.

* * *

THEY HAVE incited rebellion in their states to Federal law, resulting in rioting on the campus of the University of Alabama, the bombing of the homes of two colored families in Montgomery;

And the murders of Emmett Till, 14-year-old Chicago boy, near Greenwood, Miss.; of Lamar Smith in the Lincoln County courthouse yard at Brookhaven, Miss., and of the Rev. George W. Lee, a Baptist minister, who had urged colored people to vote.

Intimidation and economic pressures, coupled with violence, have been used to keep colored people from registering and voting in Mississippi and Alabama.

* * *

EACH OF THE United States senators and representatives in Congress who are carrying on a campaign to have their states resist, and in the case of Miss Autherine J. Lucy, forcibly resist the mandates of the Federal courts, have taken an oath to uphold the Federal Constitution.

In their madness, however, they are seeking to destroy that Constitution and make state sovereignty paramount to that of the Federal Government.

Just how far their madness will carry them and their states—nobody knows. But certainly the Federal Government is not impotent to deal with the situation they are creating.

THEY FEDERAL Government has all the powers "necessary and proper" for carrying out the law of the land, including United States Supreme Court decisions, as well as other Federal court decisions, against racial segregation in public education.

The Federal Government has a powerful executive, a complete system of courts through which it determines the scope of its own authority, the power to use the Army, Navy and Air Force to suppress insurrections, and the power of reaching anywhere and everywhere within its territorial limits those who forcibly resist its laws and punish them.

The individuals who participated in mob violence to keep Miss Lucy from attending classes at the University of Alabama should be singled out and punished for contempt of court for interfering with the carrying out of an order of the Federal District Court at Birmingham.

* * *

BUT, BEYOND that the Federal Government has a duty to meet squarely the challenge of the states which have passed resolutions of "interposition" asserting the right to put their authority between the United States and their citizens and stop implementation of the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools.

Of course, these resolutions have no more weight than the opinion of a group of drunks congregated at a bar in some dive.

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Supreme Court Withholds Action On Bus Segregation

moved p. 5

Atlanta Ga. 3/1 ...

By LOUIS LAUTIER
Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — With racial tensions tighter over nearly all of the South than at any time since the Civil War, the United States Supreme Court Monday apparently decided to withhold action on an appeal involving the legality of segregation on bus lines operating within a state.

The appeals of the South Carolina Electric and Gas Company has been listed on the agenda of the court for several weeks. Cases so listed are usually taken up at the Saturday conference of the judges preceding the Monday on which their action is announced.

Although the South Carolina case has been on the court's agenda since Jan. 21, the court after a four weeks' vacation failed to make any announcement concerning the case.

Any one of three courses which the court faces in this case could be of immediately far-reaching consequence.

Wed. 2-29-56

The South Carolina Electric and Gas Co. is seeking a review of the judgment of the Fourth United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Richmond, Va.

If the court should refuse to review that judgment, laws compelling racial segregation on city buses throughout the South would no longer be valid. Such a decision would be binding up the Federal District Court in which is pending a suit challenging the validity of state and city bus laws requiring segregation on buses in Montgomery, Ala.

The NAACP, representing Mrs. Sarah Mae Flemming, who sued the South Carolina Electric and Gas Co., is asking the Supreme Court to either affirm the judgment of the circuit court or dismiss the appeal.

The effect of the court's granting either request would be the same as its refusal to review the case. It would leave in effect the decision of the appeals court that the "separate but eqqual" doctrine no longer applies even in the field of local transportation.

Thirteen Southern states— Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia—have laws requiring racial segregation in public transportation.

The South Carolina law makes segregation mandatory. Failure of the bus company to enforce segregation in its buses is a misdemeanor, for which the maximum penalty is a fine of $250 for each offense.

A bus driver may be charged with a misdemeanor or failure to enforce segregation and fined up to $25 for each offense.

Passengers also are subject to fines of not more than $25 for violations and may be ejected by the bus driver for failing to comply with company regulations.

The driver and company are protected by law from damage suits resulting from ejecting passengers.

Miss Flemming boarded a bus on June 22, 1954, in Columbia, S. C. She stood in the front section because all seats in the "colored" section were occupied, and many colored passengers were standing.

A white passenger left the bus and she took the seat vacated, which resulted in her sitting in front of one or two white passengers.

The bus driver, in a loud and threatening tone, ordered her to get up from the seat she had taken. Te bus driver, pe dekFai-

She got up and started to leave the bus by the front exit.

The driver permitted a white passenger to use this exit but ordered her to leave by the rear door. He struck her to enforce his command.

Miss Flemming brought suit in the Federal District Court, attacking as unconstitutional the South Carolina law requiring racial segregaion on intra-state buses. She also alleged that the bus company'e enforcement of the state's unconstitutional policy violated the 14th Amendment.

The Distrct Court held that the "separate but equal" doctrine was controlling and dismissed the suit.

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

By Louis Lautier

Sat. 10-20-56

Says School Probe Bared Nothing New

31a P.4

A special House District of Columbia, subcommittee, the working members of which were Reps. James C. Davis of Georgia, an ex-Ku Klux Klansman, and John Bell Williams of Mississippi, an advocate of white supremacy, spent thousands of dollars investigating integration in District of Columbia public schools.

Without hiring Russian-born Willie Gerber, Memphis lawyer and spending taxpayers' money, they should have found out what is wrong with Washington schools, but their findings would not have squared with Davis' and Williams' preconceived ideas of white supremacy.

For example, last school term in the academic subjects, out of 631 English classes in the junior high schools, there were 304 with over 34 students. The standard ratio in the junior high schools is 28 students to one teacher.

* * *

IN LANGUAGES, out of 183 classes, there were 90 that were above 34. In mathematics, of 556 classes, 276 were over 34. In social studies, out of 574 classes, there were 305 over 34.

In the senior high schools the pupil-teacher ratio is 25 students to one teacher.

In the academic classes, out of 463 English classes, there were 24 over 34. In science, out of 241 classes, there were 78 over 34. In social studies, of 295 classes, 100 were over 34.

Such oversized classes have existed in District of Columbia schools, particularly the former Division II (colored) schools, for a long, long number of years.

* * *

TO OFFSET this problem, the schools have gotten some teachers, but not many, in the high schools, but none in the last few years.

Dr. Hobart M. Corning, superintendent of schools, said he could not remember when the schools got any additional high school teachers — perhaps four or five years ago.

"You see, the emphasis had to be on the elementary level because, due to the birth rate, the bulge has been there, and we have had to put our insistence on teachers for the elementary schools," said Dr. Corning.

Average size classes in English in the high schools ran 31.9 students. With the projected enrollment for this year, they are running about 33.3 students.

If one teacher had been taken away from the English department last year, classes would have averaged 37.2 students.

* * *

IT IS THE responsibility of the school administration each year to equalize the teacher load as between the high schools. If the enrollment of a school drops sufficiently so that a teacher can be spared, and there is a school in some other part of the city where the enrollment has increased, the school administration moves a teacher from here and puts her there.

About 15 such transfers occur in a year.

Involved in that transfer is not only the increase and decrease in enrollment. It may be a greater degree of the electives in foreign languages in one school over another school. It would not depend solely on an increase or decrease in total school enrollment.

* * *

ONE OF THE practical problems involved in the question of transferring teachers is that the teachers in high school, junior and senior high school, are specifically prepared for that level of instruction.

Unless the school administration transfers persons from high school to elementary school, they have to depend on separation from the service, vacancies or upon the temporary teachers who may be presently employed.

Actually, in the senior high schools there are only about 55 temporary teachers who could be spared. The schools have to have some temporary teachers to fill in for teachers on maternity leave and those on military leave who have preferred right to return.

* * *

TEMPORARY teachers are not teaching in all instances in places where they could be spared or could fill in for somebody else, as, for instance, driver-training education.

The majority of driver-training teachers are temporary teachers. To take them out—there is only one in each school—would simply close out the program and there would be community pressures that would be tremendous because of the recognized value of that particular program.

But these are educational problems, about which Davis, coming from Stone Mountain, Ga.; Williams from Jackson, Miss., and Gerber from Memphis where, he thinks an expenditure of 77 cents per day on each pupil in average daily attendance affords a good quality of education, know nothing and care less.

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American

By Louis Lautier

P4

How To Get Powell And Skip Williams

House Democrats are seeking to dodge the party loyalty issue by leaving to each state Democratic delegation the question of who is a Democrat.

If that method is adopted, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, (D., N.Y.), who supported President Eisenhower for reelection, will be sheared of his seniority and patronage, but Rep. John Bell Williams, Dixiecrat, of Mississippi, who supported T. Coleman Andrews, the States' Rights candidate for President, will retain his seniority and committee assignments and patronage as a Democrat.

Powell is the third ranking Democrat on the House Education and Labor Committee and the eighth on Interior and Insular Affairs.

WILLIAMS IS the fifth ranking Democrat on the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and ranks tenth, just below Rep. William L. Dawson, (D., Ill.), on the House District of Columbia Committee.

Sat. 12-8-56

If Powell and Williams were read out of the Democratic party, they still would have to be given committee assignments, but would have no senioritt or patronage.

* * *

PUBLIC OFFICEHOLDERS who are members of the advisory committee to the Federation for Constitutional Government, a prosegregation coordinating agency, include Sen. Strom Thurmond, ex-Governor of South Carolina and Dixiecrat candidate for President in 1948; Senator-elect Herman Talmadge, ex-Governor of Georgia; Senator James O. Eastland, Dixiecrat, of Mississippi, and Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia.

Several Representatives also are members of the Federation's advisory committee.

The Federation was set up in response to a plea by Eastland for "a people's organization to fight the Supreme Court, the CIO, the NAACP, and all the conscienceless pressure groups who are attempting our destruction."

UNOFFICIAL election results gave Rep. Earl Chudoff, Democrat, 75,664 votes to 33,146 for Dr. Horace C. Scott, Republican, in the Fourth Pennsylvania Congressional District.

Neither Chudoff nor Dr. Scott has yet filed with the Clerk of the House the post-election reports they are required by law to file, but their reports filed a few days before election show that Chudoff had received campaign contributions totaling $2,905.80 and spent $688, while Dr. Scott had received $1,525 and spent $585.

Of the money Dr. Scott had $1,500 came from the Republican State Finance Committee and the remainder represented a donation of $25 from Mary King.

Chudoff's contributions came from all classes, colors and creeds. Contributors to his campaign included:

Raymond Pace Alexander, $100; Morris Chudoff, $100; Susie Monroe, $200; Myrel P. Frankel, $100; Norman A. Williams, $20; A. Charles Coehn, $10; William Kaiserman, $10; Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, $500; Julian Cuker, $10; Joel W. Bloom, Waban, Mass, $25; Wilford R. Lorry, $25;

Leonard E. Liss, $5; Jack A. Kreizman, $10; Charles W. Lewis, $5; Myer Edelson, $5; Jung Mee, $5; Lawrence C. Kline, $50; Murray M. Axelrod, $100 Frank J. Riccelli, $5; William Copeland, $5; Samuel H. Seidman, $10; Irwin W. Silverman, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, $100; Sidney Kessler, St. Thomas, V. I., $100; Rolph Paiewonsky, St. Thomas, V. I., $100;

* * *

KARL C. JONAS, $10; Morris J. Winokur, $25; Al Berman, $50; Rae Taft, $50; Lawrence Brown, $25; Earl L. Brown, $5; Ethel Puls, $25; Samuel R. Rosenman, $50; Harry A. Greenberg, $50; Gabrill Berk, $25; Evelyn Steiner, $15; Pearl Darrah, $5; Machinist Non-Partisan Political League, $25; Jack Goldstein, $150; Mary Gallagher, $5.

Samuel H. Daroff, $50; David Shapiro, $25; W. Burney Watkins, $5; William E. McKenna and Leonard S. Levine, $25; Henry D. Rivers, $25; Erwin Goldberg, $10; S. Richard Silbert, Great Neck, N.Y., $25; S. H. Pollock, $15; Joslyn P. Christie, $6; William D. Ridgewy, $5; Sam Hoffman, $50; Lustgarten Tate, $25; Jerome L. Markowitz, $25;

Beryl Price, $100; George J. Wolfe, $10.80; Political Education Committee Joint Dress Board, $50; Philip Miller, Valley Stream, N.Y., $25; Anna M. Landy, $35; Florence M. Lester Jr., $5; LeRoy Comanor, $25; George Levin, $25; Harry Cooper, $10; Harris J. Nadley, $5; Harry J. Friedman, Great Neck, N.Y., $5;

Henry J. Schwartz, $10; Raymond Simpson, $10; Jack L. Weinstein, $25; Mrs. Curvin H. Hollimon, $25; Mitchell Salzstein, $10; Daniel M. Goldberg, $10; Benjamin Lustgarten, $50; William Y. Saltzman, $15.

CHUDOFF'S expenditures included signs, $80; headquarters rent, $120; art work (blow ups), $30; chair rental, $77.25; photo enngraving, $15.83; North Penn News (advertising), $10, and Democratic Campaign Committee of Philadelphia (contribution), $300.

Writer Says Dixiecrats Try To Excite Fear Of NAACP

Daily World P.6
Wed. 2-29-56

BY LOUIS LAUTIER
Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — A handful of Dixiecrats from unreconstructed Confederate states had a field day on the House floor Thursday in setting up a bogey-man to excite fear of the NAACP as a Communist organization.

The attack on the NAACP and the Supreme Court decision against segregated public schools was kicked off by Representative E. L. (Tic) Forrester, Democrat, of Georgia, who was the trial judge in the Rosa Lee Ingram case.

He charged that the Communists began stirring up race strife in the South years ago. The Communist conspiracy, he said, would have been wiped out years ago if the Supreme Court had not reversed the conviction of Angelo Herndon in 1937. Herndon had been convicted under an ante bellum Georgia law of inciting rebellion.

Forrester also blamed the Supreme Court for destroying the white Democratic primary in southern states. Before the Supreme Court declared the white primary illegal, Forrester said, colored voters in Georgia were Republicans. Now, he added, they vote in Democratic primaries and then go into the general election and vote without regard for their obligation to support the candidate nominated in the primary.

Forrester also said colored people ing all of the affiliations mentioned in the files of the Un-American Activities Committee.

Senator John J. Sparkman, of Alabama, was the chairman of that subcommittee and another southerner, Sentor J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, was a member.

Another subject was Judge William H. Hastie of the Third United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Philadelphia, whose affiliations also have been the subject of Senate scrutiny three times—once when his nomination was before the Senate as Governor of the Virginia Islands, again when nominated to be Federal District Judge of the Virgin Islands and again when nominated to be a circuit court judge.

In addition, Judge Hastie was given a security check at the time he was appointed 1940 as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War. He was cleared to handle top secret military information involving troop strength.

Eric Johnson, president of the Motion Picture Association of the United States, vice president of the NAACP and a special envoy to the Middle East for President Eisenhower, also is besmirched.

Representative Iris F. Blitch, Democratic national committeewoman for Georgia, joined in the discussion. She said:

"The people do not intend to let the Supreme Court of the United States become a dictator. The people do not intend to have the rights of the states taken away from them by any unwarranted action of the Supreme Court."

The NAACP was the butt of an attack by Representative E. C. Gathings, Democrat, of Arkansas, who used citations from the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee concerning officers and members of the Board of Directors of the NAACP—past, present and deceased, to accuse the organization.

One of his subjects was Dr. William E. B. DuBois, whose services as director of research of the NAACP was terminated in 1948.

Another was Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the board, whose nomination by former President Truman as an alternate delegate to the Sixth General Assembly of the United Nations was approved after a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee questioned him concerning the south, indicted by outsiders, started the boycott and the use of economic pressure, and the economic pressure groups formed in the south by white people were simply in answer to the economic pressure practiced by colored people.

Since economic pressure did not work well for colored people, he said —the NAACP and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith are urging passage of a federal law for white people to join White Citizens Councils and such groups.

In the course of his triade, Forrester was challenged by Representative Barrett O'hara, Democrat, of Illinois, on his pronunciation of the word "Negro."

Representative T. James Tumulty, Democrat, of New Jersey, also asked Forrester whether he was implying in his remarks that the Most Rev. Joseph Francis Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans, was a Communist and was carrying on Communist propaganda.

Archbishop Rummel has several times told his flock that segregation is morally wrong and sinful.

Forrester evaded Tumultys ques-

Dixie's Vote Denial Rule Aired In Senate

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.
P.5 Sat. 4-14-56

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — In his speech against the Daniel-Mundt-Thurmond resolution to change the method of electing the President and Vice President, Sen. Paul O. Douglas (Dem. Ill) made some rather illuminating remarks on disfranchisement in the South.

He referred to it by the more polite term of "lack of voter participation."

The resolution, sponsored by Sen. Price Daniel, (Dem., Texas) Karl Mundt, (Rep., S. D.) and Strom Thurmond, (Dem., S.C.) was recommitted to the Senate Judiciary Committee after a test vote showed that its proponents lacked the required two-thirds vote for adoption.

It provided for a division of the electoral votes in proportion to the popular vote in each state, or choice of electors on a congressional district basis, with two electors being chosen from the state at large.

Senator Douglas is a member of the Economics Department at the University of Chicago.

* * *

WHAT HE TOLD the Senate about lack of voter participation in the South shows conclusively that the one-party southern states wield political power out of proportion to the number of their citizens who vote.

The solution of this situation, of course, would be enforcement of the 14th Amendment, which gives Congress the power to reduce representation in the House of Representattives in proportion to the number of disfranchised citizens to the total number of inhabitants of voting age in the state.

The proponents of the Daniel-Mundt-Thurmond resolution argued that under the winner-take-all electoral system minority groups voting en bloc can decide the outcome of Presidential elections in the large northern states with big electoral votes.

* * *

SENATOR DOUGLAS pointed out that there are many flaws in that argument.

"In the first place people do not always vote as blocs," he said. "The various ethic groups are composed of individual human beings who cast their votes as individual human beings.

"We know, too, that leaders of ethnic groups, farm organizations, and political parties have never been able to control their membership in Presidential elections, or other elections, as some would have us believe.

* * *

FOR THE proponents of the resolution to argue that one minority group does or can control the outcome of an action, Sen. Douglas said, "is to assume an insight into human motives and human behavior that few can really assume in certainty."

But even if that argument were true, he asserted, abolishing the electoral college and dividing the electoral votes among the three leading candidates in proportion to their popular vote in each state would not cure the evils.

The former university professor pointed out that under the proposal much greater weight in the electoral vote would be given to the one-party states and particularly to the South.

* * *

"THERE, AS WE ALL know, a very small proportion of people vote at all. Those who do vote are in most cases the native, white middle and upper class minorities in the areas.

"For proponents of this measure to argue that they wish to solve what they call the problem of 'minority' control of Presidential elections by offering proposals which would give even smaller minorities in crucial one-party areas the control over President elections is at best to jump from the frying pan into the fire.

"If the proponents of this measure really desire to do away with minority control of election they will give the ballot to the great mass of people in the southern states who for one reason or another do not now exercise the vote."

TO SUPPORT HIS argument, Senator Douglas cited figures on voter participation in the South and the rest of the country.

The 11 southern states had a population in 1950 of 36,550,115, or 24.3 per cent of the total population ofthe United States.

They also had 128 electoral votes or 24.1 per cent of the total of 531 electoral votes.

But in the 1952 election they cast only 8,555,000 votes out of a total vote of 61,679,882, or 12.3 per cent of the total.

* * *

THE 1950 POPULATION, electoral votes, and the popular vote in the 1952 Presidential election follow:

State	Population	Electoral Votes	1952 Pres'd't'l Vote
Texas	7,711,194	24	2,076,000
N.C.	4,061,929	14	1,211,000
Georgia	3,444,578	12	656,000
Virgnia	3,318,680	12	620,000
Tenn.	3,291,713	11	893,000
Alabama	3,061,743	11	426,000
Florida	2,771,305	10	989,000
Louisiana	2,683,516	10	652,000
Miss.	2,178,914	8	286,000
S.C.	2,117,027	8	341,000
Arkansas	1,909,511	8	405,000
	36,550,115	128	8,555,000

"What minorities are the proponents of this measure so concerned about?" asked Senator Douglass.

"Should they not be eually concerned about the minorities which control elections in the South?"

Five Basic Issues Viewed At Conference

Informer P.3
Houston, Tex.
Sat. 3-31-56

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D/C (NNPA)—Discussion of racial segregation played a big part in President Eisenhower's press conference Wednesday.

The questions ranged from United States policy on African movements for national independence to whether Mr Eisennower intended to mobolize religious and other leaders for a program of moderation and progress in the fight over desegregation

Basically, the President's positions in a nutshell were:

1. Wherever there are local antagonisms and troubles, the United States seeks mediation rather than conflict.

2. With regard to the Montgomery, Ala, bus boycott trials, he believes it is incumbent on all people in the South to show show some progress.

3. If colored voters are switching from the Democratic to the Republican party, he welcomes them with open arms.

4. The pulpits have a very great responsibility in a program of moderation and progress in school desegregation.

On the issue of colonialism Mr Eisenhower deferred to a speech made in Paris Tuesday by C Douglas Dillon, United States Ambassador to France, whom the President said spoke with his approval.

Mr Dillon announced in his speech "whole-hearted support" by the United States of France in her search for "liberal solutions" of her North African problems.

As Mr Dillon was speaking, France and Tunisia signed a diplomatic document ending the 75-year protectorate over the North African territory and recognizing the independence of Tunisia.

5. The Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, is the basic.

The question concerning a return of colored voters to the Republican party was based on information from the Republican National Committee.

The text of reporters' questions and the President's answers concerning colonialism and segregation follow:

Q. In the light of the renewed Arab accusation that the U S is reverting to a support of colonialism in the Middle East, would you clarify United States policy on the African movements for national independence?

A. Well, first of all, with my approval Ambassador Dillon made a speech yesterday (Tuesday) in France that expresses our hope that there can be equitable and fair, just settlements of these great problems that affect these countries.

Now, these two areas have a very definite measure of independence between them. We know that, talking now about France and Algeria, and therefore it seems to us in the best interest of both sides that we arrive at one side but, at the same time, does not completely disrupt a relationship that probably should exist.

After several questions intervened:

Q. Mr President, with regard to the situation in Alabama, Mr President, how do you feel about Negroes being brought to trial for refusing to ride the Montgomery buses?

(Laughter)

A. Well, you are asking me, I think, to be more of a lawyer than I certainly am.

But, as I understand it, there is a state law about boycotts, and it is under that kind of thing that these people are being brought to trial.

I think that the statement I made last week on this whole subject represents the views that I now—all the views that I now have to make; and I do believe, I do believe that it is incumbent on all in the South to show some progress.

That is what the Supreme Court asked for. And they turned it over to local district courts.

I believe that we should not stagnate, but again I plead for understanding, for real sympathetic consideration of a problem that is far larger, both in its emotion and even in its physical aspects, than most of us realize.

Q. Mr President, your school construction bill is on dead center, as you have said, mainly because of the controversy over whether it should be used as an instrument of desegregation.

I wonder if you have any ideas of a positive approach that could be taken to get it off dead center and get some legislation this year?

A. I have expressed myself on that subject several times. I don't have anything further to add to that.

(After several questions had intervened):

Q. Mr President, there are some inditcations, sir, that some Negro leaders may be in the process of switching their political alligiance from the Democratic to the Republican party.

If you accept that premise, sir, could you discuss possible reasons for this?

A. Well, I have got a very good one. I have told you a dozen times that it is anybody's judgment as to whether I am doing my job well or not doing it well, but as far as I am concerned I am trying to do it for 166 million people, not for any group.

I don't care how you define them, how you separate them geographically, racially or religiously, I am for America, and that is what I am trying to do. So if they want to come in under that umbrella I welcome them with open arms.

(After questions had intervened):

Q. Mr President . . . do you have any plans to mobilize religious or other leaders of the South to your point of moderation and progress on the segregation question.

A. Well, I just mentioned that just now. I said that is one thing Billy Graham teaches not only abroad, he teaches it among ourselves and, frankly, I believe that **the pulpits do have a very great responsibility here.**

This is a very tough one, and people have to search their own hearts if we are going to get a decent answer and keep going ahead.

Now, let us don't try to think of this as a tremendous fight that is going to separate Americans and get ourselves into a nasty mess.

Let us try to think of it of how can we make pr... it going and not stop it. **Now that,** I believe, the p...

Q. Mr President, a number of prominent southern conservative Democrats supported you actively in 1952, and many of these since have indicated their defiance of the Supreme Court's decision on segregation.

In view of what you said just a moment ago, would you accept such support in '56?

A. I don't believe they expressed their defiance. I believe they expressed their belief that it was error, and they talked about using legal means to circumvent, or get it, whatever the expression they may have used.

I do not believe that anyone, the ones that I know, have used the words "defy the Supreme Court," because when we carry the point, when we carry this to the ultimate, remember that the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, is our basic law.

The one thing is, though, the basic law appears to change, as I pointed out last week. It was one thing in 1952, and it is a very greatly different thing now.

So, there are emotions, very deep emotions, connected with this problem. Consequently, these people, they have, of course, their free choice as to what they want to do.

As far as I am concerned, I am for moderation but I am for progress. That is exactly what I am for in this thing.

Capital Spotlight

P.4
Afro-American
Sat. 4-14-56

By Louis Lautier

Ethiopian Prince Due To Visit U.S.

Baltimore, Md.

The Crown Prince of Ethiopia is due to visit the United States this summer or fall. The time of his visit will depend upon his father Emperor Haile Selassie, who plans a tour of the Near East, India and Southeast Asia.

The Crown Prince will not be able to come to the United States until his father returns. He will have to run Ethiopia while the Emperor is away.

When the Emperor came to the United States two years ago on an official visit, the Crown Prince remained in Ethiopia.

* * *

THE CONSTITUTIONAL Rights subcommittee reported four civil rights bills to the full Senate Judiciary Committee on Feb. 9. Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr., (Dem., Mo.), is the subcommittee chairman and the sponsor of the four bills.

Sen. James O. Eastland, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, has not had a meeting of his committee since the Hennings bills have been on the committee's agenda. A quorum has failed to show up each time the committee was due to meet.

That could be a neat way Eastland has arranged to filibuster against the Hennings civil rights bills.

* * *

A FIGHT IS being threatened on confirmation of Austin L. Fickling to succeed Judge Armond W. Scott on the District of Columbia Municipal Court bench. Members of the legal profession say he lacks judicial capacity—that both his education and experience are inadequate.

Whether or not formal objections to his confirmation will be filed with the Senate District of Columbia Committee remains to be seen. While lawyers generally lament the appointment, none of them appears to be willing to bear the onus of fighting the nomination.

Aside from the qualifications of age and residence Fickling, an Assistant United States Attorney, graduated from Dunbar High School, attended Miner Teachers College two years, received his law degree from Terrell Law School, a private school which is now out of existence, and passed the District of Columbia bar examination.

* * *

AN INVESTIGATION by the FBI disclosed nothing in his record to disqualify him. Apparently he was commended by some of the Municipal Court judges, before whom he appeared as a prosecutor, and by United States Attorney Leo A. Rover, who was his boss.

Fickling was a "dark horse." The leading contenders to succeed Judge Scott were Barrington Parker James G. (Pete) Tyson, Charles K. Brown and Wesley S. Williams.

Brown and Williams had the endorsement of both the District of Columbia Republican Central Committee and the Eisenhower wing of the party. Tyson, backed by ex-Judge James A. Cobb, had the endorsement of the Eisenhower wing but not of the Republican Central Committee. Parker had the endorsement of the Republican Central Comfittee but not of the Eisenhower wing.

* * *

SO FAR AS can be learned, the names of Parker, Tyson, Brown and Williams were the ones cleared by the patronage committee of the Republican National Committee and sent to the Justice Department for recommendation of one of them to President Eisenhower for appointment.

What happened after that is a mystery. One rumor is that Municipal Court Judge Edward A. Beard, a former Assistant Corporation Counsel of the District of Columbia, who is supposed to be close to Vice President Richard M. Nixon, got the Vice President to recommend Fickling to the White House.

But this rumor is discounted because Nixon never bypasses the Republican National Committee on any matter in which the committee is concerned.

* * *

TONGUES ALSO are wagging about Rover's appointment as Chief Judge of the District of Columbia Municipal Court of Appeals.

J. Franklin Wilson, an Old Guard Republican who is about 65, was ruled out of consideration by the Justice Department ship on account of age, but Rover, who is about 67, got the nodard, Yale, Columbia Howard
for the Chief Judgeship of theand the other big, first-class
Municipal Court of Appeals. universities of the country.

Incidentally, the terms of three other judges on the Municipal Court have expired. The Justice Department could make amends for the Fickling appointment by a colored successor to one of these judges

There are plenty of colored lawyers here with bachelor of arts and law degrees from Harv

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL:

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md. Apr. 3-17-56
P.5

Desegregation conference time wasted—commentator

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON — Adlai Stevenson, leading candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, has suggested that Mr. Eisenhower call a conference of southern colored and white leaders to end the fighting over desegregation of the public schools.

Rep. A. Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) echoed the suggestion.

He proposed that Mr. Eisenhower call white and colored leaders from the tension areas of the South to the White House to talk to them because "vast sections of our country are quivering on the verge of violence."

* * *

IT SHOULD be noted in passing that while Powell agrees with Stevenson's suggestion he is in no wise enamored of Mr. Stevenson.

In the same speech in which he agreed with the suggestion, he severely criticized Mr. Stevenson for his "middle - of - the - road" approach on civil rights issues.

He also demanded to know what the Democratic Party leader proposed to do about the selection of Sen. James O. Eastland, (Dixiecrat-Miss.) as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

* * *

THE SUGGESTION of a White House conference, at first blush, appears to be a good idea, but it does not stand up under examination.

The bald fact is that the U.S. Supreme Court decided that state laws requiring or permitting racial segregation in public schools are unconstitutional and decreed that "a prompt and reasonable start" be made toward "full compliance" with its decision outlawing segregation in public education.

President Eisenhower is in agreement with the court.

At the invitation of the court, Att. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. filed briefs and along with U.S. Solicitor Gen. Simon E. Sobeloff and Asst. Atty. Gen J. Lee Rankin, participated in the oral arguments as a friend of the court in the school segregation cases.

* * *

IF MR. BROWNELL had not had President Eisenhower's consent, he never would have urged the court to enter decrees declaring racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional and all provisions of laws requiring or permitting such segregation invalid.

Who, then, would be invited to the proposed White House conference and who, among white southerners, would accept the invitations?

Would local and state officers, who are seeking ways and means of evading the decision, be extended invitations and would they accept?

Would the leaders of the White Citizens Councils and similar organizations, which are employing economic pressures, threats and intimidation to make colored people in southern states continue to accept segregation, be invited and would they accept?

Conferences call for negotiation; and negotiation calls for bargaining to come to terms.

What compromises would Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Powell suggest?

* * *

WOULD THE colored leaders invited to the conference be expected to make concessions upon the equal educational opportunities to which the Supreme Court has said colored children are entitled?

If any compromise was reached, how could the deal be made binding?

It would make no difference how many white and colored leaders agreed upon "separate-but-equal" educational facilities, as long as there was one child who demanded his constitutional rights, he would be entitled to education in a non-segregated school system.

Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Powell appear to believe that there is nothing involved in the question of compliance with the Supreme Court decree that cannot be resolved by conference.

The Supreme Court thought differently, remanded the cases to the courts which originally heard them and directed those courts to retain jurisdiction during the changeover from segregated to nonsegregated public school systems.

There is nothing that a White House pow wow can do. The issue is compliance with the supreme law of the land. On that there can be no compromise.

As the government said in its brief on further argument of the questions of relief in the school segregation cases:

* * *

"EVERY OFFICER and agency of government, Federal, state and local, is .... charged with the duty of enforcing the Constitution and the rights guaranteed under it.

"And, ultimately, it is the obligation of every citizen to respect and abide by the law, once it is authoritatively declared."

This responsibility should be met without compromise of principle.

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Apr. 3-24-56

By Louis Lautier

Guardsmen's cruise

The North Carolina chapter of the Guardsmen is smarting from a statement by T. Frederic Morrow, White House staff member, concerning a June cruise to Bermuda on the luxury liner, Queen of Bermuda.

Mr. Lautier

Without identifying the group at which they were pointing, a group of New York newspapermen told Morrow they were very much disturbed, as were a lot of other people, at the big sum, estimated from $10,000 to $25,000, to be spent for a Bermuda cruise "at this critical time."

They said they had noticed Morrow had been hitting at that sort of thing in his speeches and wanted to know what he thought about spending that kind of money for such a cruise.

* * *

WITHOUT REFERRING to the North Carolina Guardsmen, Morrow replied:

"It is incredible to me that at this critical period in our fight for first-class citizenship, with every self-respecting person being called upon to make financial sacrifices to see the fight through, that a group of young, talented and apparently financially responsible persons could contemplate a social jaunt out of the country costing thousands of dollars, the only rewards for such a trip being intangible ones.

"It must be disheartening, indeed, to our brothers in Montgomery, Ala., who have placed everything, including life itself, on the altar of sacrifice in order to achieve human dignity and respect that they must cry for funds to assist them in this monumental effort to be free.

* * *

"ADDED TO A day of prayer for our salvation, we might also have a day of self-denial when we give up the cost of selfish, foolish and unnecessary self-indulgences and turn the funds over to those agencies and institutions who are fighting for our right to walk this land with heads high and bodies secure. Is there a Daniel in the crowd?"

North Carolina Guardsmen immediately yelped. Lacking a sound rebuttal, they indulged in personalities. They pooh-poohed the $10,000 figure as the cost of the trip.

Thirty reservations have thus far been made. The minimum cost for a short cruise to Bermuda is $125. So, if only 30 persons go, the cruise will cost a minimum of $3,750. But Guardsmen in other communities have been invited to book passage, and the actual costs may well exceed $10,000.

Morrow's telegram took care of one aspect of the issue. Here is another: Vacationing in Bermuda is like going into the peanut gallery of a jim crow theater. It's something self-respecting colored persons just don't do.

* * *

BERMUDA, A popular winter resort for Americans is a British colony where the hotels, clubs and other public accommodations don't want colored or Jewish patronage.

Instead of going to Bermuda, Guardsmen would do better by taking the money they would spend on the cruise and giving it to the defendants in the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott case, or the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

* * *

THEY'RE SAYING in Capitol corridors that the "manifesto" against the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools, issued by 101 Southern members of Congress, was for home consumption only, that Northern members were speaking in reply also for home consumption, and the controversy would be allowed to die before the fall Presidential campaign.

Some of the Northerners are applying rather harsh terms to their Southern colleagues, who signed the document, and it doesn't look now as if Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, Senate Democratic leader, will be able to heal the rupture.

What happened is—the Southerners endangered the political life of some of their Northern colleagues, and now party harmony has been tossed out of the window and it's every man for himself.

* * *

AFTER HIS press conference the other day, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (Dem., N.Y.), praised as "courageous" Southern Congressmen who had not signed the "manifesto." But he wouldn't name them, he said, because he might embarrass them.

Whereupon a newspaper wit remarked that it was like the late Vito Marcantonio, a liberal-left wing New Yorker, and ex-Representative John E. Rankin of Tupelo, Miss., threatening to endorse each other.

The Pigskin Club of Washington, of which Lawrence A. Oxley is president, has approved an item of $500 for an NAACP life membership, a donation of $100 to the Boy Scouts of America, a $100 contribution for scholarship aid to the children of the late Dr. James V. Hackney, and a $100 contribution to the Amateur Athletic Union toward promotion of the 1956-57 International Olympic Games.

THOUGHTS OF THE FOUNDER

Sentiments ought not to stand against reason and progress.

JOHN H. MURPHY Sr.
April 18, 1896

Tid-Bits From Washington

Call P.18
Apr. 3-16-56

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

For the NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C. — **Margaret Just Butcher, English professor at Howard university, lost some support for reappointment to the District of Columbia board of education by announcing her support of Adlai Stevenson for the Democratic nomination for President.**

Incidentally, the franchise in the District of Columbia is restricted to voting for delegates to the Republican and Democratic national conventions and for Republican and Democratic national committeemen and committeewomen.

Kansas City

Drew Pearson, syndicated columnist, reported that Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, was one of the federal Democrats who urged Senator Wayne Morse, Democrat, of Oregon, not to oppose Senator James O. Eastland, Dixiecrat, of Mississippi, for chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Senator Earle C. Clements, Democrat, of Kentucky, who, in his bid for reelection this year, may run into opposition from the forces of Gov. Albert B. (Happy) Chandler, also urged Morse not to do so.

Pearson reported this bit of colloquy between Morse and Humphrey and Clements:

"I don't blame you, but I don't think you're wise," Humphrey told Morse. "It will hurt your reelection in Oregon."

"Are you ready to go downtown and buy me a new bedroom suite if I follow your advice?" Morse asked.

Humphrey and Clements didn't understand Morse.

"Because if I follow your advice," Morse explained, "my conscience will have to remain

in my present bed."

The next day Clements offered the resolution from the Democratic Steering Committee naming Eastland as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and Morse and Senator Herbert Lehman, Democrat, of New York, spoke against it.

During the high-plane debate, Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, Republican, of California, chided Morse for switching parties after he had been reelected to the Senate in 1950 as a Republican, and moving over to the Democratic side of the Senate chamber.

Had Morse not changed his party affiliation, remarked Kuchel, Republicans would have been in control of the Senate and the name of Eastland would not have been before the body for the Judiciary Committee chairmanship.

Morse replied that he was certain Kuchel was aware of the fact that "frequently in life we have to make a choice between two evils."

Everybody who believes Representative Adam C. Powell, Democrat, of New York, is remotely thinking about resigning from Congress to lead any prayer crusade for the defendants in the Montgomery (Ala.) bus boycott case should get into a corner and put on a dunce cap.

The political dopesters believe that Senator Strom Thurmond, Dixiecrat, of South Carolina — the States' Rights Presidential candidate in 1948 — will head another third party movement this year.

Thurmond himself is not saying what he will do until after the South Carolina primary in April, in which the Dixiecrat is a candidate for reelection to the Senate.

What the Dixiecrats are scheming to do is to keep either the Republican or Democratic candidate from getting a majority (266) of the electoral votes, throwing the election of the President into the House of Representatives.

Clarence Mitchell, head of the Washington Bureau of NAACP, who called Eastland "a mad dog" and a "stinking albatross around the neck of the Democratic party," made the appointment for Charles R. Darden, of Meridian, Miss., president of the Mississippi NAACP State Conference, and Gus Courts of Belzoni, Miss., who was shot by "unknown persons" because he refused to remove his name from the voting list, to see Eastland.

Mitchell talked with Courtney C. Pace, Eastland's administrative assistant, who told him to send the two delegates to the Civil Rights Assembly to Eastland's office — that the Senator wanted to see them because a lot of misinformation had been put out about him.

That was after Morse and Lehman had declared that Eastland was unfit to be chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee because of his vitriolic attacks upon the Supreme Court and colored people.

Capital Spotlight

P. 4

Afro-American

By Louis Lautier

Sat 4-7-56

In The Defense of Rep. Dawson

Who is behind the sniping at Rep. Bill Dawson (Dem., Ill.), and why?

Dawson has been abused by experts. In the mayoralty campaign in Chicago a year ago, The Chicago Tribune called him everything but a child of God. It believed Dawson had too much political power for a colored man.

Baltimore, Md.

Martin B. Kennelly wanted another term as Mayor of Chicago. He appeared before the Democratic city committee which slated candidates and of which Dawson is a member. When he finished speaking, Kennelly said: "I take it you gentlemen are agreed." Dawson replied: "Yes, we are agreed." Kennelly knew he was through.

* * *

NAME ANOTHER colored man in the history of the United States who has deposed a mayor of any city because he had not stopped race rioting and protected colored families in the occupancy of dwellings in a neighborhood where they were not wanted.

Dawson's civil rights record will stack up against that of anybody in Congress. When the chips are down and talking really counts, nobody in the House has turned the tide of battle for civil rights as has Dawson.

On several occasions when civil rights amendments were being bitterly fought, reporters in the House Press Gallery have remarked: "If this amendment is adopted, it'll be due to Bill Dawson."

* * *

DAWSON DOESN'T talk just to hear himself talk. When he takes the House floor, it's to persuade members to vote for or against legislation.

When he speaks, whether it is for civil rights or for or against any other measure, it's a cinch bet that his Democratic colleagues from Illinois will vote with him.

Dawson is chairman of the powerful House Government Appropriations Committee. The integrated staff of that committee shows where he stands on civil rights. The staff director is Mrs. Christine Davis. She's the only colored person — much less woman—ever to serve in such a position.

Elmer W. Henderson, formerly director of the American Council on Human Rights, is associate counsel of the executive and legislative reorganization subcommittee. This subcommittee handles the Hoover Commission reports on Government reorganization, bills creating Government agencies, and budgeting and accounting matters.

* * *

RECENTLY, TWO of his colleagues praised Dawson and inserted in the Congressional Record an article about him which was syndicated by the North American Newspaper Alliance.

The article credited Dawson with doing more than any other man to defeat a gimmick worked out by Senator Richard B. Russell, (Dem., Ga.), to keep the Army segregated. The gimmick, written into the 1951 draft law, would have allowed draftees to choose whether they would serve in a segregated unit.

Rep. John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, the Democratic floor leader, called Dawson "one of the greatest Americans of all time, and certainly of this trying era."

* * *

HE SAID Dawson "enjoys the deep respect, confidence and friendship" of not only members of the House Government Operations Committee, "but of all his colleagues in the House of Representatives."

McCormack added that Dawson, "with understanding mind, has done more to brush aside barriers and prejudices than almost anyone I know during my years of service in the Congress of the United States. McCormack has been in Congress 28 years.

Dawson and Sen. Mike Mansfield, Democrat, of Montana, came to Congress on Jan. 3, 1943. They served together in the House until Mansfield entered the Senate on Jan. 3, 1953.

Calling attention to the syndicated article, Mansfield told the Senate:

* * *

"**BILL DAWSON** is the type of individual who always considers issues on their merits and acts accordingly. He always places his country first and foremost.

"His record in behalf of the United States of America is not only distinguished by his outstanding legislative service, but also by the fact that he served his country with great distinction in the First World War, in which he was both gassed and wounded.

"Representative Dawson has made few speeches in the House of Representatives; however, every time he does speak, he has something worthwhile to say, and he has the undivided attention of his colleagues while he says it.

"As chairman of the House Committee on Government Operations, he has made a magnificent record; and he has received, during his tenure in that position, the wholehearted support of his colleagues from all sections of the country.

"Mr. President, it gives me a great deal of personal pleasure and pride to call to the attention of the Senate the accomplishments of a man whom I admire and respect, a man who I hope will be with us, representing his district, his state and our country, for many years to come. This man is Bill Dawson —American."

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL:

Afro-American P. 5

Ballot surrender to South beaten

Sat. 4-7-56

Baltimore, Md.

BY LOUIS LAUTIER
(For NNPA)

WASHINGTON

Failure of the Daniel-Mundt-Thurmond resolution to get a two thirds majority vote in the Senate should not lull to sleep organizations and individuals interested in strengthening civil rights.

If this resolution had been adopted, the balance of power in the Democratic party would have swung irrevocably to its southern conservative, pro-segregation wing and the results would be injurious to those who belive in extending the franchise broadening civil rights.

Disfranchisement of colored voters in certain southern states would be tightened instead of relaxed and splinter parties such as the State's Rights or Dixiecrat movement would be encouraged.

IT IS GENERALLY agreed, however, that the method of electing the president and vice president is in need of change. A proposal to revise the electoral college system was up in 1950 and will certainly be revived in the future.

One of the factors which contributed to the defeat of the Daniel-Mundt-Thurmond resolution was the inability of senators favoring a change in agreeing upon a plan for dividing the electoral votes of a state among the three leading presidential candidates in proportion to their popular votes.

The Daniel-Mundt-Thurmond proposal would give a state a choice of two procedures.

It could divide the state's electoral vote according to the popular vote, among the three highest candidates, or it could elect presidential electors exactly as senators and representatives are elected — two at large and the rest by congressional districts.

* * *

THIS PROPOSAL was pushed by Senators Price Daniel (Dem. Tex), Karl Mundt, (Rep. S.D.) and Strom Thurmond (Dem. S. C.), Dixiecrat candidate for president in 1948.

The test vote occurred when it was offered as a substitute for the Daniel - Kefauver amendment which would have abolished the electoral college and divided a state's electoral vote in proportion to the popular vote for candidate within a state.

The substitute was adopted by a vote of 48 to 37. Opponents cast eight votes more than was necessary for rejection on final passage

* * *

BEFORE THE test vote, the Senate rejected, 17 to 66, an amendment offered by Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Democrat, New York, to abolish the electoral college and elect the president and vice president by direct vote.

It also rejected an amendment offered by Sen. Clifford P. Case, (Rep. N.J.) to reduce each state's electoral vote in the proportion that the total number of votes cast in the election in any state falls below the total number of citizens of voting age in such state.

The Case amendment was in line with the 14th Amendment which gives the Congress authority to reduce the representation of any state in the House of Representatives in the proportion that its population of voting age is denied the right to vote.

* * *

EACH STATE has a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives it is entitled to have in Congress. Each state has two senators, and the number of its representatives is based upon the total population, excluding Indians not taxed.

Congress has never exercised its power under the 14th Amendment to reduce the representation of a state in the House of Representatives because of its denial of the right to vote.

In an exhaustive argument against the Daniel-Mundt-Thurmond resolution, Sen. Paul Douglas (Dem. Ill.) gave an analysis of disfranchisement in the South, the control of Congressional Committee chairmanships by the one-party southern states and the power of the one-party states under the Senate cloture rule.

Proponents of the resolution argued that minority groups, voting en bloc, can determine the outcome in several of the individual populous states and thereby determine who is to be president of the United States.

* * *

ADMITTING THAT is true because of the present system that the large, populous, two-party states are of crucial importance to presidential candidates if they are to win in the election, Douglas said:

"I look upon this, in general, as not a bad thing.

"For, it is in these large, populous states where the bulk of our citizens live and it is in the urban districts of those races, colors, religions, and economic interests have come to understand each other and to live with one another in peace and harmony, thus promoting tolerance and friendship among diverse groups.

"This has led to greatness in America and earned us the title of 'the melting pot of the world.'

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 8-11-56

By Louis Lautier

Dawson, Diggs on Platform Committee

Rep. William L. Dawson, of Illinois, and Charles C. Diggs, of Michigan, and Belford V. Lawson, a District of Columbia lawyer, will serve on the Platform and Resolutions Committee of the Democratic National Convention which meets in Chicago Aug. 13.

The committee was due to begin holding hearings on the platform in Chicago Aug. 6. Representative John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, is the committee chairman, and Mrs. Thelma Parkinson Sharp, New Jersey national committeewoman, is co-chairman.

McCormack was taking with him to Chicago a draft of the platform.

* * *

PAUL M. BUTLER, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, has appointed a Committee for the Arts to provide "creative assistance and talent for the forthcoming campaign."

Cass Canfield, editor and publisher, and Dore Schary, motion picture executive, are cochairmen of the newly-formed committee which is composed of executives, actors, producers, directors, writers, composers, editors, publishers, publicists and educators.

The membership of the committee includes Earl Hyman, an actor, William Warfield, a singer, and Juanita Hall, an actress.

* * *

THE STATE Department has received glowing reports of the reception accorded American athletes, particularly an American track and field team sent to Africa to compete against local athletes, put on demonstrations, conduct clinics, visit schools, and so forth.

From Lagos, Nigeria, the American consul general reported that he could "recall no other event which resulted in such spontaneous outburst of goodwill as these young people in Lagos."

From Accra, Gold Coast, the American consul general reported "In less than 24 hours they had made more friends than an ordinary man can have in a lifetime. Never before has there been such a mad rush for autographs and addresses then there was at the Accra Sports Stadium when the Americans defied the burning heat to train before a packed crowd."

* * *

FROM LIBERIA, the American Embassy cited a very large amount of publicity about the group and reported that "this was perhaps the most popular visit of Americans to Liberia. Not even during the President's inauguration did as many pictures appear in the press in a single week as appeared on the American athletes."

The President's special international cultural program is operated by the "Operations Coordinating Board," of which Deputy Under Secretary of State Robert Murphy is chairman.

The board works through the American National Theatre and Academy (IANTA) which is under contract as the State Department agent for cultural attractions. ANTA recommends the projects, disburses the program funds, and handles the arrangements for the foreign tours.

* * *

A BREAKDOWN of funds by approved projects and obligations as of last May 31 showed $92,500 approved for a tour of the Near East and Africa by Dizzy Gillespie's band, $29,000 for a tour of the Near East and Africa by William Warfield.

Also $17,000 for the AAU track team to go to Africa, $11,861 for a tour of the Near East and Africa by Leontyne Price, $20,000 for an overseas tour of the Jubilee Singers, and $70,000 for an overseas tour by Marian Anderson.

Although Sovet Russia was supposed to pick up the tab for the Porgy and Bess tour behind the Iron Curtain, $7,412 of American money was spent for entertainment in three cities, of which $3,306 was spent in Moscow.

There was allocated $2,691 for Prague, and in Warsaw it was $1,254.

* * *

IN ADDITION, there also was spent $4,529 on the visit of the Porgy and Bess company to four other cities, including Belgrade, although Congress had turned down requested funds for Porgy and Bess to visit behind the Iron Curtain.

Christine Davis of the House Government Operations Committee has gone to Chicago to be in charge of Representative Dawson's office in the Conrad-Hilton Hotel during the convention. As vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee Dawson rates an office along with other officers of the committee.

Venice Spraggs, Dawson's representative at Democratic headquarters here, also has gone to Chicago to help with icpreparations for the Democratic ational convention.

GOD SENT MAN

Quantico, Md. — I read in your paper that the Rev. Joseph J. Ayd had retired from the penitentiary. He will always be remembered by the fellows there.

I'll never forget him as long as I live. A talk with Father Ayd would make all things all right. He is a God sent man.

ROBERT WHITE

THOUGHTS OF THE FOUNDER

Every portion of the Constitution is sacred and must be loyally obeyed.

JOHN H. MURPHY
May 18, 1907

Politics Have Killed Civil Rights, Says Lautier

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 8-4-56

P3

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — A post-mortem on civil rights legislation shows that politics was the cause of its death.

Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, the Majority Leader, gave a too simple explanation of the bottling up in the Senate Judiciary Committee of the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights proposals.

Both he and Sen. William F. Knowland, of California, the Minority Leader, said supporters of civil rights had waited too late in the session to try to bring up the House-approved bill.

THE FACT is that civil rights bills have been pending in the Senate, as well as in the House, since the beginning of the 84th Congress on Jan. 5, 1955.

An antilynching bill was introduced as early as Feb. 1, 1955, by ten senators — nine Democrats and one Republican. A number of other civil rights bills were introduced at about the same time. Two bills to ban racial segregation in interstate travel were introduced.

A group of Southern Senators also proposed an amendment to the Constitution to ban the poll tax as a condition for voting in Federal elections.

Sen. Harley V. Kilgore, (D., W. Va.) did not die until last Feb. 28. But Senator Kilgore would hold hearings on none of the civil rights bills which were referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee of which he was chairman.

Nor would Sen. Warren G. Magnuson, of Washington, chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Committee, hold hearings on the two bills to ban segregation in interstate travel.

* * *

SEN. ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, one of the leading contenders for the Democratic Presidential nomination, was the chairman of the Constitutional Amendments subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee. The anti-poll tax constitutional amendment was referred to that subcommittee. But hearings were never held.

The Judiciary Committee set up the Constitutional Rights subcommittee. It consisted of Sens. Thomas C. Hennings, of Missouri, chairman; Joseph C. O'Mahoney, (D., Wyo.), and William Langer, (D., N.D.).

Sen. Hennings was not interested in holding hearings on civil rights before his subcommittee. He took the position that his subcommittee was concerned with violations of civil liberties rather than civil rights.

A number of liberal individuals and organizations also held the view that if the Constitutional Rights subcommittee got involved with civil rights, it would never get off the ground.

The subcommittee had to get an appropriation and did not want to run afoul of Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D., La.) a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

* * *

THEN PAUL SIFTON, a lobbyist for the United Automobile Workers, suggested that the Constitutional Rights subcommittee should hear Roy Wilkins NAACP secretary, and Senator Hennings got word that Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr., was drafting civil rights recommendations to send to Congress.

Sen. Hennings then reported four civil rights bills to the full Judiciary Committee without ever having held hearings on them, and Sen James O. Eastland, Dixiecrat, committee chairman, went into his act of blocking action.

Majority Leader Johnson refused to do anything about civil rights because he thought it would split the Democratic party down the middle.

He said the Democratic party had done more for colored people than any other party. He cited social legislation which the Democratic party had passed and from which colored people had benefitted along with other people.

He said he did not propose to purchase the colored vote with civil rights legislation.

* * *

IN THE FINAL days two lobbyists for organized labor also put pressure on Senators against civil rights. They threatened them with defeat if a motion to discharge the Judiciary Committee from consideration of the House-approved civil rights bill jeopardized social security legislation.

If all of these things had not happened, the story of civil rights legislation in the second session of the 84th Congress might have been different, despite Senator Eastland.

* * *

BUT THE CIVIL Rights issue will not die until it is rightfully settled. A few Southern states cannot continue forever to defy the decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregated schools, to deprive colored citizens of the right to vote, to murder colored men because they seek to exercise their civil rights, and to kidnap and brutally murder 14-year old colored boys.

As Senator Paul Douglas, Democrat, of Illinois, said:

"I believe we must seek to right the great wrongs we have inflicted upon the colored people if we are to escape the judgment of a just God. I do not question the motives of those, however, who have taken a contrary position. I merely say this is an issue which will weigh not only upon the conscience of the country, but upon the conscience of the Senate."

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

A Flagrant Waste Of Our Tax Money

Afro American

Taxpayers' money is being wasted by a congressional committee to probe integration in the District of Columbia public schools.

If the probe were being conducted fairly and objectively to find out what's wrong with public school education, some good might result. But the investigators — Rep. James C. Davis of Georgia and John Bell Williams of Mississippi — and the committee counsel, Willie Gerber, political fixer and hatchet man, are running true to form.

All three of them are dyed-in-the-wool racists. They ooze bigotry. Davis is an ex-member of the Ku Klux Klan. Williams is an ardent advocate of

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

By LOUIS LAUTIER — For the NNPA News Service

One of the dilemmas colored voters face in the South is well illustrated in the Tenth Congressional District of Virginia.

This district is located in Northern Virginia. It embraces Arlington and Fairfax Counties and the towns of Alexandria and Falls Church.

The population of the district is roughly 303,328. The area is fairly liberal. It is not typically southern. A large segment of the population moved into the district from the east, north and west because of Government employment in the metropolitan Washington, D. C., area, or because of service with the Armed Forces stationed in the area.

A large number of the residents have attended schools with colored people and do not understand why there should be racial segregation in public schools. Many of them, in fact, want their children to have the experience of attending racially mixed schools.

Arlington schools are far better than schools in other areas in Virginia. Local taxes for supporting the schools, therefore, are high. The tax rate is another factor which impels some of the residents to favor a single school system.

Before the Supreme Court ruled that segregated public schools are unconstitutional, a delegation of Arlingtonians, including a former superintendent of schools there, waited upon former Gov. John S. Battle in Richmond, Va., and asked him what would happen if Arlington integrated its schools.

Battle replied that he hoped Arlington would not take that step but, it it did, it would lose its share of state educational funds.

The Community Council for Social Action, sponsored by the Unitarian Church of Arlington, has met monthly now for several years. It is interracial and interfaith. At the Sunday evening meetings a light repast is served and persons attending have acted perfectly civilized in these social contacts.

In addition, the Unitarian Church has conducted summer schools at which both white and colored children were in attendance without incident.

If it were not for state law compelling racial segregation, it is very probable that Arlington would be following the pattern now existing in Washington of no segregation in places of public accommodation and entertainment.

Representative Joel T. Broyhill, Republican, of Arlington, was elected to Congress in 1952 by 33,152 to 32,830 votes for his Democratic opponent. He was reelected in 1954 by 29,221 to 24,667 votes for his Democratic opponent.

Democrats are seeking to recapture the district in November. They have nominated Warren D. Quenstedt, a lawyer, who practices in Washington and lives in Arlington. He has the reputation of being a liberal.

Mr. Broyhill is a segregationist. In the 84th Congress he signed the Southern Manifesto condemning the Supreme Court for its decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools; voted against the Powell amendment (to the Federal aid to school construction bill) which would have denied funds to school districts not complying with the Supreme Court order to desegregate public schools and voted against the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights bill.

No self-respecting colored person can vote to return Broyhill to Congress.

On the other hand, a vote for Quenstedt will be a vote to have as chairmen of House committees Representatives Harold D. Cooley, North Carolina, Agriculture; Carl Vinson, Georgia, Armed Services; John L. McMillan, South Carolina, District of Columbia; Graham A. Barden, North Carolina, Education and Labor.

Omar Burleson, Texas, Administration; J. Percy Priest, Tennessee, Inter-state and Foreign Commerce; Herbert C. Bonner, North Carolina, Merchant Marine and Fisheries; Tom Murray, Tennessee, Post Office and Civil Service; Olin D. Teague, Texas, Veterans Affairs, and Jere D. Cooper, Tennessee, Ways and Means.

It also will be a vote of endorsement for the special six-member House District of Columbia subcommittee which is investigating public schools of the District of Columbia to prove that integration has lowered scholastic standards and morals and raised the rate of juvenile delinquency.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Bishop Baber An Expert On Books

Bishop George W. Baber of the AME Church was a witness at the prosecution of Alfred E. Butler in the Recorder's Court of Detroit.

Butler was convicted of selling a book, "The Devil Rides Outside," by John H. Griffin. The case is now pending in the Supreme Court on constitutionality of the Michigan law banning sale or possession of filthy literature.

"The Devil Rides Outside" is a story written in diary form and in the first person singular. The name of the chief character is never disclosed but it is apparent that he is a young American musician.

THE TITLE is taken from an old French proverb that the devil rides outside monastery walls. The book is divided into two parts—the cloister within, and the devil without.

The book traces the growth of the chief character in the religiously centered life of a Benedictine cloister in southern France and gives a complete and bitter picture of middle-class life in the village outside of the monastery walls.

Bishop Baber received his BD degree at Wilberforce and "shopped about" for his graduate studies, attending refresher courses and seminaries.

His only study in the field of literature was a "general survey" but he read as "a constant avocation."

HE HAD never been asked to pass an opinion on the literary value of any book and had never taught any literary subjects. His only literary connection was in censoring movies by invitation through the Council of Churches in Detroit.

Despite objection by the defense as to his qualifications, the court ruled that he was qualified as a literary expert and permitted him to testify as to his opinion of the literary value of the book.

He stated that the descriptive emphasis on the sensual was unnecessary to the work.

Sen. Richard B. Russell, (D. Ga.) has asked General Lewis B. Hershey, director of the Selective Service System, for a full report on the case of Fred D. Gray, the Montgomery, (Ala.) lawyer, whose status is under appeal.

Gray became a full-time minister while his case was pending. Russell wants to know about the delay in inducting Gray after the Presidential Appeals Board had upheld the Alabama Appeals Board in classifying him as 1A.

Gray was one of the attorneys in the mass trials of colored persons for boycotting the Montgomery bus lines.

Russell entered the controversy over the resignation of the local draft board because General Hershey reopened the Gray case. He got into at the request of Senator Lister Hill, Democrat, of Alabama.

Two members of the subcommittee held public hearings aimed at showing that colored pupils were racially inferior to whites. The members were Representatives James C. Davis of Georgia, an ex-Ku Klux Klansman, and John Bell Williams, of Mississippi.

They were aided by Willie Gerber of Memphis, who served as committee counsel.

* * *

LONG BEFORE the hearings were held, Dr. Hobart M. Corning, superintendent of schools, told the Senate District of Columbia appropriations subcommittee, of which Senator John Stennis (D. Miss.) is chairman, that the process of desegregating Washington schools had won high priise from top Government officials.

"However reassuring as it is, it is vital that necessary financial support to implement this difficult transition be forthcoming," he said, adding:

"The job of integrating two school systems which previously were so completely separate cannot be accomplished without damage to the children unless the schools are adequately staffed.

"At the secondary level, teachers and administrators are responsible for the most difficult assignment of their professional careers.

"**THE MAKING** of an adjustment between the races, the re-examination of the teaching procedures, the maintenance of the control and discipline and the adjustment to new conditions make demands upon personnel that are unprecedented.

"To mention one aspect of adjustment, the problem of discipline and control requires first consideration.

"The adjustment during the transition to an integrated program affects all the students and parents in all of the schools and requires learning how to get along with people of different races, how to overcome resentment and how to overcome animosities that are the product of experience and tradition.

"The teachers in the staffs of our schools have gone the extra mile to do this job well. The demand upon time and effort exceeds the normal teaching processes.

* * *

"**TEACHERS** and principals are required to supervise students in the classrooms, in the buildings, on the playgrounds, in school sports, and in all other school activities in order to provide the closest control and to prevent the occurrences of incidents.

"Furthermore, the schools are affected by the incidences of juvenile delinquency. We have the problems of welfare coming out of financially deprived situations and all of this adds to the complexity of teaching.

"It is the firm belief of the board of education that to move teachers from the secondary schools would be a serious loss in staff at a time when an adequate staff is most needed."

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white supremacy. Both he and Davis, along with that other arch racist, Sen. Jim Eastland, (D. Miss.) have been making speeches to White Citizens' Councils.

* * *

DAVIS, WILLIAMS and Gerber — they're a fine trio to be investigating public schools anywhere. None of them had first-hand information on what a first-class public school is like. Davis attended public schools in Franklin, Heard County, in rural Georgia.

Williams got his public school education in Jackson, Miss. The best that can be said for Jackson (Miss.) public schools is that they are not as bad as rural Mississippi schools. Gerber believes that good public school education can be purchased for 77 cents per day for each child in average daily attendance — the amount that Memphis spends on its white children. The Lord only knows what it spends on its colored children.

From training and experience, none of them are competent to say whether educational methods used in the District of Columbia are sound or unsound.

THEY SEEK TO attribute to race or color differences in ability of children.

Here is a typical classroom, picked out at random by Dr. Hobart M. Corning, superintendent of schools to show that children differ in native ability, in mental maturity, academic achievement, physical development, stamina, and social and economic background without regard to race or color.

The clas shas 31 children and is in one of the most favored sections in Washington.

In that class there are three children emotionally maladjusted, one of them attending psychiatric clinics for help, eight of them are slow learners (remember, this is a very privileged section of the city, three are especially bright, 22 are of average ability, three are behavior problems, two are disinterested in what goes on, two are very immature, one lives in an institution but attends public school, and two of them are considerably over age.

* * *

THIS PICTURE of a single classroom with a teacher having to deal with all those many differences — and there are many differences and many categories into which children fall — makes a pretty telling story.

About educational and pedagogical techniques—Davis, Williams and Gerber know nothing. They have no recollection about questions ever being raised about youngsters being emotionally maladjusted or having all these little difficulties that are obstacles in the way of getting an education.

Did children learn as well in the early days when a teacher just took them for what they were — a whole classroom full— or do they learn better today if they are all nicely arranged in compartments to find out what their mental hazards, inhibitions and obstacles are?

* * *

HERE IS Dr. Corning's answer:

"My contention would be very strongly, and I think it could be documented, that they learn better today if we can have classes small enough and if we can get children properly grouped so that the most obvious deviations will be taken care of through a group.

"However, I can remember the days of my first teaching experience, which is now a great many years ago, and we did not have those problems because we simply dropped them (the misfits) out of school. That was our best solution in those days."

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American

By Louis Lautier

Sat. 1-7-56

1955 In Review

P. 4

JANUARY — With Democrats in control of the 84th Congress, the congressional theme song was "Hold on to Your Confederate Money, Boys, the South Shall Rise Again."

Rep. Bill Dawson, of Illinois, took over again chairmanship of the House Government Operations Committee, and Christine Davis was reinstated as clerk to the committee. Norma Williams succeeded Leah Brock as Dawson's secretary.

Mr. Lautier

After the swearing-in ceremonies in the House, Representative Adam C. Powell, Democrat, of New York, played host to newly-elected Representative Charles C. Diggs Jr., Democrat, of Michigan, and his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Charles C. Diggs Sr., of Detroit.

Baltimore, Md.

President and Mrs. Eisenhower gave a State dinner at the White House in honor of President and Mrs. Paul E. Magloire of Haiti, who were their guests over night in the White House, during their three-day visit. Other dinner guests included Mr. and Mrs. Rufus C. Kuykendall of Indianapolis, Mr. and Mrs. John W. Roxborough 2nd, of Detroit, Mr. and Mrs. Paul R. Williams of Los Angeles, and Mr. and Mrs. Val Washington.

* * *

FEBRUARY — The National Press Club voted to admit Louis Lautier as the first colored member in the 47-year history of the club. The vote was 377 to 281.

President Eisenhower appointed George E. C. Hayes, an attorney, as chairman of the District of Columbia Public Utilities Commission, effective in May when Bob McLaughlin, then chairman, was appointed to succeed Renah Camalier as a member of the three-man Board of Commissioners, the governing body of the District of Columbia.

MARCH — The United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Federal Wagering Tax Act as applied to gamblers in the District of Columbia, with three justices — Frankfurter, Black and Douglas —dissenting in the case of Frank Lewis, a numbers writer, who took bets without first getting a $50 occupational tax stamp.

The Senate confirmed, by a vote of 71 to 11, President Eisenhower's nomination of Judge John Marshall Harlan as a justice of the Supreme Court.

He is the grandson of Justice John M. Harlan, who wrote the dissenting opinion in the Plessy vs. Ferguson case, in which the court enunciated its "separate but equal" doctrine, overturned 58 years later in the school segregation cases.

Walter F. White, 61-year-old executive secretary of the NAACP, died.

* * *

APRIL — The Supreme Court heard oral arguments on the questions of how and when its decisions against segregated public schools shall be enforced.

Off with my wife, Constance, a Bundy public school teacher, to cover the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, an assignment which took us around the world—San Francisco, Honolulu, Wake and Guam Islands, Manila, North Borneo, Jakarta, Bandung, Signapore, Bangkok, Calcutta, New Delhi, Karachi, Beiruth, Rome, Paris New York, and back to Washington.

* *

MAY—The Supreme Court ordered "a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance" with its decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools and remanded the cases to lower courts for entering final decrees.

The jobs of Frank Horne and Corienne R. Morrow as racial relations advisers in the Housing and Home Finance Agency were abolished. Both appealed. The Civil Service Commission upheld Horne's dismissal, but ordered Mrs. Morrow restored to duty as an information specialist or in some other position at that level.

Several days before the decision in the Morrow case was handed down, Joseph H. Rainey, an HHFA information specialist, quit his job and returned to work for the Republican National Committee as a field worker. HHF abolished Rainey's job.

When Mrs. Morrow reported, HHFA had no information specialist job for her. She was kept on duty at a desk that day to satisfy the requirements of the Civil Service Commission's restoration order but given another reduction in force notice and later, offered a job as secretary-stenographer at $4,890 a year, a reduction in pay of $5,175.

* * *

WALTER A. GORDON, of California, was appointed Governor of the Virgin Island Islands in place of Archie A. Alexander, who resigned . . . Doyle Mitchell, 42-year-old president of the Industrial Bank of Washington, won a decree from his wife, Juanita, in the District Court here.

Marie Pittman sued her mate, Dan Pittman, retired police lieutenant, for an absolute divorce and alimony . . . Ernest C. Dickson, lawyer and real estate broker, was named defendant in an alienation-of-affections suit

This Was The News From Washington During 1955

World

Tues. 1-3-56

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For The NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C.— January With the Democrats in control of the 84th Congress, the congressional theme song was 'Hold on to Your Confederate Money, Boys, the Souta Shall Rise Again."

P. 7

Representative Bill Dawson, of Illinois, took over again the chairmanship of the House Government Operations Committee, and Christine Davis was reinstated as clerk to the committee. Norma Williams succeeded Leah Brock as Dawson's secretary.

Birmingham

After the swearing-in ceremones in the House, Respesentative Adam C. Powell, Democrat, of New York, played host to newly-elected Representatives Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Democrat, of Michigan, and his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Charles C. Diggs, Sr., of Detroit.

Ala.

President and Mrs. Eisenhower gave a State dinner at the White House in honor of President and Mrs. Paul E. Magloire of Haiti, who were their guests over night in the White House during their three day visit. Other dinner guests included Mr. and Mrs. Rufus C. Kuykendall of Indianapolis, Mr. and Mrs. John W. Roxbourough, 2d, of Detroit, Mr. and Mrs. Paul R. Williams of Los Angeles and Mr. and Mrs. Val Washington.

PRESS CLUB ENTRY

February— The National Press Club voted to admit Louis Lautier as the first colored members in the 47-year history of the club. The vote was 377 to 281.

President Eisenhower appointed George E. C. Hayes, an attorney as chairman of the District of Columbia Public Utilites Commisson, effectve in May when Bob McLaughlin the then chairman, was appointed to succeed Renah Camalier as a member of the three-man Board of Commissioners, the governing body of the District of Columbia.

March— The United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Federal Wagering Tax Act as applied to gamblers in the District of Columbia, with three justices—Frankfurter. Black and Douglas dissenting—in the case of Frank Lewis, a number writer, who took bets without first getting a $50 occupational tax stamp.

The Senate confirmed, by a vote of 71 to 11, President Eisenhower's nomination of Judge John Marshall Harlan as justice of the Supreme Court.

He is the grandson of Justice John M. Harlan who wrote the dissenting opinion in the Plessy vs. Ferguson case in which the court enunciated its "separate but equal" doctrine overturned fifty-eight years later in the school segregation cases.

Walter F. White, 1-year old executive secretary of the NAACP, died.

April—The Supreme Court heard oral arguments on the questions of how and when its decisions against segregated public schools shall be enforced.

Off with my wife, Constance, a Bundy public school teacher, to cover the Asian-African Conference in Bandgung, an assignment which took us around the world San Francisco, Honolulu, Wake and Guam Islands, Manila, North Borneo, Jakarta, Bandung, Singapore, Bangkok, Calcutta New Delhi, Karachi, Beiruth Rome, Paris, New York, and back to Washington.

HIGH COURT ORDER

May—The Supreme Court ordered a "prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance" with its decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools and remanded the cases to lower courts for entering final decrees.

The jobs of Frank Horne and Corienne R. Morrow as racial relations advisers in the Housing and Home Finance Agency were abolished. Both appealed. The Civil Service Commission upheld Horne's dismissal but ordered Mrs. Morrow restored to duty as an information specialist or in some other position at that level.

Several days before the decision in the Morrow case was handed down, Joseph H. Rainey, and HHFA information specialist, quit his job and returned to work for the Republican National Committee as a field worker. HHFA abolished Rainey's job.

When Mrs. Morrow reported, HHFA had no information specialist job for her. She was kept on duty at a desk that day to satisfy the requirements of the Civil Service Commission's restoration order by given another reductiong in force notice and later offered a job as secretary-stenographer at $4,890 a year, a reduction in pay of $5,175.

Walter A. Gordon, of California, was appointed Governor of the Virgin in place of Archie A. Alexander. who resigned ......Doyle Mitchell 42, year old president of the Industrial Bank of Washington won a decree from his wife, Juanita, in the District Court here.

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American

By Louis Lautier

Baltimore Md.

Chances of Ike's running improve

Prospects of President Eisenhower running for reelection are moving upward.

Jim Hagerty, White House press secretary, told reporters the other day that the President's "physical condition is excellent and he benefitted greatly from the exercise and relaxation tion obtained during his recent visit to Key West."

Mr. Lautier

Sat. 1-21-56

The Hagerty statement was made shortly after Mr. Eisenhower had been examined by Dr. Howard Snyder, physician to the President; Dr. Thomas E. Mattingly, a heart specialist, and Dr. Byron E. Pollock, head of the cardiological service at Fitzsimmons Army General Hospital where the President was a

patient.

P. 4

HAGERTY SAID the three doctors had examined the President that morning. "The usual electrocardiogram and blood test were given," Hagerty said, "and the President's recovery continues to progress satisfactorily."

(The examination did not include X-ray or flouroscope.)

Dr. Pollock did not come to Washington specifically to examine the President. He came here to attend a meeting at the National Institute of Health concerning Federal grants to Federal hospitals for research. He had not seen Mr. Eisenhower in nine weeks.

The examination was given at 7:30 Wednesday morning before breakfast in Mr. Eisenhower's upstairs room. The blood was taken downstairs to Major General Snyder's office for testing. Later, Dr. Snyder informed Mr. Eisenhower of the results.

* * *

THE BLOOD test shows the rate of coagulation.

"The word 'excellent' stands alone in this thing," said a reporter. "Would it mean that the President can do anything?"

"I said his physical condition is excellent," Hagerty replied. "I am not going to go beyond what the doctors tell me or interpret it."

Hagerty said the examination was exactly the same type that the President had after he left Denver by Dr. Snyder and Dr. Mattingly. He said he believed it was suggested by the doctors. He added that it is looked upon as a completely routine examination and followed the pattern outlined at the very first press conference by Dr. Paul Dudley White, a leading heart specialist.

* * *

IF MORE evidence is wanted of Mr. Eisenhower's recovery from coronary thrombosis, which left a "coronary infection" or damage to the muscles of a portion of the heart, his office schedule gives it.

F'rinstance, one morning last week he arrived at his office at 8:30. The time before 9 o'clock was spent doing staff work and the 15 minutes before the meeting with Republican congressional leaders was spent with the White House legislative liaison staff.

He met with the legislative leaders from 9 to 10:30 and then resumed staff work and personal dictation until he went to lunch and then took a short rest period before returning to his office.

That afternoon at 3:15 he saw Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on State Department matters.

* * *

TOM MONROE ought to resign as president of the Arlington (Va.) Branch of the NAACP or as Democratic precinct committeeman of Arlington County. The two jobs are incompatible.

In November, as precinct committeeman, Monroe supported Charles Fenwick for reelection as State Senator, Harrison Mann for reelection as General Assemblyman, William Winston to succeed J. Maynard Magruder as General Assemblyman and Magruder for Arlington County treasurer.

Magruder was defeated by Colin McPherson, the Republican incumbent.

Both Fenwick and Mann were members of the 32-member Gray Commission, appointed by Governor Stanley, to find ways and means of getting around the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools.

THIS COMMISSION recommended the Gray Plan, adopted by Virginia voters Jan. 9 calling for a change in the Virginia constitution to permit public funds to be used as tuition grants to children in counties where public schools are abolished or whose parents object to their attending mixed schools in counties where the schools are integrated.

During one of the bitterest debates in Virginia's history, Fenwick, Mann, Winston and Magruder lined up with the pro amendment forces, which was spearheaded by the Virginia Democratic organization.

Monroe, as president of the Arlington NAACP was opposed to the Gray Plan. But as Democratic precinct committeeman, he is honor bound to support all Democratic candidates for public office.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL:

Afro-American P. 13
Baltimore, Md.
Sat 2-4-56

Interposition can't hold integration

By LOUIS LAUTIER
(For NNPA)

Southern governors, political demagogs, and few members of Congress are only kidding themselves and revealing that poverty of southern statesmanship when they reassert the doctrine of "interposition" which has been dead and buried for 158 years.

Protest as much as they will, the most determinedly segregationist states — Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi—have no right to assert that which can keep the Supreme Court school desegregation decisions from becoming effective.

In pretending that they have, the governors and legislators in those states are merely deceiving the people of their states.

* * *

"INTERPOSITION" WAS the doctrine advanced by James Madison in drafting the Virginia resolution of 1798 against the alien and sedition laws which were passed by the Federalists in Congress in 1798.

The Alien Act authorized the President to banish foreigners deemed to be dangerous, and the Sedition Act curtailed the freedom of the press.

The two laws were aimed chiefly at certain political opponents of the administration of John Adams, and created a violent reaction.

* * *

THE PERTINENT part of the Virginia resolutions, in part, was that "In case of a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of . . . powers not granted by the (Constitution), the states . . . have the right and are in duty bound to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them."

Under the application of this states are claiming the right to put their sovereignty between the people of their states and the Supreme Court and nullify the court's ruling within their borders.

* * *

INTERPOSITION, nullification and secession were all based upon the theory that the Federal Constitution was a compact of sovereign states.

But that was not the doctrine of the framers of the Constitution. In their view, that document was a compact of the people of America—government over individuals and no state intervention between the government and the state.

That is the view of Edward S. Corwin, 78-year-old professor emeritus of Princeton University, whom the Library of Congress regards as the authority on interposition.

* * *

WRITING IN the Michigan Law Review (1911-12) on the subject of "National Power and State Interposition," Professor Corwin said:

". . . the framers of the Constitution had no other object half so much at heart as to be rid once and forever of that state intervention which had made the Confederacy (under the Articles of Confederation, and not to be confused with the Confederate States of America) a sham and a mockery."

Capital Spotlight

Afro-american P. 4
Sat. 2-11-56

By Louis Lautier

Eastland meets the press

Baltimore, Md.

Southern congressmen were not pleased with the performance of Sen. Jim Eastland (Dem., Miss.) on the TV show, "Meet the Press," Sunday evening, Jan. 29.

He was a veritable Ananias. F'rinstance, he denied that colored people were segregated in Mississippi because whites believed them inferior.

He denied that colored people in Mississippi were denied equal educational opportunity and equal opportunity to vote.

Mr. Lautier

The absurdity of the evening, however, was reached when Mrs. May Craig, correspondent for a group of Maine papers, asked Eastland: "Senator, have you advocated white supremacy?"

Looking shocked, Eastland asked her: "What is white supremacy?"

* * *

ASKED WHOM he favored for the Democratic nomination for President, Eastland said he has no "segregation or integration candidate."

But that is not what is being whispered in senatorial cloakrooms. They say Eastland favors Gov. Frank E. Lausche of Ohio.

Indeed, politics make strange bedfellows when Eastland, Sen. Dick Russell of Georgia and Lausche can be found in the same political bed.

* * *

COPS AND ROBBERS: The biggest problem in crime, with which Secret Service agents and postal inspectors have to cope today, is the forgery of government checks.

A large percentage of such checks is stolen from mailboxes and forged by narcotics addicts to obtain funds to buy dope.

U. E. Baughman, chief of the U.S. Secret Service, recently told a House Appropriations subcommittee that the Secret Service received 33,200 such cases for investigation in 1955, as compared with 31,931 in 1954—an increase of 1,329.

"Check forging," say Baughman, "is becoming most serious; it is one of the most profitable criminal rackets, and is increasing daily."

Forged government checks last year totaled $2½ million, most of which was lost by store keepers and merchants.

"In practically every instance," says Baughman, "the acceptance of a forged check is due to carelessness of merchants and storekeepers who do not request proper identification."

HERE ARE A few cases solved by the Secret Service:

In a case in Corpus Christi, Tex. Secret Service agents arrested four men and two women who worked as two teams in two cars in stealing, forging, and cashing government checks. They had operated extensively in Texas, Louisiana, Georgia and other southern states.

They said they never used identification in cashing checks. Although they were often asked for identification, all they had to say was they "left it at home."

In another case, 10 forgers were arrested in Oklahoma City for multiple check forgery. They had operated for seven months before being caught.

One admitted he and an accomplice stole checks from mailboxes but got forged endorsements from other members of the gang because they knew specimens of their own handwriting were in Secret Service files.

* * *

AS THEIR operations expanded, they began to use women and even children to pass the checks. All of them said not once was any identification required for cashing the forged checks.

In New York City, a man was arrested as the leader of a large gang of mail thieves and forgers.

He stole checks or acted as a clearing house for stolen checks, receiving them from other members of the gang and alloting the checks according to the ability of each member of the gang.

After a check was cashed, proceeds were divided among the members directly concerned with stealing and cashing it. It was estimated that the gang of seven members cashed over 500 government checks.

TODAY IN WORLD AFFAIRS

Federal Police Power

Legislation Is Asked To Extend It In Enforcement Of Civil Rights

BY DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON

THE DAY IS not far off when the federal government will take over some of the important functions of maintaining law and order which hitherto have been considered by the courts to be solely the responsibility of states, counties and cities. An extension of the federal police power is under way.

The latest move whereby the House of Representatives is being asked by its judiciary committee to pass legislation permitting the attorney general to bring civil suits to enforce civil rights—if confirmed as constitutional by the Supreme Court in a future case—would mean that Congress could provide criminal penalties, too. In fact, Chairman Celler of the House Judiciary Committee recently sponsored exactly such a provision which, for reasons of political expediency, was temporarily dropped from the committee's bill on civil rights in favor of one being pressed by the administration.

Federal 'Right To Work' Protection Might Follow

WHAT IT ALL means is that the new measures, although not aimed at labor unions, will be feared by them—at least by those unions which depend on "goons" and strong-arm men to overturn a worker's auto at the factory gate and beat him up. For, if the new measures on civil rights are passed and sustained in the courts, it's the opening wedge toward protection of the "right to work" both by the federal government and the states.

Historically the Constitution has been interpreted as meaning that no state can pass a law abridging the right to vote or the freedom of the press or any of the "privileges and immunities of citizens." But up to now this has been construed by the Department of Justice in administration after administration and by the Supreme Court in decision after decision to mean that, unless it can be shown that state enforcement machinery has actually broken down, the federal police power cannot be lawfully interposed.

Only last Monday, however, the Supreme Court of the United States reached into the procedures of the state of Illinois in a case which didn't involve a federal crime at all—indeed, it was a local case of robbery—and ruled that the state court hadn't complied with a technicality in procedure. Who is to decide, for instance, whether a stenographic copy of the testimony shall be given free or charged for when a petition for appeal is filed? Up to now the Supreme Court of the state of Illinois has thought it could handle such a question as a state matter. The Supreme Court of the United States by a 5-to-4 vote this week said the Illinois court was wrong. Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court, in a minority opinion, said:

"As I view this case, it contains none of the elements hitherto regarded as essential to justify action by this court under the Fourteenth Amendment. In truth what we have here is but the failure of Illinois to adopt as promptly as other states a desirable reform in its criminal procedure. . . . I think it is beyond the province of this court to tell Illinois that it must provide such procedures."

Thus the trend is toward federal usurpation of police power while complete control of state court procedures by the Supreme Court of the United States, even to the minutest detail, passes from the states to the federal government.

The Constitution now, in other words, is what the Department of Justice and the Supreme Court together may say it is. The Constitution heretofore has been construed by the Supreme Court to mean that no state can make any law abridging the right to vote on account of race or color and that no state may fail to guarantee the right of the citizen to "life, liberty and property." But up to now the Department of Justice has not intervened to punish murder on the picket line or in racial troubles unless there was evidence of a breakdown of the enforcement machinery of the state itself.

Recently—in 1953—the labor unions closed down several newspapers in New York City. The unions acted in concert and some of them ignored their contract obligations to work. They accomplished together by conspiracy the denial of a constitutional right. They abridged freedom of the press. But the Department of Justice held this was a state matter. Likewise, in case after case of violence at the factory gate, the Department of Justice has not intervened even though unions do act in concert and carry on their activities as organizations sanctioned by federal law.

Measures Would Mean Far-Reaching Change

WITH THE NEW proposals that look into "economic pressure," on the other hand, the attorney general would be given the power to enforce civil rights instead of leaving it to aggrieved citizens to bring suits. It would be a short step then to federal intervention and the enactment of criminal penalties to deal with labor-union violence and coercion and intimidation in labor-union elections and membership activities.

Maybe on balance the gain for the country on the "right to work" side for many millions of white and Negro workers would in the long run far outweigh the disadvantages to a few states in the South which have, by one means or another, discouraged Negroes from voting. So far as these state laws on qualifications for voting are concerned, the record is clear—they apply to both whites and Negroes. But in enforcement there is a question. The new civil-rights measures, therefore, if passed, would permit the Department of Justice to look into "pressures" behind all state laws affecting individual rights. It would be a far-reaching change.—©

Effects Of School Integration

BY DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON—Right here in the national capital, almost on the doorstep of the Supreme Court of the United States, some sensational facts have been uncovered which may have a far-reaching influence on how segregation or integration works out in the schools of America.

Washington Tests Show Drop In Educational Level

FOR THE TESTS conducted in the Washington schools show that, since Negro and white children were put in the same classes, the educational level has dropped below the national average. Previous tests in all-white schools in Washington showed that national averages had been generally attained.

City-wide achievement tests — made after segregation was ended in the local schools—were given in the third, sixth, ninth and 12th grades. In almost all these grades, the results lagged behind the national averages.

Thus, out of 4,155 pupils in the ninth grade—tested in reading—only 1,583, or 38 per cent, were at the ninth-grade level or above.

Also, out of 3,979 pupils in the ninth grade—tested in arithmetic—only 955 pupils, or 24 per cent, were at the ninth-grade level or above.

As for freshmen in junior high school—sixth grade here—47 per cent showed a reading level of fourth grade or lower. In arithmetic, 37 per cent qualified at the fourth grade level or below.

Both white and Negro teachers agree on these facts, but they also agree that it doesn't necessarily prove that the Negro children have any less intelligence. There is, for example, the suggestion that Negro children in the past have not been given satisfactory education in separate schools and that remedial instruction with "special teachers" hereafter will be necessary.

Meanwhile, what becomes of the doctrine unanimously enunciated by the Supreme Court of the United States on May 17, 1954, declaring that "even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible factors' may be equal," the children "of the minority group" are deprived of equal education opportunities when there is segregation "solely on the basis of race?" The question now will be asked whether the children of the majority group are not being deprived of educational opportunities because of the achievement lag of children in the minority group who are put in the same schools with them.

Legal Questions Grow More Complicated

IRRESPECTIVE OF THE merits of the dispute concerning the social effects of mixed schools, the legal questions appear to be growing more instead of less complicated. For, after what the tests in the Washington schools show, any form of segregation as between those at an advanced educational level and those lagging behind will be open to suspicion. The burden of proof in each case will be upon the school authorities to prove that it isn't racial discrimination.

The parents of white children may be petitioning the federal courts some day with the argument that the "psychological effects" upon their children are adverse. It looks as if the Supreme Court will be plagued with the segregation issue for years to come.—©

Racial Integration A Long Way Off, Warns Lawrence

By David Lawrence

WASHINGTON — Integration of races in all schools throughout the United States is a long way off—years and years, and maybe never. It is as far away or as near as the day when present advocates of integration are willing to face, possibly in their own families, the real issue—the intermarriage of white sons and daughters with Negroes.

The Supreme Court of the United States a few weeks ago sidestepped a decision on the issue of racial intermarriage. For technical reasons, it refused to decide whether a Virginia state law prohibiting intermarriage of races was constitutional. There are such laws in 28 states. Another case is certain to come before the highest court soon. If it is decided that state laws prohibiting intermarriage are unconstitutional, the issue will bring even more friction than the question of school integration.

For in the South many people feel that legalized intermarriages will lead to a mongrelization of the white race and that the propinquity of white and Negro children from the kindergarten age up through the colleges cannot but encourage inter-

marriages on the widest scale in future generations.

The Southerners are arguing for the right to discriminate in their social life, and they consider schools to be a social institution. They point to the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on the school question as having been based primarily on sociological grounds.

The Right to Discriminate

SOUTHERNERS also contend that in the North many of the outspoken advocates of integration believe in and themselves practice the right to discriminate against Negroes and do keep them off the membership rolls of the "exclusive" clubs in New York City and Chicago, for example, and bar them from many country clubs throughout the United States, even though such clubs enjoy certain tax exemptions bestowed upon them by the federal government. Is this right to discriminate in choosing members now to be taken away from them through the coercion of the taxing power?

The manifesto signed by such a renowned constitutional lawyer as Senator Walter F. George of Georgia, Democrat, and more than 100 other members of Congress did not—as has been erroneously interpreted in many quarters—advocate physical resistance to the Supreme Court's decision. It is important to examine anew the wording of the two most significant paragraphs in the manifesto, which read as follows:

"We commend the motives of those states which have declared the intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means . . .

"We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision."

What are the "lawful means"? There are many. Here are some:

1. Case after case can be brought in a prolonged process of litigation, and every case can introduce a different principle or a different approach to the problem. Meanwhile, integration is delayed for years. This method is wholly lawful.

2. Southern states can amend their constitutions and pass laws permitting public funds to be given directly to individual citizens for use in educating their children in private schools chosen by their parents.

3. Public-school buildings can be leased to private corporations, and private schools can be established which could discriminate against Negroes just as do the "exclusive" clubs in the North.

Conforming to Pattern

4. CASES can be brought to the courts by white parents in support of the right of a state to exclude from classrooms all children who do not conform to sociological patterns set by the school boards in a community. Since the Supreme Court itself ruled that a Negro child can be made to feel psychologically inferior if excluded from a classroom containing white children, it will be argued that the impact of the Negro child on the white child has retarded educational progress and that, therefore, states should be permitted to operate mixed schools or segregated schools as the school authorities in their discretion may decide.

5. Many delicate matters of jurisdiction on strictly educational questions can be raised to embarrass the Northern states until they are finally convinced that the only way out is the adoption of an amendment to the federal Constitution specifically granting to the states the sole right to pass laws with respect to school attendance and educational standards in public schools.

The drive for a constitutional amendment to reverse the Supreme Court's decision will be based on the theory that many people who want religious schools preserved will not wish to see the federal government given complete control over education.

One thing is clear. The legal battle has just begun, and "interposition" means interposing many a case that will hold up for a long, long while the general integration of schools in the South, during which time the movement for an amendment to the Constitution will be pursued.

31a 1956

WHITE (DAVID LAWRENCE)

Today in National Affairs

Herald Tribune

Criticism of Supreme Court Goes Beyond Bias Rulings

Wed. 5-16-56 P. 17

New York, N.Y. 31a

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, May 15.—The Supreme Court of the United States as an institution is revered but, unfortunately, the members who happen to be justices for the time being are not always accorded the same reverence.

In fact, today among many lawyers the present Supreme Court is coming in for the most severe criticism. The justices are being spoken of as "arbitrary" and "capricious," and sometimes even the term "reckless" is heard.

Lawrence

The layman isn't aware immediately of the consequences that flow from dangerous decisions. Yet, as one lawyer put it, the jails could be emptied tomorrow of many criminals if their counsel should suddenly take advantage of some of the technical grounds by which criminal convictions are nowadays being reversed.

Such criticism of the Supreme Court stems from cases that have nothing to do with the segregation issue. Thus, the other day the Supreme Court remanded a case of a convict who was charged with armed robbery. The decision was reversed because the robber was held to be too poor for his lawyer to buy a stenographic record of the case so he could file it with his appeal.

Never before has the Supreme Court said that this problem was a basis for Federal interference in a normal procedure by state courts. Lawyers are asking how what happens to cases passed upon by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in the past? This court has had a self-imposed rule to detect errors in the record in capital cases but not in non-capital offenses. Here is an instance where, irrespective of what the lawyers for either side may claim is an error in the record, the Circuit Court of Appeals itself seeks out the error and rules on it. Is it discriminatory because this is done in certain cases and not in others? If the Supreme Court's new ruling is followed, there is confusion ahead and many pleas for possible reversals in criminal cases in the future as well as in opening up past cases.

Another critical decision was rendered by the Supreme Court in the matter of the credibility of witnesses. The new rule set forth in a recent case says that a case must be heard over again if a conviction in a lower court occurs as a result of testimony by a witness whose credibility has been challenged in some other case happening afterward. Washington. It also means a whittling down of the rights of the states to maintain law and order within their own boundaries.

Many bills are also being introduced to try to get better justices. Senator Smathers of Florida has a bill to require five years of experience on the bench. The bill of Senator Stennis of Mississippi would require at least ten years of previous service on the bench. The fact is that only one of the nine justices now on the highest court actually served any appreciable time on the bench. No constitutional amendment is needed—just a Senate rule to insist on such a qualification before it gives consent to confirming a nominee for the Supreme Court. Senator Long of Louisiana proposes an amendment to limit tenure to twelve years.

But this isn't the main complaint. It really is that too many of the nine justices have become "ideological" and interested in "causes" rather than in objective and judicial handling of the issues of the day. The speeches made by some of the justices on current political issues have given rise to the suspicion that too many of the justices consider themselves protagonists. That's really what is worrying citizens generally who have always thought of the Supreme Court as a body completely detached from political turmoil and strife.

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Where does justice begin and end, the lawyers are asking, if a witness in some other case wholly disconnected from the one at issue subsequently commits an unmoral act or if he decides to perjure himself on some other matter?

Decision Postponed

Yet this is what six justices of the Supreme Court decided as they sent back to the Subversive Activities Control Board a case to be tried again. The Communist party claimed that three witnesses had gotten into difficulties in another case and hence this invalidated their testimony. The Circuit Court of Appeals, which disregarded this plea, pointed out that there was enough evidence without it before the trial court and hence both tribunals actually passed on this very point. But the reversal was ordered by the Supreme Court just the same, and a decision as to the constitutionality of the law itself was indefinitely postponed.

"The only purpose of this procedural maneuver," says the dissenting opinion of Justices Harlan, Reed and Minton, "is to gain additional time before the order to register can become effective. This proceeding has dragged out for many years now, and the function of the board remains suspended and the Congressional purpose frustrated at a most critical time in world history."

This is not the only type of case where the Supreme Court has brought down on itself an avalanche of criticism. Virtually all the state governments and the attorneys general in charge of law enforcement are perplexed because of the 6-to-3 decision in the Steve Nelson case. Under this, state governments are told they cannot punish sedition and that only the Federal government can at present deal with such a crime.

Sees State Rights Loss

Bills are being introduced to correct the Supreme Court's misunderstanding of Congressional intent. For, if the decision is left standing, it means that a crime committed wholly within a state and directed at the overthrow of a state government cannot be touched by a state authority and must be left to the Federal government. This means that a bigger and bigger police force will be necessary for

31a 1956 WHITE (WALTER LIPPMAN)

Lippmann Urges Start At University Level

Herald Thurs. 9-6-56 P. 6-A

Miami Fla.

How Integration Can Work In The South

By WALTER LIPPMANN

WE ARE NOW at the beginning of the third school year since the Supreme Court held that segregation in the public schools, as it has prevailed in seventeen states and the District of Columbia, is unlawful.

LIPPMANN

Eight Southern states, extending from Virginia to Louisiana, have taken legal action to nullify the law as applied to primary and secondary schools, and five of them — all but Virginia, North Carolina and Louisiana — maintain segregation in their colleges and universities.

Only the District of Columbia, which is under Federal government, has abolished segregation entirely.

In most but not all of the remaining nine states — which include all the border states — there are some mixed schools. But they are largely confined to communities where the Negroes are a small minority of the population.

Two years are a very short time in a matter of such gravity and difficulty. But they have been long enough, it seems to me, to raise questions which deserve the most careful study and discussion.

These questions revolve around the policy — as laid down by the Supreme Court — for putting the law into effect. This policy, we can now see, is suitable and effective in communities, as for example the District of Columbia, where the public authority and a preponderant public opinion are in favor of observance and compliance.

But in the resisting states or communities, in the hard core of the South, the policy is most unsatisfactory.

It is, in fact, either ineffective — which discredits the law — or dangerous to peace and order.

* * *

THE ESSENTIAL POLICY, which I am talking about, is this:

Having declared that segregation in public schools is unlawful, the Supreme Court invited citizens in communities which do not comply voluntarily to come into the District Court for a redress of their grievance.

This means in practice that in segregated communities Negro families who are willing to fight for their children's rights must get a lawyer, supplied usually by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, must go into the Federal court, and must ask the judge to order the local officials to do what these local officials do not want to do.

Is this a good way to go about persuading the Southern states to comply with a law which they must then live with? There must be a better way than to initiate the process of compliance by a legal fight in which a Negro family calls on the Federal government to override the will of its own community, and subjects Negro children to the kind of ordeal that they are suffering now in Clinton, Tenn.

These two years have shown, it seems to me, that the great project of integrating the public schools is more than a matter of laying down the law and then demanding that everyone comply with it.

Integration requires more than a court order. It requires a program which looks ahead for a generation.

The problem is one for statesmen.

* * *

MY OWN VIEW is that the wisest policy is to proceed by stages, beginning as soon as possible with integration in the universities, in the graduate schools of law, medicine, education, engineering, theology — and where it can be done without causing social convulsions, in the bigger colleges.

The object of this would be to train a new generation of white and colored men and women who will be the leaders in their communities.

Until they exist, there is little prospect that at the hard core there will be a disposition by whites and Negroes to work together on the complex and sensitive problem of integrating at the primary and secondary levels.

A state which complies with the law at the university level should for some years to come be deemed to be acting in good faith. We would be deceiving ourselves if we thought that it is possible to tackle the whole problem at once, and to move any faster.

* * *

UNTIL THE ELECTIONS are over nothing useful can be done about forming a new policy and arriving at a consensus to support it. But it will be on the agenda, and not too far from the top, of the President-elect.

'Tell It Not In Gath, Publish It Not In Askelon'–XIII

Advertiser P.4-A
Mon. 4-9-56

By STEVE LESHER

A LAWYER relative of mine telephoned me the other day from his home in Saint Albans, New York, and remarked. "This is one Yankee lawyer who thinks the Supreme Court is all wet from a legal standpoint."

LESHER

The lawyer remains nameless, though not by his own request. He was willing to be quoted, but agreed that it would be ridiculous to sacrifice business when his name was not necessary to the article.

"But if anyone doubts the facts I'm giving you," he said, "please don't hesitate to refer them to me by name."

Montgomery, Ala.

This young attorney resides in Saint Albans, New York, a community of 45,000 persons in Queens County—the fastest-growing county in the vast metropolis. As a lawyer for a real estate agency in his area as well as a lawyer in private practice, he expressed interest in an "Askelon" piece in *The Advertiser* recently in which the Rev. N. C. Eddy of New York was interviewed on real estate problems of Negroes in that city.

"Two years ago," the lawyer said, "this community [Saint Albans] was 100% white. Now it is no less than 50% Negro. Real estate men are transplanting Harlem not only here, but into other sections of Queens as well.

"The real estate men are trying to break white neighborhoods. As soon as they get one Negro in, some whites will move out of the section. It starts that way—sort of a trickle. Then the real estate men will fill up those vacancies with other Negroes. Soon, whites are moving out in droves. They want new homes; new homes mean commissions for the salesmen. They're after a constant tournover. It's some racket.

"They've done it in Saint Albans—as I said before, what was once a completely white section is now about 50-50. The white residents are either moving out, requesting to have their children sent to schools outside their district or—where they can afford it—placing their children in Jewish or Catholic parochial schools or other private schools.

"There is no real estate value here any more in the white market. They just won't buy. As for Negroes—they don't save a penny. Real estate value is in accordance with high real estate of similar proportions anywhere else in the city."

SO WE SEE that in New York—or at least some sections thereof—real estate people are cashing in on a human social instinct; a situation that is not duplicated in the South due to set laws on residential restrictions of the races.

When our lawyer said the Supreme Court was "all wet," he added: "There is an unlawful enforcement of social segregation here as strong as the lawful separation of the races in the South."

AND the lawyer added this interesting prediction: "In about 10 years, there won't be any Negroes in this section."

"You mean whites will move back in and the Negroes will leave?" I asked naively.

"No. Puerto Ricans will move in."

"Don't the Negroes like the Puerto Ricans?"

"I don't know about 'liking,'" the lawyer answered, "but the Negro—the American-born Negro—considers himself on a higher social strata than the Puerto Rican. When the real estate people start breaking the Negro neighborhood with a Puerto Rican, the same turnover will eventuate as did when they pushed a Negro into a white neighborhood."

The lawyer made clear that the real estate firm he represents is no different from other real estate firms throughout the area. "They're all in business," he said, "and turnover means business. They're either trying to break neighborhoods or—in the higher bracket real estate—keeping it exclusively white. I have seen no middle ground, that is, a company which will let the Negroes fall where they may. They are either rejected or urged.

Civil rights fight was just a sham

By LOUIS E. LOMAX
Special AFRO Correspondent

CHICAGO — The Democratic national convention's civil rights fight was a sham.

While an estimated 100 million people watched the proceedings on TV, and while 200 reporters kept an all night vigil outside a hotel room, the Democratic high command carried out one of the great hoaxes of political history.

The truth, now confirmed by party big wigs, is that that controversial civil rights plank was written six weeks ago by Stephen Mitchell, former chairman of the Democratic national committee.

For several months northern and southern Democrats had been working on a plank that would avoid the fight that had caused the southern revolt four years ago.

* * *

MITCHELL HAD been sent into the South to see top Democrats and work out a compromise that would please all.

Late in June the plank began to take shape and on July 2, after exchange of letters with both northern and southern leaders Mitchell sat down in his Chicago penthouse at 1130 Lake Shore Drive and put into words what had been agreed upon by both sides in principle.

The plan written by Mitchell with little change in words and none in meaning passed the convention. Indeed it had to.

WILLIAM L. DAWSON was on it.

Mississippi's James E. Coleman was in on it. So were Harry S. Truman and Adlai E. Stevenson.

In spite of their efforts the plank "leaked" and the AFRO printed the full text last week.

There was a flurry among southern delegates and northern liberals.

At the last moment the Mitchell plank was divided. Part came out under "civil rights" and the remainder under "human welfare."

A comparison of the final civil rights plank with the propostal as leaked by the AFRO last week will bear this out.

Meanwhile over two hundred newsmen sat outside room 115 until four a.m., Wednesday morning waiting for the sub drafting committee to release the civil rights plank. They had newsmen thinking they were deadlocked on the issue.

* * *

ABOUT THREE O'CLOCK, Mississippi's James Coleman stalked out of the committee room and shouted; "boys there are some things going on in there that a fellow can't take. . . . I had to come out for air."

Reporters scurried for the phones to tell thir editors that the committee was in mortal combat over civil rights.

Then Virginia's portly Governor James Battle came steaming out of the committee room. He looked at Coleman and they both shook their heads in despair.

Reporters again rushed for the phones and made the phony headlines the democratic high command wanted.

* * *

THE DEMOCRATS should have checked the room just east of room 115 where the momentus decisions were allegedly taking place. It happens to be a power room.

In it were three reporters including this AFRO correspondent, who had their ears glued to the wall and heard every word that was being said in the committee.

At the time, Coleman and Battle went through their dramatics, the committee was discussing housing, and there was no mention of civil rights. A few of us knew. We saw no reason to spill the beans.

The great deception was for the benefit of the southern die hards and the northern liberals. It worked and the Democratic party remained united.

The token fight you saw on TV was not a part of the timetable. It was a last minute effort by people who found out little too late, and were poorly organized.

DOPE and DATA

by Louis E. Martin

10-27-56

Adam Powell's switch to President Eisenhower did not come as a big surprise to the Democratic wiseacres. Back in 1952, the New York Congressman gave the Tammany Hall brass a splitting headache with an article friendly to Eisenhower which was scheduled to break in the Readers Digest around election time.

The Democratic chieftans at the Hall in midtown Manhattan quickly got Adam to agree to explain his position to a reporter and this explanation was supposed to take the edge off the Readers Digest article. An appointment for the interview was set up and at the appointed hour, the reporter was on hand and on time, only to learn, that Adam had left town. The "explanation" of the Ike article never came off.

Many regular "organization Democrats," better known as Tammanyites, never forgave Adam for flirting with the "enemy on the eve of the battle." The charges against Adam most often made by the top drawer Democrats in New York are threefold.

They argue that Adam is fundamentally a political opportunist that he is a prima donna and that he has a congenital inability to tell the truth. There has been "bad blood" between the Congressman and the regular district leaders in Harlem for a long time. Their grievances against Powell, if laid end to end, would probably reach from the Abysinnia Baptist church in Harlem to Tammany Hall at 43rd and Madison.

For almost two decades now Adam has been a controversial figure in Harlem. When he entered politics, he found a field that was made to order for his special talents. As a young minister succeeding his distinguished father in the largest Protestant church in the world, Powell quickly demonstrated that he was not going to be bound by any traditions which did not please his fancy.

Whatever discontent his actions provoked in his church, nothing ever came of it. With unmatched eloquence and suavity, the dramatic parson completely routed the opposition and won the unflinching loyalty of his ever-growing flock. The ugly stories of Adam's love life which gained currency when he divorced his first wife and married Hazel Scott may have shocked Harlem's upper crust but they were ignored by the faithful at Abysinnia.

One of the reasons why so many rank and file Harlemites seem willing to forgive any of Adam's antics lies in his reputation for militancy. Beginning with bus boycotts in the thirties and all during the period of "militant demonstrations" in Harlem, the New York Congressman won a great reputation for fearlessness and militancy. He prized that reputation.

He is a masterful publicist and propagandist and he employed all his skill in strengthening this reputation for militancy at home and abroad. Even the leaders in Harlem who are fully convinced that Adam is a gold-plated phony have been known to give him applause for some show of militancy.

Many of the leaders of the N. A. A. C. P., for instance, thoroughly disapprove of Powell as a leader yet they gave him solid support on the amendement to the education bill calling for integration. This paradox can be found in many other areas. Those who don't believe him and don't trust him somehow tolerate him because they know he will "raise hell" on the race issue with the slightest provocation. The moral is that there are a lot of Negroes who feel more hell ought to be raised by the top leadership of the race.

It is obvious that under these circumstances the question of whether or not Congressman Powell is a phony is really academic. As long as he can be counted upon to flay the enemy and tell the lynchers where to go, his followers will probably continue to support him. They love his verbal fireworks and rabble-rousing eloquence.

Now that he has switched openly to Ike, many Democrats in Harlem believe that they have him where they have wanted him for a long time, out on a limb. Although Adam has been on limbs before, he has always managed to climb back before anyone could saw it off. This time, things may be different.

DOPE and DATA

by Louis E. Martin

A news dispatch on New Year's Day took me back some 20 years to a class room at Ann Arbor where the distinguished Prof. Arthur Lyon Cross sought valiantly to teach us English history.

The news dispatch was datelined Khartoum, Sudan and this was the historic spot around which Prof. Cross, better known as little Artie, recounted the exploits of the British General Gordon who evntually bcame one of the he-
eventually became one of the he-

Little Artie got the name from two impressions he made upon you. He was short with a pot belly and he was so cultured and cultivated in his manner that Arthur became inevitably Artie in the eyes of such heathens as we students certainly were.

Professor Cross was even then a world recognized authority on the history of England and Great Britain and his books on the subject were used as texts in colleges here and abroad. He had a wry humor and he lectured from yellowed notes. He spoke so endearingly of the life and times of various heroes of English history that I felt certain that there was no greater love in his cultured life.

The dispatch this New Year's day from the Associated Press stated briefly: "A new three-barred blue, yellow and green flag will be hoisted Sunday over the newest independent nation. It will be run over Sudan Government House where the condominium flag of British-Egyptian rule had flown for nearly 57 years."

The above news item out of Khartoum is doubly meaningful to those who sat at the feet of little Artie. I can see him now peering out, above his rimless glasses, and pausing to survey the boys and girls before him, wondering perhaps if his lecture was getting across. I am sure that he never dreamed that the day would come in our life time when the "blacks of the Sudan" would form a nation and raise their own flag over Khartoum. Little Artie used to describe so nobly the futile heroics of Gen. Gordon and his men who were trapped by the blacks in British Fort at Khartoum in 1884.

He wrote in his book "Shorter History of England and Great Britain" the following tribute to Gen. Gordon: "In the face of starvation and treachery within, as well as attacks from without, he held on magnificently for 317 days." Incidentally, the failure of the military to rescue Gen. Gordon at Khartoum caused a political crisis in England.

It seems that Gen. Wolseley who was finally sent by the British to rescue Gordon was a 19th century instance of the policy of too little and too late. Wrote Dr. Cross: "When the relieving force arrived within striking distance of Khartoum, Jan. 27, 1885, the Mahdon was dead. The tardy arrival of the relieving force roused a storm of fury in England and proved the 'death-blow of the Ministry', and the name of Gordon was cherished as that of a martyred hero."

Today as this is written on Jan. 1, 1956 the Sudanese have their own tri-color of independence and the world that Gordon knew and about which Little Artie lectured has vanished. The flag of this new black nation has the color blue for the Nile, yellow for the desert that covers so much of the million square-mile Sudan and green for the fertile equatorial headwaters and the irrigated strip alongside the great river."

Certainly you and I live in a dramatic time in world history. The old world is dying and a new one is being born. The British empire as Prof. Cross knew it has gone. He wrote once, "Egypt, that land of marvelous antiquity, furnishes a striking example of the manner in which stress of circumstances has not infrequently forced Great Britain reluctantly to extend her Imperial responsibilities."

Now little Artie would have to say that "stress of circumatances" went the other way. The jewels of India, Egypt and Sudan no longer adorn the imperial crown. I can't help but wonder how little Artie would have taken the news from Khartoum today.

DOPE and DATA

by Louis E. Martin

In a suite in the Biltmore hotel in New York City four years ago, I remember that Dr. Channing Tobias gave a little friendly advice to Adlai Stevenson who was then, of course, the Democratic candidate for President of the U. S.

Dr. Tobias, who is a magnificent speaker and conversationalist, opened up with the following observation: "You know, governor, it is very difficult to be objective about an issue when you happen to be the issue yourself."

I have been reminded of this truth many times in recent weeks, particularly in discussions of the race issue with white friends. All of us know, of course, there is no such thing as complete objectivity on such an issue anyway, regardless of your color. Nevertheless, in weighing the facts of a situation we strive, if we are reasonably intelligent, for as much objectivity as possible.

Now when I look at the Southern scene today and consider as objectively as I possibly can what is taking place, I cannot escape the conviction that all of us in America, white and black alike, are headed for serious trouble.

I think the contempt for law, the contempt for the Constitution and for the Supreme Court of the U. S. which seems to be growing in the South may be far more serious than we realize. As Dr. Carmichael of the University of Alabama suggested in his recent speech, the next step is anarchy or outright mob rule.

An atmosphere is being engendered in the South in which each white man can take the law into his own hands when he wishes and at the same time feel a perverted sense of justification for his action.

Take, for instance, the recent slaying of Dr. Thomas H. Brewer, the distinguished physician of Columbus, Ga. The 72-year old doctor has always been a good, safe citizen, a big wheel in the Georgia Republican party and a man who was generally respected by whites and Negroes.

Now Dr. Brewer was a "moderate" not a "radical." He believed in moderation and the powers of education but he was no coward. When his sense of human decency was outraged, he spoke up and protested.

From what I gather, he was slain because he dared speak up for simple justice. The man who killed him, according to the dispatches, was a white businessman who presumably would not be expected to act like a hoodlum.

In other times perhaps, Dr. Brewer would not have been slain. But the violent atmosphere of the South today which is being whipped up by Sen. Eastland, and the leadership of the White Councils and, the race racketeers, has become so charged that any crime against a Negro becomes "justifable" in this psychotic culture.

Hitler and the Nazis demonstrated how a great people can be led to put other human beings by the truck load into gas chambers. The Nazis created a cultural climate in Germany that induced intellectuals to devour one another and degenerate into beasts.

This was possible in Germany because the central government had been subverted and rendered weak and spineless in the face of the bigots marching in iron boots. Are there any such parallels in our country today?

With all the objectivity I can muster, I believe that the federal government, and particularly the Department of Justice, has deliberately followed a policy of appeasement of racists. This policy has encouraged the white extremists and made them bolder.

The federal government has been subverted, it seems to me, by Hitlerite elements from the South. I believe that Sen. Eastland is just as determined as was Stalin or Hitler to undermine our democracy. The motives may be different but the objective is the same.

Communists, fascists and white supremacists are all birds of a feather. They do not believe in tolerating differences nor freedom for minorities nor true individual liberty. Sen. Eastland is closer to being a Communist than he is to being a patriotic American.

This is the way I see the race relations situation today and I am trying to be objective. I believe that if the current wave of lawlessness and defiance of the courts and constituted authorities is not shortly brought under control, our democracy as envisioned by our founding fathers will perish in this country, in our life time.

Should we take the wrong turn now and appease our Hitlers, this country will fall into the laps of those bent on world conquests in time to come. The so-called 100 per cent Americans may turn out to be our most dangerous traitors.

DOPE and DATA

by Louis E. Martin

Defender Sat. 3-17-56 Chicago, Ill.

Ethel Payne, the White House Correspondent for Defender Publications and one of the most brilliant reporters in the country, came back recently from a tour of Alabama and the South with a new theory about Negro leadership.

Miss Payne believes that the Negro preacher, who has not been too highly esteemed by the Negro intellectuals in recent years, has begun to take charge of the temporal as well as the spiritual welfare of the people. He is no longer content with slaying the devil in the pulpit. He is chasing him in the market place.

There have been, of course, a few distinguished ministers in the forefront of the leadership all of the time. Today, however, their number has increased many fold. Some are dying for the cause, like the Reverend George Lee of Belzoni, Mississippi. Some are living in the face of enemy fire, like the Reverend Martin Luther King and his colleage the Reverend Ralph Abernathy who are leading the bus boycott in Alabama.

On the front line in almost every section of the South you will find a Negro minister. In the past Negro educators, doctors and business men were more prominent in many of the movements than the preachers.

If there is a shift in the kind of leadership the Negroes are following in the South today, as Miss Payne insists, what affect is it having on the character of the struggles? The answer to this question is best given perhaps in the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott.

There we find the echo of the message of the late Mahatma Gandhi who electrified the world with his doctrine of passive resistance. Also the Christian concepts of love and humility in the face of hatred and violence play a fundamental role in the boycott movement as interpreted by the ministers in the leadership.

Although the Negro in the North has great admiration for the accomplishments of the boycott leaders and the passive resistance program, unfortunately he is sometimes inclined to pursue the Old Testament injunction of an "eye for an eye." He will throw a brick as quickly as the next man.

Had the Tuscaloosa riot, for instance, taken place in the North it might have ended in a real race riot with casualties on both sides. I would hate to see a demonstration like the one the students and townspeople pulled off in Alabama take place in Chicago, Detroit or any of our big cities. The National Guard would even have difficulty stopping the bloodshed today.

It goes without saying, of course, that the passive resistance" type of approach has more merit than the retaliation doctrine.

What is far more important, we must always remember our main objective. We want first class citizenship and the respect and confidence of all Americans. How can that be achieved in the face of popular prejudices in our country today?

I believe that there are vast numbers of white Americans who are ready to accept us as first class citizens now, who are ready to fight politically and legally with us to get it. There are many more who are in the middle who have a sense of fairplay to which we can appeal successfully, if we know how. This is true North and South.

Once we resort to violence, however, we frighten our white support and unify the opposition. All doubts are resolved against us instead of in our favor. Further, the white society worships order and order becomes to them more important than justice.

The ministers are teaching us that militancy can take place without violence. The boycotters in Montgomery are militant in their position but they are using weapons made out of love instead of hate. This doctrine is as old as the Christian church, if not older, yet it is working effectively today in Montgomery, Alabama.

The character of the new leadership of ministers is important and it has deep roots in history. It helped free India and it may hasten first class citizenship for us. Park that pistol, chum, and let's love them to death. It's a tough task, but it's tough all over.

DOPE and DATA

by Louis E. Martin

Defender Sat. 9-1-56 Chicago, Ill.

Now that the last hypnotic phrase of eloquent Adlai Stevenson has been drowned out by the bellowing of lower animals around the convention hall in the Chicago stockyards, we might do well to measure and weigh what happened there.

To the great majority of Democrats, Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver certainly represent the best element in the party. Although there were others of similar stature, the delegates in choosing them sought to put their best foot forward. They could have done much worse.

The Democratic platform with its confusing and controversial civil rights plank may represent the best that could be won at this without causing a walkout by the South. From the beginning it was apparent that the boys in control of the convention was determined to keep the peace regardless of wide and bitter differences.

There are, as all of us know, essentially two Democratic parties, one oriented to the North and the other controlled and conditioned by the professional politicians of the South. These two parties come together every four years for the purposes of a national election.

The tug of war between the two is traditional, each seeking control and domination, each hoping to use the other to further its own specific ends. The common ground on which they stand is sometimes broad and in some years very narrow. Today because of the South's attitude toward the Supreme Court of the United States the common ground on which both Democratic parties stand is narrower than it has ever been.

The Democratic Party of the North is a liberal, progressive party and in its ranks are Negroes by the millions who have become integral elements in its political machine. Since the white primary was outlawed, many southern Negroes have fought for a respectable role in the Democratic Party of the South.

In some of the seventeen southern states, some progress has been made and up until two years ago, the future seemed brighter than ever. The Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, however, set in motion forces of racism and hatred which had been giving ground to the liberalism of the northern wing of the Democratic Party. Today that development has reached the point of revolt against the Supreme Court and violent threats against any interference from the federal government.

When we examines our institutions and the forces at work in American society, we will find that leaders of the southern Democratic Party are gaining national as well as sectional power. They constitute the agency which teaches, promotes and propagates the white supremacy faith. The southern businessmen, farmers, laborers, teachers, etc., may be guilty of racism but it is the professional politician of the southern Democratic Party who does the dirty work. These politicians sell hate.

They plant and nourish the sinister seeds of racism in every hamlet and crossroad of the South. They sound the call to arms against first class citizenship for Negroes. They give their tacit blessing to the murderers of Emmett Till and the roving assassins who comb the hills and flatlands of Dixie to keep the black man quiet or dead.

Now the questions come. Did the national Democratic party in failing to urge compliance with the edicts of the Supreme Court pay too high a price for so-called unity? Will the northern liberals who surrendered on this point make any stronger stand against the Dixiecrats in the event of victory when the southerners will control the Congress? If the cause of civil rights is sold short now with an election to win how much shorter will it be sold when the Negro vote is no longer needed

Will Adlai Stevenson fight injustice only with noble phrases or will he stand up to battle the leadership of men like the governor of South Carolina who told the nation on the program "Meet the Press" that there would be no integration of schools in his state within a thousand years? How moderate will he be with those who preach, practice and swear by a course of immoderation?

Perhaps these questions are unfair. Perhaps as a Democrat I should not ask them. But they haunt me, nevertheless, and neither wishes, wisecracks nor a wave of the hand will make them disappear. Come November, we all may have cause to wonder about the wisdom of helping our enemy load his gun.

DOPE and DATA

by Louis E. Martin

Defender, Chicago, Ill.

The new president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association is T. C. Jervay of the Journal in Wilmington, North Carolina and next in line is the new vice-president Beverly Carter of the Pittsburgh Courier.

They were elected at the 18th annual convention of NNPA which was held last week in Pittsburgh with the Courier brass spreading the welcome mat. Mrs. Robert L. Vann and Mr. Carter of the Courier were not only gracious hosts but they got the big shots of Pittsburgh into the act also.

United States Steel, Jones and Laughlin Steel Co., H. J. Heinz company: and Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company produced lavish affairs dinners luncheons etc. The Pittsburgh Press club turned over its headquarters in the Sherwyn Hotel to the visiting firemen and Joseph Shuman of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, who is president of the Club was on hand to make everyone happy.

Never have publishers of the Negro newspapers been received more cordially by so many important institutions and personalities in a convention city. Mayor David L. Lawrence of Pittsburgh gave us a grand welcome at the annual dinner and everywhere you turned there was another hand of some vice president of a great corporation to shake.

I was particularly impressed with the goodwill extended by our white colleagues in Pittsburgh, including Managing Editor Charles E. Person of the Pittsburgh Press Managing Editor J. Alex Zehner of the Sun-Telegraph and Mr. Shuman of the Post-Gazette. They seemed genuinely glad to have us around and they laughed just as hard at our lies as we did at theirs.

The fine fellowship and the bright face of Pittsburgh which has been washed clean and sparkling could not wholly conceal the note of apprehension and anxiety in the Pittsburgh air. Lurking in the shadows was the dark spectre of a big steal strike. There was a stalemate in the negotiations and all the dailies speculated that the strike seemed certain.

I heard a commentator on one of the TV stations interviewing housewives and he asked them their opinion of the question "Would there be a strike?" "What do you think about it?" The answers all seemed alike. They felt the strike was coming and they also felt that there would be great hardships. None ,however, seemed to take the side of the corporations. Perhaps they were afraid of their husbands.

Whatever differences there may be among the people in Pittsburgh over the merits of the steel management side of the labor union side, there is one area of common ground wherein all classes and kinds of citizens seem to stand shoulder-to-shoulder in great accord. Everyone seems to think that next to heaven the best place to live is in Pittsburgh.

Except perhaps in the state of Texas you will not find a greater group of hometown boosters than in the erstwhile "Smokey City." Everyone you meet, from the taxi-driver to the corporation president seems impelled to tell you about the great changes that have been wrought in the city and the even greater changes that are to come.

Every native who addressed our convention began by commenting on the new spirit that stirs everyone in the community and inspires the city fathers. They call it a renaissance a new birth. The dirty smokey Pittsburgh of a decade ago no longer exists.

From my hotel window I watched long barges glide down the broad beautiful Monongahela River. On the far side special trolleys called the "Incline" crawled up the face of a mountain and at the foot along the river's edge milelong freight trains passed each other over a network of rails that gleamed in the sunlight. The roar of these trains and the eerie whine of the locomotive and boat whistles seemed never to stop and I heard them far into the night.

I could appreciate the pride of the people in cleaning up and putting Sunday clothes on this sprawling industrial giant. They still make steel and the factories pour out hard goods around the clock but now they have a care for culture and the finer things of life. Work, they have learned, is a means to an end and the end is the good life in a good place among good people.

The Pittsburgh renaissance has touched the area of race relations too and no one speaks of racial bitterness nor of racial violence. They are working on the racial problems, it seems, with the same spirit they have shown in other areas and the future is promising.

I know some of the great cities of America well and I have lived in three. They have characters and personalities like individuals. Some are arrogant and cold, some warm, some friendly. Although my visit was short, I am willing to bet that in days to come that everyone will rank among the most pleasant, the hard working city of Pittsburgh.

NEGRO (LOUIS E. MARTIN)

DOPE and DATA

by Louis E. Martin

Defender, Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 8-18-56

It would be a fine thing if each delegate to the Democratic Convention upon arrival in Chicago were presented with a free copy of J. C. Furnas' new book, "Goodbye to Uncle Tom." The chances of getting a strong, inspiring civil rights plank in the party platform might be greatly improved.

This is a bright book written by the author of "Anatomy of Paradise." According to the blurb on the jacket, "Goodbye Uncle Tom" is "an analysis of the myths pertaining to the American Negro, from their origins to the misconceptions of today."

The central thesis in the book is that Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, for all her kind and generous nature, filled the American mind full of racial nonsense which has proven to be a handicap to the Negro even unto this day. In her celebrated book "Uncle Tom's Cabin," Mrs. Stowe stacked the cards against acceptance of the Negro as an equal at the same time she struck out against keeping him a slave.

Here I quote Mr. Furnas: "Now this mordant melodrama of Mrs. Stowe's provided these millions with an apparently authoritative racist doctrine to plump out their previously inchoate notions.

"The fact is that she invited her unprecedently huge public to subscribe to the very terms in which the harshest Southerners justified slavery, the very terms that, if he ever were emancipated, would most tragically handicap the American Negro. . .

"I do not contend that Mrs. Stowe's non-Southern readers retained her racist teachings as a matter of conscious learning. But her books are the only racist propaganda known to have been read favorably by very many at that time, and their effect must always have been to instill or to strengthen racist ideas.

"The victims unquestionably thought themselves generously and mercifully moved against slavery. So they were. But this was the generosity and mercy of antivivisectionists rather than of champions of fully human rights for fully human beings. People of Mrs. Stowe's mind about "the African race" were, so to speak, subscribing to the SPCA rather than to the Declaration of Independence.

"The devil could have forged no shrewder weapon for the Negro's worst enemy; Mrs. Stowe's book was obviously decent and Christian, obviously warm with hopes of helping poor people with dark skins. Nevertheless, it became a principal occasion for Negroes to say, "God deliver us from our friends."

"As her work soaked into the common mind, fostering cheap sagacity about alleged racial traits down to our own day and affecting millions who have never read Uncle Tom or seen a Tom-show, it has sadly clogged the efforts of modern good will, acting on sounder information, to persuade people that this kind of racist idea does not hold water."

Mr. Furnas makes one observation about Mrs. Stowe which is a gem. He states: "In tinkering with society, good will is not enough."

Some readers are sure to resent the way Mr. Furnas lays bare the mind of Mrs. Stowe but few can challenge the facts he brings forth regarding the myths that the dear lady perpetuated in the American mind. The "be-kind-to-dumb-animals" philosophy of many great friends of the Negro must eventually give way to the scientific truths about race.

It goes without saying that constant repitition of racial sterotypes, whether about Negroes, Chinese, Indians, Franchmen, Italians or what-have-you, damages society and corrupts the minds of the uninformed.

A great many American boys died on the battlefield of the Far East and the Pacific in World War II and in the Korean War because too many brass hats sincerely believed that the "natives" were inherently incapable of putting up the kind of fight that they did. The enemy was underestimated because of sterotypes.

It may give you a warm feeling inside to believe that you are a superior creature and somehow better than those of a different race or culture but, as you can see, such illusions can be dangerous. It is a lot safer, and certainly far more scientific, to assume that you are good but nothing special.

DOPE and DATA

by Louis E. Martin

Life Magazine is hard at work on a series of picture stories about Negroes, past, present and future. Colliers' is coming up with something. Every national magazine you pick up is either running a lead article on the Negro or touting up the one they expect to run shortly.

The newspapers, especially the big metropolitan dailies of New York and Chicago, are putting their colored staffers to work on some aspects of the Negro issue. The New York Times published recently a series on the condition of the Negro in their area. Ted Poston of the New York Post came up with one on the Montgomery situation and is writing regularly on the brother.

Lestre Brownlee of the Chicago Daily News, Fletcher Martin of the Sun Times and Roi Ottley of the Tribune in Chicago have been working the same ground and Wendell Smith of the Chicago Herald American sports Department occasionally contributes to the general enlightment on matters of race.

Up in Minneapolis, Carl T. Rowan of the Tribune is up to his neck in articles on the Negro. I understand that Collins George of the Detroit Free Press and many other Negro staffers of mid-western dailies are also at work on various projects in this general area of race relations.

These Negro journalists are, of course, competing with white journalists who are furiously digging up editorial material in a desperate effort to meet the demands of the magazine and newspaper editors for more and more copy on the Negro.

Such creative writers as William Faulkner and William Penn Warren who have won renown as novelists have also tried their hands in this market. Scores of new books on Africa have been flooding the bookstores and a white writer has recently made the book-of-the-month club with a book which is entitled, "Goodby to Uncle Tom."

By reading in two shifts, day and night, I have managed to keep up with about half the stuff pouring out of the printing presses. I suppose if I gave up sleeping at night I might get through the other half. Most of the current copy I have read on the Negro can be divided, like Gaul, into three parts: plain lies, damn lies and statistics. There are, of course, many exceptions.

The writers are under obvious pressure. On the whole the editors who give them the assignments are smart cookies who know just what they want. They have pretty firm ideas about the race problem and their minds are not cluttered up with too much personal information. They can be objective because they are ignorant.

The boys who hand in the copy are pretty smart too. They know which side of their bread has the butter and they know that their editors are more interested in having their own ideas confirmed than in having any discomforting facts pop up which might rub the general readers the wrong way. Here again there are exceptions.

I get a lot of fun out of reading some of the stuff. Some colored reporters are essentially anti-Negro because they hate themselves. I could explain this but it would take more space than is available to me in this column. On the other hand, some of our reporters on the general dailies and magazines are trying desperately to win friends. Here again there are more exceptions.

The great tragedy in this welter of material on the brother which is about to overwhelm the general reader is that so little of the copy is fresh and sparkling. Most of it re-hashes the same sad set of facts and some of it is lifted bodily from the books and articles of others without any credit lines. The white reporters do this far more frequently than our colored boys.

Despite these criticisms, I believe that the flood tide of copy on the Negro is the most hopeful development in this period. The widespread ignorance and misinformation regarding our group must be attacked. Most of the colored staffers on the general magazines and newspapers are doing as fine a job as their editors will permit. Then too there are some enlightened editors.

It is said that where there is a lot of smoke there is bound to be some fire. Maybe all this smoke is signaling the end of the long night in which the races have slept together and the beginning of the day in which they may work, live and play together.

DOPE and DATA

by Louis E. Martin

Sixty three important Negro Democrats from nineteen states went into a huddle last Saturday in Alderman Ralph Metcalfe's Third Ward headquarters in Chicago. I saw A. T. Walden from Atlanta, Loren Miller from Los Angeles, Hulan Jack from New York, Shag Taylor from Boston and, of course, a host of big name party pillars from all the towns in between. Adam Powell was in Europe but both Congressmen Dawson and Diggs were present.

The call for the clambake came from Councilman Earl Brown of New York and the reason behind it all was, as you might well know, the good old hot issue of civil rights. There were about 30 delegates or alternates to the Democratic convention in the second floor assembly room of the Third Ward headquarters which is right off South Parkway on famed 47th street.

If you are wondering why such a national conclave of colored Democrats met there instead of the Second Ward Headquarters over which Alderman Harvey and Congressman Dawson preside, you must remember that the "boss," the familiar name for Bill Dawson, is the vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

There was plenty of back-slapping and hand-shaking. Then all the dignitaries were lined up to pose for the photographers just before the proceedings officially began. I noticed an Indian who seemed keenly interested sitting at the press table along with one serious looking Nordic. Incidentally, among the women present were Mrs. Ruth Whitehead Whaley of New York and Mrs. Margaret Butcher of Washington, D. C.

No doubt you have read elsewhere an account of the proceedings and the final statement and proposed civil rights plank for the platform of the Democratic party. The latter revealed in carefully measured words some of the steam that was boiling off the tops of the heads of deadly serious Democratic representatives. Every delegate present from far and near came at his own expense and there was no question about the depth of their concern over the civil rights issue.

These ladies and gentlemen, of course, never directly touched on the issue of deserting the Democratic Party in the same sense that the Dixiecrats often talk about "walking out." They were assembled to give their party to which they feel a great loyalty some constructive suggestions on matters of principle which cannot be compromised. I asked several present, however, what would they do if the Democratic high command rejected the suggestions and failed to come up with a strong civil rights candidate and a strong civil rights platform. You should have seen them squirm and twiddle.

This question, of course, is the one with the dynamite. Will the Negroes leave the Democratic Party if they are given the brush off at the convention? Most of the Democrats at the meeting simply **did not want to think about such a possibility. When I put the question to Earl Brown, he said flatly that if the party muffs the civil rights ball this time, they will lose the election.**

Earl made one significant observation in his general discussion of the issue. He said he was surprised to find so much frustration among Negro Democrats in various cities he had visited in recent months. He declared that the Democratic high command simply "can't" brush off the burning issue of civil rights and he feels to do so would be suicidal.

From where I sit, I believe the Republicans have the best chance they have had in recent years to win over a considerable body of Negroes in this election I am sure that most would leave the Democratic Party with great reluctance. Many would remain loyal to their state Democratic slate even if they bolted to the GOP national ticket. The Negro feels that he belongs with the "little people" who make up the Democratic Party or at least that is the propaganda.

Nevertheless, nothing in this century has so electrified the soul of the Negro as the hope given him by the Supreme Court that first class citizenship is attainable in our time.

Those who dash this hope today, be they Democrats or Republicans, are going to be regarded as bitter enemines for a long time. If the Democratic Party surrenders to the threats of the Dixiecrats, the national Republican headquarters is **going to look like Uncle Tom's cabin.**

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American

By John H. McCray

Sat. 1-7-56

Keep 'Em Squirming

P. 4

OUR OLD FRIEND Jeff Davis whacked away at fruit cake and took an occasional sip of the blackberry wine on the dining room table.

Mr. McCray

He was in a good talkative mood. He'd had a "fine year and a fine Christmas," he said, and had plans for making next year's even better.

We had now adjourned to the living room where a crackling oak log fire glowed in the early dusk. Jeff had lit his pipe, shut off his TV set and made himself comfortable in his easy chair.

Baltimore, Md.

"THIS YEAR, 1955, will go in the record as the best our people have had since 1863," he said, soberly.

"We haven't had a better one. That May 31 Supreme Court school case ruling, the decisions which settled segregation in state parks, and the recent ICC ruling on transportation bias, are about the best anyone could hope for."

But these, alone, aren't the most significant accomplishments of last year, Jeff was saying. Far more important, he said, was that at long last "our enemies are on the run." He put it this way:

* * *

"IF YOU'VE EVER done any hunting, you know that when the pack of dogs gets behind the coon, that old coon will run and try to find a corner. Then, he'll back into it and try to fight.

"When he sees he's losing, he again takes off on his heels looking for another spot. But in the end the dogs get him. And that's what we're seeing now in the South: The coon's treed and the dogs are closing in for the kill."

Jeff, as usual after issuing a bit of philosophy, sat quiet giving an occasional puff while his words soaked themselves in.

We thought: The rantings of the Griffins, the Timmermans, the devilment of the White Citizens Councils, the Ku Klux Klan, the bleating of lesser characters are all only the frantic, frustrated agony of the trapped or treed "coons," who know their certain doom but who make the last dash for what already is a hopeless escape.

* * *

"WHAT ABOUT 1956?" we asked. What more did Jeff think would come?

"I don't know, exactly," he replied after a studied answer. "But this much I do know: It'll be tough for a little while longer, but if we can keep our pack together, the old coon won't last much longer; if we can set the ring of fire together and keep it closing in on old John, he'll soon go up squirming."

His advice as we took our leave: **"Let's keep 'em squirming in '56. Let's fan the fire bigger in '56."**

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American

By John H. McCray

It's Time To Crackdown

Baltimore, Md.

We were among those who believed the Supreme Court should have fixed a time limit on its May 31 school ruling last year, but later thought it decent to allow time for voluntary compliance, and speedy consideration, by those states and communities that would do so.

Mr. McCray

However, we yet contend that, on the basis of previous behavior, there is a small Southern fringe which will never yield to the court's mandate unless whipped into submission.

There is yet active that Southern rebel element which fights on in the long settled Civil War. This element has so hamstrung the South that never has the colored Southerner gained a single right under the law until it was soundly thrashed.

Sat. 1-21-56

LAST WEEK, the spirit of rebellion was again in official evidence in Virginia and South Carolina, the two Deep South states affected by the May 31 ruling.

Virginia voters adopted a scheme for turning its public school system into private schools. South Carolina began consideration of three bills aimed at: (1), Firing teachers who are NAACP members (2) Making sheriffs agents for assigning students to schools and (3) invoking the doctrine of "interposition, also a discussed issue in Virginia and Mississippi.

No one takes as serious any of these steps. For example, the legislative resolutions for interposition in Virginia and South Carolina will amount to nothing until and unless a majority of the 48 states—two thirds of them—pass measures which make amending the constitution necessary.

P. 4

The white Southerners have the job of peddling such a resolution, which in fact would be a censure of the Supreme Court. It is a good bet that such a scheme is beaten before it develops.

* * *

THE ATTACK ON colored school teachers, even if enacted into law, would both open a new round of lawsuits on discrimination and, no matter which way the wind blew, would not affect, materially, teacher support of either the NAACP or integration efforts.

South Carolina's colored teachers have contributed, as an organization, some $10,000 or more to the integration efforts and stick firmly by a resolution which condemns segregation. In addition, many of these have contributed privately to NAACP drives for funds, something no law, nor anyone can halt.

The suggestion that county sheriffs become classifying agents of students is grounded in that ancient theory of "terror" and "trouble" which was used to keep colored Southerners as far from court houses as their legs would take them.

Many Southern sheriffs hardly got into school themselves. Most of them have no qualification whatsoever for meddling in school affairs.

* * *

SO, OVERALL, there is nothing of sound contention in these latest efforts to get around the Supreme Court decision, whether the efforts be the new ones of Virginia and South Carolina, or earlier ones in Georgia and Mississippi.

The only recourse the South has come up with in close to two years has been a re-named Ku Klux Klan, called White Citizens Council. This race-mongering outfit employs punitive pressure against colored citizens who dare to want to live by regulations of Federal courts. If the WCC is legal and American, right now I'm floating around in Heaven with golden wings.

We think the time is now at hand for cracking down upon those states which show no inclination to comply with this school ruling. They are now known and aren't so numerous that we can't demonstrate that we expect to have integration —and will have it; that their petty bickerings and wish to continue robbing and cheating are of no importance any longer.

The minute we begin calling their bluff, changes will come. They aren't going to quit the Union. And even if they did, we'd be a better nation.

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American

Sat. 2-11-56

By John H. McCray

Baltimore, Md.

Jackie is right

Jackie Robinson spoke "a mouthful" of truth in Atlanta, Ga., the other evening when he said that anti-colored remarks of southern whites are actually helping the race, though hurting the nation.

Mr. McCray

Never, in 20 years of reporting and newspaper work, in fact never before in my lifetime, have I seen the amount of unity in thought and spirit, the commonness of purpose as observed today among colored people in the South.

Look at the general strike against city bus segregation which is being staged in Montgomery, Ala. Or, pause in Orangeburg, S.C., and talk with leaders of the "pay back" boycott being waged against white firms following the White Citizens Council's line.

Stop in any gathering place Down South and just listen as the little people, the rank and file, bare their chests; talk to college students and other youngsters. Talk to the poorly educated farmer or ditch digger.

You go on your way convinced that the late Booker T. Washington would have loved to see this day; that other now gone pioneers who advocated "sticking together" must look back with contentment upon this hour.

SOME 250 MILES from Atlanta this week an elderly father, whom folks in the community had marked off as an "Uncle Tom" and "whitefolks news toter," approached us and began talking.

At first, I thought he was trying to pick up some information he could carry back. But when he pulled me aside and began talking his mind, I knew he was serious. He has now turned against his "good whitefolks."

The reason? One of his school teaching daughters married a man who signed an integration petition. She was fired, but promised her job back if her husband withdrew his name. He did under her encouragement. When she went to get her job back, her superiors just laughed at her; they laughed at her father when he tried to make them change their mind.

Now, in the twilight of life, it has finally dawned upon him that southern whites who ply the racial trade use "Uncle Toms" and "stooges" in our group only for a purpose; that these are quickly expended where and if to do so carries further along the practice of discrimination and suppression of the southern colored citizen.

IN BOTH Montgomery and Orangeburg our leaders report an amazing degree of unity and cooperation. In fact, one Orangeburg resident told us the other day:

"The White Citizens Council has done in six months what most of us have been trying to do for more than 60 years—get our people together."

And getting together everywhere is the first step toward a successful undertaking, be it battling Dixiecrats down South, or putting over a church supper elsewhere in the country.

LAST YEAR, the NAACP acknowledged an increase of some 60,000 members nation-wide, and larger contributions from rank and file groups about the country.

If we follow the line that the oldtimers kept dangling before us—the counsel that if we got ourselves together in a better fashion we enhance chances of success —then, Jackie Robinson's remarks point to what we have now proved.

Another way of putting it is to borrow the slogan we used to use and hear years back in our class on salesmanship: **"If you keep on telling them, you're bound to sell them."**

We give an "Amen" to Brother Jackie Robinson over there in the "Amen Corner."

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American

By John H. McCray

We're Not Tough Enough

Veteran civic leader, the 75-year-old Lee A. Blackman of Elloreé, S.C., was as hot as Southern weather last week.

Trustees for School District 7 released the names of 24 teachers at the Elloree Training School. Most of the teachers stepped up and took the jobs of 21 others who, at the close of last term, refused to sign anti-NAACP and anti-Supreme Court decision pledges.

What burned Mr. Blackman up was the statement, he says, from a trustee: "Anything can teach a damned n----r." Mr. Blackman said: "We're anxious to see what these 'anythings' look like. We're going to give them a rough time."

* * *

ABOUT THE same time, and farther South, in Louisiana, a self-styled "Archbishop," identified as one C. C. Addison of Colquitt, Ga., but now living in New York City, grabbed headlines in the Southern dailies.

Addison, they say, is on a "breakup the NAACP" mission in the South. Oddly missing in the story is just why the archbishop operates out of New York City instead of his hometown of Colquitt. Missing also in the story is how much "collection money" the White Citizens Council has donated.

Both of these incidents point up that perhaps far worse than the pressures some Southern whites levy against colored citizens is the shame, the disgrace and dangers some colored people themselves place upon their own people.

One such serious affliction is that we go right on allowing "uncletoms and auntjemimas" to teach and mislead our youngsters, while hiding under the coattails of rabid white race baiters.

* * *

ON THE OTHER side of the table during the week, a number of other incidents point up what can happen when we work together on the common enemy.

Two of these were in South Carolina where fearful that they would be tossed out of the National Democratic Party by the well-organized Progressive Democrats, white Democratic leaders battled down the vigorous efforts of Dixiecrats, something that wasn't done in either 1948 ro 1952.

Even Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr. vowed agains allowing what he called "radicals" to take over the state party. "Radicals," to him, are the insurgent colored Democrats.

* * *

AT ORANGEBURG the state's probers of alleged NAACP activity at S.C. State College, met and adjourned without uncovering a single trace of what they were supposed to find. It was the second of two meetings of the nineman committee.

In Clinton, Tenn., despite efforts of a professional agitator, a dozen colored pupils went back to their classes in the newly-integrated high school.

In still another Southern town, some 50 or more colored people showed up at a klan meeting and heckled the gathering so they were chased away. Funny twist! Years ago, some of these same hecklers fled into hiding at mere mention of the klansmen. Today, they express contempt.

Illegal, uncivilized and un-Christian as it is, secretly we often wish that for the moment a colored Ku Klux Klan would spring up and mete out the treatment certain of our own people bargain for.

Need for changing

Afro-American

Baltimore Md.

By John H. McCray

Sat. 9-15-56

Should Now Be Clear

Any doubts as to the plans and intent of the White Citizens Council should be clearly expelled in the wake of the Clinton, Tenn., and Mansfield, Texas, disturbances.

These two towns grabbed most of the attention but similar gatherings of white groups were reported in several other southern communities, all with the single purpose of undertaking to do by mob action what federal courts hold cannot be done with law books.

President Eisenhower, for some reason, still hopes that these explosions should be left with southern states.

* * *

THE WEAKEST part of his argument against out-and-out Federal protection for the little colored children being menaced by white hoodlums is that while he is willing to leave it up to southern states, he ignores the fact that it was these same southern states which had been cheating the colored children and, whose political leaders hold membership in such groups as the White Citizens Council and its kindred anarchists.

The Clinton, Tenn., disturbance, more so than the others, demonstrates the rock bottom operation of WCC. John Kasper of the so-called Seaboard WCC group, Asa Carter of the North Alabama group, and an assortment of lesser known pro-segregationists including an assortment of strong-armed thugs, descended on the little Tennessee town to "set up an example."

* * *

THE SIGNIFICANT aspect of the Clinton matter is that all the trouble there was "imported." Local citizens, fighting for the good name of the community, set up their own police force when the small gendarme group was overwhelmed by the invaders.

One venerable man interviewed on TV in Clinton hinted that violence would be used on colored students, if necessary. Reporters at Mansfield, Texas write that WCC leaders threaten violence there under the same conditions.

Back in Clinton, even with the Tennessee Nationl Guard controlling the area, WCC partisans keep up their campaign of fear and terror by telephone, circulating rumors among white parents that the high school is to be bombed. Similar, and worse threats are passed on anonymously to parents of colored children.

* * *

IN A DEBIT and credit inspection, of course, the Clinton and Mansfield incidents are insignificant. There are, in both states,more than 100 other communities effecting integration, without such incidents. However, here we note principally the WCC, the Committee for Constitutional Government, the KKK and the States Righters.

From Clinton, Tenn. we now have proof that their combined schemes - obvious to the dumbest skull and thickest mind -are to so threaten, injure if necessary and terrorize American children that these and their parents wont want to observe rights given them by the "Law of the Land."

* * *

SOUTHERN NEWSPAPERS- most of whom are dying alongside of segregation shut their eyes to John Kasper, Asa Carter and company, and single out again for poor NAACP as responsible for the Clinton and Mansfield uprisings. These papers have championed WCC, just as some of them and their predecessors championed the KKK nearly a century ago.

And this is interesting to the student: During the Reconstruction era many southern states hired and relied upon the thugs and underworld tactics of one red-headed New Yorker, recorded in history as a "Captain" Isaiah Rynders. Rynders' henchmen laid the foundation of lynching bees, night ridings and is even credited from one source as inventing bed sheets white hoods and the robe for the Ku Klux Klan.

If the federal government, principally the President, cannot yet see the wisdom and expediency in laying down a supporting role for the Supreme Court's ruling, then either it should abdicate and submit to general anarchy, or move to expunge that division of the government having to do with law and order.

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American

Baltimore Md.

By John H. McCray

Sat. 10-27-56

Should They Succeed

No one should underestimate the present intent of the State of Texas in its bid to put the NAACP out of business in that state, nor the threat south-wise to the 10 or more millions of colored people, who have for nearly half a century clung to a faith and hope only the NAACP made possible.

The Texas action, one in which a court order is sought which would permanently enjoin the NAACP from operating in the state, climaxes a series of lesser, but similar anti-NAACP state actions over the past several months.

* * *

LOUISIANA, ALABAMA, Mississippi, South and North Carolina have enacted bills, or sought court approval, to outlaw the NAACP. A few other states have headed in the same direction. All wait with bated breath the Texas outcome.

It may be the eventual truth, but it is not enough simply to say, as some are now inclined: "They can't do that to the NAACP"

These challenges are occurring at a moment when there is considerable hysteria and, in the midst of greater tension than perhaps ever in the South's history.

* * *

THEIR ULTIMATE outcome rests largely with state courts, creatures of a bitter White South, whipped up to a racial frenzy by the White Citizens Council, the Ku Klux Klan and kindred racebaiting outfits who, thus far, have had "official" endorsement by white Southern officeholders and, oddly, permitted to defy the U.S. Government.

It can happen! In a great many Southern communities, already, heretofore staunch NAACP members and believers are under pressures of many sorts. They are not criminals.

Their "crime" is one of working toward a lifting of discriminatory practices from the backs of colored Americans, and of belonging to, or supporting, what is nothing more than an association of people for providing legal services, services which cannot be obtained south-wise for love or money.

* * *

IF IT DOES happen, if the Texas move of the South spreads over the rest of the South, the picture in the background is an ugly one. Here and there a few citizens, now and then, may rise up in court to challenge discriminations.

However, these will not have the help of legal specialists on the issues, and will generally have to content themselves with whatever "justice" is allowed.

They will again be at the total mercy of their suppressors; but what is even worse they and the American people will have lost the sacred privilege of selecting their associates, assembling and protesting against what they consider unhealthy and illegal rights already secured under the Constitution.

Need For Changing

Afro-American
Sat. 2-25-56

By John McCray

They're Dancing On A Tangent

P. 4

Hardly had ink dried on printed charges some of us made against Democratic presidential hopeful, Adlai Stevenson, when another aspirant for the same office, Sen. Kefauver of Tennessee, announced just about the same thinking as Mr. Steevson on what should be done if, and when, there comes a Southern stalemate in effectuation of the Supreme Court's school integration decrees.

Mr. McCray

Both the NAACP and AFL-CIO assert that Adlai's so-called "gradualistic" policy is out of place and harmful to final intergration. They'll perhaps say the same about Mr. Kefauver's.

Fact is, all of us—particularly in the Deep South—want the matter settled as quickly as possible. Lawyers for our plaintiffs so argued before the Supreme Court. The court, however, apparently didn't string along with this view and settled on a sort of long-range program.

Baltimore, Md

THE NAACP itself has announced it hopes the issue will be resolved by 1963, which certainly indicates a leaning towards gradualism. On one of three occasions when we've sat in Federal courts while the issue was being discussed we've heard lawyers for the plaintiffs proposing a willingness to settle on a program of cooperation with school districts trying to desegregate — "gradualism" again.

When we bring up such views as are now being aired, not only are we contradicting ourselves; we're also scooting away from what some of us were saying four years ago about one presidential candidate, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

And even worse, we're tossing into the political arena an issue which has been purely legal, but one white Southern politicians have said all along was political.

* * *

WE THINK THAT whatever Messrs. Stevenson and Kefauver, or any other presidential aspirant thinks or has to say—unless opposed to the court's decision—is unimportant and off on a tangent.

And those who press a discussion of such unimportant opinions either have private hopes for some other aspirants or, are dancing on the argumentative tangent.

We who live in the Deep South veer away from the candidate who says he'll do this or that "specially" for us. Usually, he winds up not getting elected or unable to deliver on his promises.

Too, we have learned that the swiftest path to full integration and equality is by way of the ballot box. Although the number of colored voters in the South increases with each election, there still is great room for educating, getting registered and voting the vast majority of our people in this area.

* * *

ATTENTION ON this matter is far more important in 1956 than the purely speculative opinion of a presidential candidate, no matter his party.

No candidate, or even president, can by mere words and promises do what hasn't been necessary by the courts. What ought to be done is: have the Supreme Court place a time limit on its May 31 order, something we've always thought should have been done.

Of course when we read of such carrying-on as the Arthurine Lucy incident and the several all-white legislatures in certain Southern states, we get emotional.

* * *

OFTEN WE feel that the Chicagoan who was "cleared" to drop copies of the U.S. Constitution on Mississippi would do a better service were he to collect in one spot all the race-baiting Southerners and drop an atom bomb instead.

Yet emotionalism suppresses reasoning and cool thinking. We need now "cool" heads and Rep. William L. Dawson's pet theme: "Stop getting mad; get smart."

Let's go again to the Supreme Court and help get more voters in the South. Let's stop dancing on a tangent.

CALLING HISTORIANS

Washington—The AFRO gives excellent coverage of the Alabama situation.

There is one question I want answered.

I am not at all sure that Miss Lucy is the first colored person ever to enroll at the University of Alabama.

Do you mean to say that no colored persons went there during the Reconstruction. Remember when a weekly magazine looked up the oldest living alumnus of South Carolina University, only to find he is colored and living in Sumter, S.C.?

This fight with no holds barred, is an attempt of the Reactionary South (the one-time slave owners) to thwart a Reconstruction Period, the only period in American history when there was real democracy.

GEORGE B. MURPHY

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 3-24-56

By John H. McCray

More Rear Guard Sniping

In what might be called rear guard sniping, the South Carolina legislature this week committed two more atrocities against citizens who believe the Supreme Court's orders should be obeyed.

P. 4

First, it passed and sent to Gov. George B. Timmerman Jr. for signing, a bill which would dismiss and deny employment to any person who has an NAACP membership.

Mr. McCray

This measure is obviously directed at the state's approximately 7,000 colored teachers who, despite claims by segregationists that they would suffer most under integration, have long since stood opposed to segregation and, as a state organization, contributed more than other state sources to finance legal attacks on segregation.

THE BILL, education leaders said in anticipating it, will not deter in the least continued support to those defeating segregation. Fact is, most teachers don't carry memberships, which cost $2 per year; instead, they have contributed something like $12,000 through the state teachers organization, and thousands more, perhaps, as individuals since the school fight blossomed back in 1944

Granted that teachers won't stand being ordered which way to help their race and the community out of their own money, or tolerate being brain-washed by poorly trained racial bigots, the overall danger in the new anti-NAACP S.C. bill is that it can be extended, or amended to smash down all private organizations the white supremacists dislike.

* * *

IT IS LIKELY that it will fall the first time it is tested in Federal court, something the rear guard now in flight from the legal battle knows. But, it does provide another outlet for venom against human beings and perhaps also a slight diversion of efforts, which can facilitate escape, or harass the victors.

The other thing of unusual interest in South Carolina during the week was the summary firing of 23-year-old senate page Raymond L. Morton, white of course, by Lt. Gov. E. F. Hollings.

Morton, a senior in English at the University of South Carolina, wrote a blistering piece in "The Gamecock," weekly USC newspaper, in which he declared he was ashamed to be called a Southerner, largely because of Southern governors and legislators who are attempting to circumvent the Supreme Court's ruling of school segregation.

* * *

AWARE THAT he was rubbing against the grains of some, Morton wrote:

"My decrying segregation is worse than damning a venerable old god. But most gods are merciful and understanding; many Southerners are not; most gods are forgiving and broadminded; most state legislators are not."

Hollings fired him, but that doesn't change the young man's thinking. And Morton is only one among many young white and sensible Dixie voices which are raised in protest, though away from ears of those who can punish them.

But, another woe of a rear guard is: It can't think.

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American P. 4
Sat. 4-21-56

By John H. McCray

The 'Wicked' Southern Press

A few weeks ago the editorial columns of Southern dailies blazed away in indignation at Time magazine which had chided Southern editors for slanting and exaggerating accounts which touch on the race issue.

Baltimore, Md.

Southern editors, in the main, argued they weren't guilty and always worked by the newspaperman's heritage of "public above self."

Somebody, it was, who went down in the records for saying something like: "What you do speaks so loudly I can't hear a word you say."

* * *

THIS PAST WEEK we've noted an excellent case of "doing" as over and against saying which we think is too pointed to overlook.

Like others, we pursued the S.C. daily newspapers for "the other side" story of the virile protests against segregation which have been in progress at S.C. State College in Orangeburg.

Students, in the latest development, struck on Monday and refused to attend classes because Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr., without consulting the administration, had dispatched state and other police to the campus on a witch-hunt for what he called "subversive elements."

* * *

EVERYBODY ON THE campus, and generally in Orangeburg—a small town—knew why the students struck. They weren't going to classes while police officers pointed pistols at them.

As a reporter, we had no difficulty getting into the reason for the strike. Nor did any of half a dozen other reporters for papers outside of the state have trouble getting to the "root" of the affair.

But, four days after it began, S.C. daily newspapers and wire services were feigning, "I don't know whys." The Orangeburg daily newspaper reported Tuesday that S.C. State students had dropped classes so they could read comic books, play cards and engage in "smooching." In earlier stories, the same newspaper reported the breath of one Claflin College student "smelled like" he had had a drink.

* * *

THROUGH HALF THE week not a single one of the state's newspapers with daily circulations had ventured to tell the truth and report frankly that Governor Timmerman, or somebody in his office, had "goofed" and "goofed" badly.

None had bothered to ascertain the S.C. State students' complaint, and not without perhaps, good reason for agencies committed to campaigns of propaganda, rather than to the obligation to report accurately.

Tuesday, we picked up a phone and called the editor of one daily. We told him the reason for the strike in Orangeburg. He hesitated a moment and said, "We'll check on it." On Wednesday, he was back on the street with the same old line: "We don't know why the strike."

SOME FIVE OR six years ago, a white fellow-reporter now deceased, tipped us off that, highly paid, experienced propagandists had been hired to keep the then governor out of such embarrassing situations as occurred when former Gov. James F. Byrnes blandly boasted that he would close down state schools before permitting integration.

At the time, the little newspaper we were editing had a field day on him. He just didn't have the authority to do so. Some of the daily newspapers reprinted what we wrote. Some white men had pink faces.

But, highly paid propagandists or not, slips are likely to occur out of the governor's office, and these bring red faces to those newspapers which support him in one campaign or another.

* * *

JUST ABOUT all S.C. dailies back Timmerman and the Citizens Council in their nefarious racial planks. And, although inside their doors they sweat because of boners pulled, they cannot afford to take this sweat into the streets.

So, in substance, we have a group of newspapers "egging" brutal and ofttimes vicious policemen—all white—on our teenage boys and girls, who in orderly fashion express as best they know how the same protests that burn in our breasts. Southern Press? Wicked devils!

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American

Baltimore, Md.

By John H. McCray

Sat. 8-25-56

Caught Between Crossfire

This may have been clear to many people all along, but to us it just became evident last weekend in Chicago, while nosing in and out of many of the various sub-committee meetings, where members were preparing for the 1956 Democratic National Convention.

Whether he knows it or not, the American colored citizen is caught in the crossfire between the white North and the white South.

This crossfire was more evident in the pre-convention hearings of the committee on platform. Witnesses of various descriptions were either firing from the northern fort, or the southern parapet.

* * *

IN SUBSTANCE, the northerner's charge was mistreatment of our people; the southerners retaliated that this wasn't so, and that the northerners would do better were they to tend their own backyard.

Here and there, before the platform and other sub-committees, tempers flared. Somebody in our group quipped: "Around here you get the idea that the colored man has the whole country fighting over him while he goes nonchalantly along, not even knowing what's going on."

Old-timers around political conventions tell you that "This thing has been going on for years." You think then that it is really a bottom of the heart hassle and that, in truth, northerners would stop at nothing to force the devil-makers around to doing what should be done. A little later, you wonder if you really are the big interest after all.

* * *

TAKE FOR example how Gov. Mennen (Soapy) Williams wilted after seconding the minority report on the civil rights platform. A key figure in the move to adopt stronger wording in the platform on this subject, the Michigan governor sat down definitely after his speech and the dozen or more states pivoting around the Michigan Governor were caught without warning without leadership enough to make their fight in time.

On the other side, and perhaps in his favor, was what everybody knew from the time they set foot in Chicago:

The Democrats were out to effect unity in ranks and no issue or cause was as great as achieving this. The underlying theme behind every resolution, platform and nominee, every officer and committee at the Democratic National Convention was unity.

* * *

AND EVEN the explosive race question had to be geared to this general theme. Compromise was everywhere. Nobody got everything he wanted; some came away almost empty handed. Strangely enough, the war-bellowing white southerners had to sit quietly and had to deport themselves better than in many a year.

But civil rights and the race issue were the triggers. A Yankee or a Confederate flared red-faced and bitter at the drop of a pin over it.

One wondered, after noting the trends on other matters, if in fact this race question is the real reason the two sections battle each other. Could it not be just the medium by which both sides begin all over again emotions and feelings which go back almost 100 years, and the present day complaints are more conveniences than real grievances?

* * *

RIGHT NOW we cannot wager a guess as to what is the real fact; however, our people are the bullets and also the targets by some of those struck in arguments.

Instead of going happily along, as one person quipped, we need to bestir ourselves more and more right at home. Vote, no matter in what party. But vote. The ballot is our private bullet in the battle.

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American

Sat. 11-3-56

By John H. McCray

Baltimore, Md.

Makes A Difference

As a reporter, we "covered" the civil rights trial in Federal Court at Charleston, S.C., last Monday, a case in which 17 teachers, denied their positions at the Eloree, S. C., High School last May because they rebelled at making anti-NAACP statements, sought a federal court judgment, outlawing a new state law, aimed at breaking up the NAACP.

It will be perhaps at least a month or two before a ruling is made in the case, and it well may be up to the U.S. Supreme Court to give the final answer. The loser is likely to appeal the decision.

* * *

BUT IF THE CASE is finally won by the teachers, credit should go to the lone teacher who, after formal evidence had been given by both sides, arose and swore that she belonged to the NAACP, and had joined in November, 1955.

Prior to that point, the plaintiffs' lawyers were offering a case of people claiming to have suffered because of the NAACP while contending, or professing not to be members.

The moment the teacher, Mrs. Hattie F. Anderson, put her statement in record, done, by the way, at the suggestion of Judge John J. Parker of Charlotte, N.C., who presided over the three-man court, you could feel the difference.

* * *

YOU COULD see and feel the difference from looking at the faces of the three judges, in the quietness which moved over the five members of counsel at the defense table.

You could see the look of "caught" in the faces of the school board defendants, across the room from you. You knew then that this was mostly what was needed to point up the issue at bar—that of an attempt to sweep out in a brand new direction in the white South to take away guarantees of the First Amendment, while we are busy working on the 14th Amendment.

We were told in Eloree last spring that at least three of the teachers were NAACP members. The others may not now be, but even so, the fact that they were at the time was important.

* * *

MANY OF THE more than 100 colored spectators told us afterwards that they were pleased to see, for the first time in a South Carolina court, membership in the NAACP the basis for a decision.

Such memberships are usually denied, or kept secret. Teachers, especially, have to keep their pro-NAACP thinking from the ears of school boards, Mrs. Anderson didn't do so.

Just as her testimony made a difference during the hearing at Charleston, so does a similar declaration stand to make a great difference around the South.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier Pittsburgh Pa.

Who Are the Liberals?

Sat. 7-14-56

NEGROES have been very generous in the use of the term liberal. For many decades we have called a member of the white race liberal if he said a kindly word in an editorial, a newspaper article or if he spoke in favor of racial justice. He was liberal if he ate with Negroes. Maybe some of the persons who did these things were liberals. It depends upon what one means by the word.

Dr. Mays

Liberal may mean that one is not bound by orthodoxy, politics, religious philosophy or race; one who is independent, not conservative. It could mean one who believes in democracy for all peoples. When it comes to race relations we mean a person who does not discriminate on the basis of race or color.

■

THE MAY 7, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court has been a revelation to Negroes. We must now re-evaluate our liberals. Southern editors who have gone under the name liberal have come out boldly in favor of segregation. Some defy the decision of the Supreme Court. Southern Congressmen who have been on the supposedly liberal side signed the Southern Manifesto. Other Southern editors came out in favor of interposition and nullification.

Ministers who have been heralded by Negroes as being liberals have either said nothing or have come out expressing their firm belief in segregation. The language may differ but it is clear that so-called former liberals, ministers, editors, and Congressmen stand on the same plank with the members of the white citizens councils. They speak the same language.

■

IT IS NOT all on one side. There are Negro liberals who have gone underground too. They are afraid of their jobs and say nothing. There are those who have grown wealthy on the segregated economy who want the system continued. Even in the church and education there are those who feel that they profit by the system and silently favor continuing it. It is exceedingly difficult to find out what one honestly thinks on the subject.

One fact is clear. Anything that brands one by law as inferior by segregating him is evil and regardless of who profits by it that system ought to go. It is my opinion that in the long run everybody will be better off economically, educationally, and spiritually when segregation by law is abolished.

Only time will prove to the white Southerner that Negroes do not want segregation abolished because they want to marry their daughters or because they want to mingle with white people.

No man is liberal who believes that one should be segregated by law on the basis of race. No man is liberal who believes that one race is biologically superior to another. By this definition, liberals are few.

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My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier P. 8 Pittsburgh Pa.

Is The Northern Press Biased?

Sat. 7-28-56

CONSCIOUSLY, no. Unconsciously, yes. After all the Negro is a minority people: minority in number, in opportunity, in position, in power, in education, in wealth and in responsibility. The majority, therefore, has unlimited access to the radio, television and the press. I suppose it is not humanly possible to get equality in the presentation of issues that involve segregation.

In all these areas the Negro is a minority not only in the North, but in the South. Whatever view a white Southerner holds on the issue of segregation, it can be expressed in the North and South, over the radio, on television and in the press.

Dr. Mays

What the white citizens councils think is known and expressed. What men like the Warings, the Hodding Carters and the Faulkners have to say can be heard. Men like Senator Eastland of Mississippi and Attorney Eugene Cook of Georgia can get an audience and sometimes in university centers.

The nation and the world knows the views of the Congressmen who signed the Southern Manifesto. Southern white ministers who believe in segregation and hold views akin to those of the white citizens councils are heard over the radio and television.

■

IT IS not so with the Negro. The point of view of a Negro in the South who hold views contrary to those expressed above can hardly get his point of view across to the nation. Articles on the subject by Negro scholars will hardly be taken or sought. Anyway you look at it, it is a one-sided question. I don't think the Northern press intends to be unfair in the presentation of points of views. The thinking of a weak minority people does not count as much in the minds of the dominant majority people as does its own thinking.

There is a little paternalism involved here. The Northern press quite often expresses the Negro's views for him and often quite accurately, but it isn't often that the point of view of Negroes themselves is allowed to be expressed, especially the views of Negroes in the Deep South.

■

THE SOUTH seems to be organized to do four things: discredit the decision of the Supreme Court, slander the Negro by proving he is immoral and illiterate, win the North to its way of thinking and to frighten the Negro so that he will cease to press his claim for equality of opportunity. It seems to be a smear campaign against the Negro.

Who is wise enough to say that there is more immorality in one race than there is in another? If the immorality of one group is compared with another, certainly the "superior" group should not be as guilty of immorality as the so-called "underprivileged." And yet, throughout the world we find offsprings resulting from white and colored—mostly out of wedlock. Who is more immoral, the "superior" white man or the "inferior" colored woman?

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier Pittsburgh Pa.

The South Won the War

Sat. 8-25-56

MY WIFE has frequently said that the South won the Civil War. There is an element of truth in it because ever since the withdrawal of the Union soldiers from the South, the North has placated the South and made concessions to it in most instances where the Negro is involved. The South looks upon the Negro as its exclusive possession to do with him what it wills to do and has stubbornly fought any interference on the part of any other section of the country even when Negroes were being lynched at the rate of 75 and 100 a year.

Dr. Mays

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The South has not rejected outside interference because it wanted to do the right thing by Negroes but because it wanted no interference period. The states of the deep South have never made it a major point to give the Negro equal opportunities in education, recreation and employment.

■

BEFORE THIS article is published the Democrats will have written their platform on civil rights and maybe the Republicans will have written theirs. But it is significant to note Stevenson's recent statement: "I have had a very strong feeling that the platform should express unequivocal approval of the court's decision, although it seems odd that you should have to express your approval of the Constitution and its institutions."

The South became incensed over this statement. Immediately, Mr. Stevenson's press secretary, Roger Tubby, pointed out that that statement came in a hurried sidewalk interview and on the "spur of the moment. I am not implying that he would have phrased it differently but I think some Southerners felt that he was trying to dictate to the Platform Committee." Whatever happens in the platform it probably means that the Democratic nominees will phrase their statements very carefully between now and November in order to get the South's votes.

■

IT IS INTERESTING to note what President Eisenhower said when questioned about Stevenson's statement. He declined to endorse a platform plank voicing unqualified approval of the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decision. Mr. Eisenhower is quoted to have said "that from 1896 until 1954 the South had built its pattern of education on what it believed was a Constitutional basis." It is difficult for me to see how the President could say that because from 1896 up to 1954 both the Federal and state courts called for separate but equal facilities.

The Constitutional basis of segregation hangs on two words, "separate" and "equal." The South obeyed the "seperate" but it never did obey the "equal." I am sure President Eisenhower is fully aware of this fact, so I do not see how he could say that the South believes it was acting on a Constitutional basis in its pattern of segregation.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier P. 8 Pittsburgh Pa.

What Happened to the Nehru Visit?

Sat. 8-4-56

PEOPLE who want to see the relationship between the United States and India improved regret exceedingly that the visit of Prime Minister Nehru has been postponed. We need to hear what Mr. Nehru has to tell us and he needs to know what we have to say to him. There has been some misunderstanding, mainly because India was improved when Mr. Dulles expressed the view that Goa belonged to Portugal. We are on better terms with Pakistan than we are with India.

Dr. Mays

■

NEHRU IS the most important man in Asia today. The most helpful Asian nation to the West is not China. It is India. I consider Nehru a world statesman. Despite India's neutrality, Mr. Nehru is Western in outlook. He was trained at Cambride University and maintains a friendly relationship with Britain. He has fought the Communists in India. We have every reason to court India's friendship. If India should unfortunately turn Communist, all Asia will go Communist. With China already in the Communist orbit, nothing could save Asia if India caved in.

It is disturbing that we have

heard of no new date for the Nehru visit. We have heard no reason for canceling the visit. The President's health may have been the reason. And yet the President went to Panama the latter part of July. I hope the postponement of this visit will not strain our relationship with India. It seems that if Nehru had canceled the visit the press would have made that fact known.

■

SINCE THIS is election year it is likely that the visit will not occur this year nor soon next year. I write not in criticism of the postponement of the visit, for I do not know the reason for it. I wish the people had been told why suddenly it was announced that Nehru would not be coming. Nations are sensitive, so I hope all is well.

When Nehru visited this country some time back the nation's press was not too warm in its praise of Mr. Nehru. We did not understand his neutrality or understood it and did not like it. Let us hope that in the not too distant future Mr. Nehru will visit the United States again and that we will be more favorably impressed with his world view. The United States and China are worlds apart. Mr. Nehru has been to China. He may be in a position to interpret to us China's point of view. My view is that Nehru is friendly to the West.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

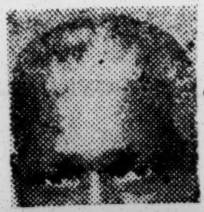
Courier P. 8

And We Say We Are Civilized

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 7-21-56

AN ARTICLE appeared recently, copyrighted by the New York Times, revealing a terrible observation. General James M. Gavin told a Senate subcommittee that hundreds of millions of people, including people in friendly nations would be killed if an all-out Air Force nuclear attack was made upon Russia. Senator Duff of Pennsylvania asked General Gavin what would be the effect in the way of death of a large-scale attack on Russia. Gavin replied, in part:



Dr. Mays

"The current planning estimates run on the order of several hundred million deaths. That would be either way depending upon which way the wind blew. If the wind blew to the southeast they would be mostly in the USSR, although they would extend into the Japanese and perhaps down into the Philippine area. If the wind blew the other way they would extend well back up into Western Europe. And I use the figure 'several hundred million' which contrasts with the estimates that you have quoted in Fortune magazine as being about several times lower. Again though there have been studies made on this, I know, and they are very interesting and worthwhile."

■

THIS IS a terrible statement. statement. It is shocking, stunning and breathtaking. If this statement is true, how silly it is that the nations of the earth keep on flirting with wholesale murder and disaster. It ought to be simple for the leaders of Russia, China, England, France and the United States to come together and say: "Look! Let us stop this foolishness. In the case of an all-out nuclear war none of us can win. Why keep on in this foolish way?" Of course, this takes trust and confidence, and there is no trust and confidence between the nations of the East and West. It is a matter of integrity and honor. And when it comes to international affairs there is very little honor, little ethics, little morality and no Christianity. I suppose man is not yet good enough to run a decent world.

■

THERE MUST be universal disarmament and no unilateral disarmament. If the nations could build confidence and disarm to the minimum, and if we set about to use the billions we spend for war to rehabilitate the world, we could lick hunger and disease in 25 years.

And while we spend our billions for war, past, present and future, half of the peoples of the earth are always hungry and the bodies of half of the peoples of the earth are always diseased. And yet we say we are civilized.

"Negro Must Run Faster To Catch Up"—B. E. Mays

Journal + Guide P. 19

Sat. 8-11-56

Norfolk, Va.

ATLANTA, Ga. — "If the Negro boy is behind for a long, long time, the major responsibility will be yours and mine," President B. E. Mays of Morehouse college told the Atlanta University summer school and visiting members of the American Teachers association at the summer school assembly.

Inequality is inherent in segregation, but we can do a better job than we are doing, he said. "It is possible for a student to graduate with honors from a college with class A accreditation without having read a single book beyond his assignments." Dr. Mays urged the teachers to encourage students to read and to read themselves.

DR. MAYS SAID that due to inequalities in education the Negro was behind economically, physically and educationally. It was possible for him to curse the system and place the blame on segregation, but, although the system was to blame, the only way for the Negro to catch up was to try to run faster than the man ahead. He quoted a Chinese proverb "It is better to light a match than to curse the darkness."

Calling the period between the 1954 and 1955 decisions of the Supreme Court one of watchful waiting on the part of the deep South, Dr. Mays outlined steps taken in the past year as an organized campaign to defeat integration. "There is no way in which things which have happened could have happened without organization," he said.

ATTEMPTS TO discredit the Supreme Court and to make the public believe that it relied on sociology rather than law, attempts to convince the North that desegregation was a mistake and to win northern sympathy, attacks on the NAACP, intimidation of Negroes who institute law suits, and work within Congress to prevent civil rights legislation were the measures named by Dr. Mays.

"A part of this program is to smear the Negro," he said. "By emphasizing the homicide rate, common-law marriages, incidence of venereal disease, and illiteracy, all played up to point up the fact that we are not ready for an integrated society without admitting that segregation is responsible in part for the situation."

* * *

THE CAMPAIGN has been in part successful, Dr. Mays said. Any prosegregationist can get his views heard, the North is being silenced as a result of a guilt complex arising from emphasis on race riots and inequalities in the North, the NAACP is being harrassed, Negroes are becoming afraid, and there is much talk about moderation on the part of President Eisenhower, Adlai Stevenson, and others, although moderation is a part of the directive of the Supreme Court.

Dr. Mays refused to hazard a guess as to how long segregation would last in the deep South. "Desegregation is being delayed not only because of organized resistance, but because some Negroes, more than we want to admit, want it delayed for economic reasons." Citing the integration of the armed forces, Dr. Mays said that integration could take place as soon as the people at the top make up their minds, but that, as in the case of the ballot and transportation, the initiative must come from the Negro himself.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier P. 8

Who Are the Experts?

Sat. 10-13-56

Pittsburgh, Pa.

IN HANDLING the Suez Canal crisis it seems that the British, French and American diplomats were not too wise, especially does this apply to Britain and France. Nasser should not have nationalized the canal when he did and the way he did. There was a contract which ran up to 1968. And yet, it is believed that if the offer was withdrawn nationalization would inevitably follow. Our State Department did not take heed. In time Nasser would have nationalized the canal, but it can be argued that we precipitated it.

Dr. Mays

■

FRANCE AND England were not wise. After Nasser nationized the canal, it would have been good strategy to have sought a conference with Nasser first before calling a conference of nations and before threatening Egypt with war. Failing in a conference with Egypt, the next step would have been to carry the issue to the United Nations. It finally ended up there anyway. France and England were in error when they withdrew their pilots. Now England and France and the United States are embarrassed. I suppose the reason England and France didn't try to settle the matter with Nasser first it would have looked too much like treating Egypt as our equal.

I believe the West, up to now, has lost face. The Egyptian pilots are carrying on in a satisfactory manner. England and France evidently felt that Egypt could not do without their pilots. Maybe Egypt is a minor power. But the three big nations have entered into a dispute with that minor power and the world watches. In doing this, the West has not added anything toward stabiliizng the political and economic situation in the Middle East. Our dispute with Egypt has pushed Egypt into the arms of Russia, and Russia appears now as Egypt's friend and not the West; Russia gets a foothold in the Middle East, a position she has wanted for 200 years. This draws the whole Arab world toward Russia. The Egyptian situation has strained the relationship a bit among Western powers.

■

FRANCE AND England apparently were ready to fight, but the United States exercised a restraining influence. The West cannot afford to fight Egypt over the canal crisis. If we go to war, the West will lose Asia, the Middle East and Africa. The Arab states would get the aid of Russia and the line between East and West would be definitely drawn. Let us all hope and pray that there will be no war, that the canal can be kept open to all nations and that all parties can be satisfied. The canal must be kept open and Egypt's sovereignty recognized.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

What Will the South Do?

SOUTHERN politicians are in a terrible predicament. Although Adlai Stevenson was moderate enough on civil rights to get nominated, he is still a bit too liberal for most of the Southern Governors, state legislators and Congressmen. Harman of New York was too liberal for the South and for some other sections of the country, and therefore did not have a ghost of a chance to be nominated as a Democratic Presidential candidate.

Dr. Mays

They could go along with Mr. Stevenson because they liked some things he had said about implementing the Supreme Court's decision on segregation in the public schools. So the South went for Stevenson.

They did not go for Kefauver. I doubt if Tennessee would have gone for him were it not for the fact that the Tennessee delegation could hardly vote against their own Senator for Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts.

■

WHAT WILL the South do? They voted for Stevenson, but they did not vote for Kefauver. And yet, if they vote for Stevenson in November, it is a vote for Kefauver. What will the South do? They cannot vote for Stevenson and vote against Kefauver.

Will they vote for Mr. Eisenhower? If they vote for Mr. Eisenhower, they will be voting for the Republican platform on civil rights and the Republicans statement on civil rights is much stronger than the Democrats' statement on civil rights.

If they vote for Eisenhower, they endorse their statement that they stand by the decision of the Supreme Court and that we should move with deliberate speed toward implementing that decision.

If they vote for Stevenson, they will vote for a Vice President whose stand on civil rights is as strong as that of the Republicans. This places the South in a rather embarrassing position.

■

IT PROBABLY means that the time has come when the South cannot get either party to endorse its firm opposition to a segregated society and its firm determination to see that the Negro remains a second-class citizen.

I hope the editors of the South will point out the dilemma that faces the South on this question. The South does not have enough strength to form a third party of its own and succeed. They tried this in 1948 with no success. It is the time that we here in the Deep South ponder these things in our heart and take a more progressive stand on these issues.

If the South could get over its fear and relax, this would be a grand place. There is no reason for the South to be afraid to implement civil rights. The South would be more prosperous and everybody would feel better in their hearts and minds. I hope I will live to see that day. But politicians will continue to set one race against the other as long as it will get them office.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

■

Citizens Of Courage

CONGRATULATIONS to a group of citizens in the Twin Cities who recently organized a campaign for courage. This organization is designed to give encouragement to citizens in the South who show unusual courage in trying to implement and bring about compliance with the Supreme Court's decisions which outlaw segregation in American life.

Dr. Mays

It was proper and fitting that the 24 Negro teachers of Elloree, S. C., should be the first to be honored. These teachers resigned their jobs rather than sign an affidavit relative to their views on segregation and the NAACP. As the Minneapolis Morning Tribune states: "to sign such an affidavit, they felt, would be to bow to the demands of the segregationists. Consequently, they stood firm and surrendered their jobs rather than their self-respect.

"The idea of Twin Cities' Negroes, it seeks to give public recognition to citizens of the Deep South, both white and Negro, who bravely try to counteract those forces which would deny first-class citizenship to Negroes."

■

THE CAMPAIGN was begun in the Twin Cities when about 30 Negroes sat down to ask what they might do and ended up contributing about $3,000 to a fund to give periodic awards to "citizens of courage." It is a non-profit organization and it has no paid staff.

This is a splendid move for very few people display courage under pressure especially when their jobs are at stake. This is historically true. Principles and manhood often go by the board when jobs are in jeopardy. People who believe in freedom and manhood must stand up and salute the 24 teachers of Elloree, S. C. Even those of us who would not be able to do so must admire those who are able to do so. Each of them will be given a citation and Twin Cities will present a check for $500 to the NAACP in the name of the teachers. The South Carolina teachers who are without jobs asked that the money be given to the NAACP.

■

LEROY LAZENBERRY, chairman of the new organization, announced these goals:

1. To lend encouragement and moral support to people regardless of race or color, living in the South, who are carrying on the fight to uphold the law of the land so that in these states no person shall be discriminated against nor deprived of his constitutional rights because of race, creed, color or origin.
2. To mobilize the support and affirmative expressions of the entire nation so as to reinforce the determination of those persons participating in the fight of freedom.
3. To present appropriate awards to persons making significant contributions to the fight for freedom and democracy through their activities.
4. To give evidence to the nation that Negroes in the United States, North and South, stand united and solidly behind efforts to end racial segregation.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

IT WAS GOOD FOR SENATORS KEFAUVER AND HUMPHREY

FRANKLY, I was glad that Estes Kefauver was nominated on the Democratic ticket to be Adlai Stevenson's running mate. I am glad for Kefauver for several reasons: There is a straight forward honesty about Kefauver that is refreshing. Most of the Southern Democrats hate him and the only reason is the fact that he did not sign the Southern Manifesto and he has come out more boldly for civil rights than they expect a Southerner to do. Kefauver stood up against crime a few years ago and many of his colleagues do not like him for that. He is popular with the farmers and with labor. He was not the choice of Mr. Truman and it is my candid opinion if Mr. Stevenson had named the running mate he would have named one other than Kefauver. And yet, with all these odds against him, Kefauver won the nomination.

Dr. Mays

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THE SOUTH went heavily for Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts. It wasn't that they loved Senator Kennedy so well but rather that they disliked Kefauver so much. To Southern politicians Kefauver has gone against the Southern way of life. They will take a Catholic and a Yankee rather than a Southerner who has declared himself in favor of implementing the Supreme Court's decision. This is indeed strange and yet it is quite understandable.

It is good for Kefauver because it proves a theory of mine and that is, that a man can stand up for principle without being defeated every time. Everything was done to defeat Kefauver and yet he won the nomination. On the other hand, a man can sacrifice his convictions and still lose. This is precisely what happened to Senator Humphrey of Minnesota. In 1952, Senator Humphrey was perhaps the strongest of the civil rights advocates.

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BUT THIS time Mr. Humphrey wanted to be the Vice Presidential candidate and according to Irwin Ross of the **New York Post,** Humphrey had nothing to do with the people at the convention who were advocating a strong civil rights plank. When Irwin Ross asked him what did he think of the majority civil rights plank, Mr. Humphrey is reported to have snapped back, "I haven't read it." Mr. Ross quotes one of Mr. Humphrey's aides as saying, when contacted about civil rights, "he has other important things to do in connection with his campaign for the Vice Presidency." I believe that Mr. Humphrey's attitude changed from what it was in 1952 because he wanted to be the Democratic Vice Presidental candidate in 1956. I conclude, therefore, by saying that a man can stand up for principle and be successful and he can sacrifice principle and lose.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier P. 8
Pittsburgh, Pa.

She Ate With a Negro

ONE OF the chief criticisms brought against Jesus was "he ate with publicans and sinners." A publican was much hated by the Jews. He was a tax-collector. He collected taxes from his own people, the Jews, for the Roman Government — taxes no doubt to help pay for the Roman army of occupation. The tax collector had a bad reputation. He was looked upon as dishonest, collecting too much tax money in order to get money for himself. It seems that the Roman officials permitted exploitation of this kind. Even if the publican had been honest in collecting his taxes, he would still have been disliked because he was in the employment of the Roman Government which held the Jews in bondage. So it was a terrible thing for Jesus to eat with tax collectors and sinners.

Dr. Mays

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BUT NO more terrible than it is for a white person in some sections of the South to eat with a Negro. Recently in Madison, Fla., a health officer of a tri-county area, Dr. Deborah Coggins, ate lunch with a Negro. She explained that this was the only time she had to hold the conference with the Negro. According to the Associated Press she has been fired. Her only crime is, she ate lunch with a Negro nurse.

Fortunately, Dr. Coggins did not apologize for eating with a Negro and did not beg to hold her job. She called the commissioners "cowards and fools," according to the press. I wish she had not called names, but it is most gratifying to note that she did not apologize, for she had done no wrong. If this is the only reason for firing Dr. Coggins, I hope she will get another job and one much better than the one she had. I predict she will land on her feet.

■

IT IS encouraging, too, that others came to her rescue. The State Health officer, Dr. Wilson T. Sowder, insisted that he could not dismiss her unless a cause was given. The county health information officer, Robert H. Browning, appeared on behalf of Dr. Coggins. He agreed that Dr. Coggins had been seriously persecuted and tormented. He told the commissioners that what Dr. Coggins did "had no more to do with integration than drinking a cup of Russian tea has to do with spreading communism. If there is one Christian among you, one American, let me hear a motion to rescind this action." The commissioners sat silent. Another gentleman, T. C. Merchant Jr., newspaper editor, also defended Dr. Coggins. He said: "She has been subjected to the most vicious assortment of lies, misrepresentations and slander that I have had occasion to witness in this community." A physician greater than Deborah Coggins was once criticized for eating with tax collectors and sinners. Thanks to those who stood for Doctor Coggins. Time will vindicate her stand.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier

Resolutions

Sat. 1-7-56

AS USUAL, people assembled at church and were on their knees as the clocks struck twelve at midnight, Dec. 31. They sang and prayed the old year out and greeted the new year in. Many new resolutions were made. Almost as many will be broken. As a rule, resolutions are useless. People will do in 1956 mostly what they did in 1955. The drinkers will drink as much liquor and the exploiters will exploit more people.

Dr. Mays

Resolutions will be broken because most people are satisfied with the way they are living. Habits condition us to do tomorrow what we did today, and we find pleasure in doing certain things even when they are against us.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

AN HABITUAL smoker told me sometime ago that he would keep on smoking even if it were conclusively established that smoking caused cancer. He enjoys it. This is not true with everyone. I know a few courageous persons who made up their minds to chart a different course and succeeded 100 per cent. But the older one gets, the harder it is to keep resolutions.

There is one resolution I wish people would make and keep. Resolve to improve the quality of their work. There are thousands of people in business, especially small ones, who are satisfied to move in the same old rut year by year. There are teachers who have made no improvement in the effectiveness of their teaching in twenty-five years. There are preachers who never improve their preaching. There are administrators who resist change and do not themselves improve on the job. As a result, their organizations are no better now than they were ten years ago.

MOST PEOPLE could improve the quality of their work. But if their checks come regularly, few people care enough to make themselves indispensable in their work. To improve on the job requires what most of us are too lazy to do: hard thinking on how we can improve our work, experimenting with new ways of doing things, working harder and longer hours if necessary, reading, studying, planning ahead; punctuality, and love of the job. One needs to work beyond the pay check and beyond the clock. A resolution to improve the quality of one's work would be a good one for 1956. Mediocrity, low aim and being satisfied are the chief sins of our time. Most people are too lazy to change or improve their work.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier p.8

Ford Foundation

Sat. 1-19-56

THE HALF-billion dollars which the Ford Foundation is contributing to 615 regionally accredited liberal arts colleges and 3,500 private hospitals is something new in philanthropic giving. It is significant for several reasons:

1. The trustees of the Ford Foundation recognize the importance and need of private education in America. They know that if education is to remain free and progressive, the private liberal arts college must be supported by wealthy individuals, foundations and corporations.

Dr. Mays

Pittsburgh, Pa.

2. It is significant secondly because it is the first time that any foundation has attempted to strengthen every liberal arts college that has regional accreditation. Foundations usually pick out certain colleges that they want to help and leave the others without support. But the Ford Foundation did something for every accredited liberal arts college.

3. **The formula of distribution was fair.** The smallest college will get as much proportionately as the largest college. Although New York University will get $5 million, it will probably be no more than a college which will get only $200,000. The college with the $200,000 with forty teachers will get as much as New York University with probably 2,000 teachers.

4. The colleges and hospitals were assisted without regard to denomination or race. The only criterion was its standing in the educational and hospital world.

Although the sum given by the Ford Foundation is a staggering sum, it does not solve the problem of private education. The $260 million given to the colleges will enable them to provide raises of only 4 per cent and in some instances 6 per cent for the teaching faculties. If a teacher is receiving $5,000 a year, a 4 per cent raise will be $200 a year. One can clearly see that the increase is not particularly outstanding. And yet, without people like Mr. Ford and the trustees of the Ford Foundation, private colleges could not exist. The interest on the money which twenty-nine colleges of the United Negro College Fund will receive from the Ford Foundation will amount to about $180,000 a year at 4 per cent. One hundred and eighty thousand dollars spread out among the faculties of twenty-nine colleges will not average over $200 per teacher per year.

This points up the significance of the United Negro College Fund. For the last several years this fund has distributed more than a million dollors annually for the current operation of these colleges. The biggest gift and the greatest lift to Negro private colleges since 1944 is still the United Negro College Fund.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier

Another Crack

Sat. 1-21-56

I SALUTE Dr. H. M. Holmes, his two sons and their attorneys, Messrs. Thomas, Moore and Robinson, for winning the right to play golf, non-segregated, on the municipal golf course of Atlanta. When a lower court ruled that Negroes could play golf on segregated days, the case was appealed. There were those who argued that the Holmeses should be satisfied to play certain days a week and let it go at that. Some well-known Negro leaders felt that way. They held that golf wasn't a big issue anyway since only a few Negroes play. But the Holmeses and their attorneys thought otherwise and they were right. Segregation is a cat not with nine lives, but with a thousand lives. Every crack that is made in the wall of segregation is all to the good.

Dr. Mays

Pittsburgh, Pa.

WHEN THE Supreme Court ruled that the municipally owned Atlanta golf courses had to be opened to Negroes, two alternatives were facing Atlanta: comply with the decision or close the golf courses. Mayor Hartsfield decided to comply. Not to comply would mean closing down, and that would mean denying 75,000 white golfers the opportunity to play and depriving 100 employes with families of their jobs. The Mayor issued a statement saying that Atlanta would comply.

Mayor Hartsfield deserves a lot of credit. Governor Marvin Griffin and Attorney General Eugene Cook say that they are goin to preserve segregation in Georgia. Although the Atlanta Journal and the Atlanta Constitution are supporting the Mayor, both papers are in favor of retaining segregation in Georgia, certainly for the time being. The Journal said in an editorial Dec. 27: "The Atlanta Journal recognizes that the majority of the people of Georgia want segregation . . . the Journal takes its position squarely and positively with the majority of the people of Georgia." The Constitution said editorially the same day: "As a state, Georgia will never or at least in the forseeable future, agree to desegregate schools." The Constitution said further: "This newspaper has never had and does not now have any policy of 'integration'."

So, for Mayor Hartsfield to take his stand in the midst of attitudes like these, he deserves considerable credit.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier p.10

Surveys?

Sat. 1-28-56

SEVERAL school boards are making a study of the mental and academic status of Negro and white children and of the level of achievement of both. It is significant to me that some of these studies began after the Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954. If the studies were stimulated by this decision, I am suspicious. If the studies are being made to throw light on how the various school boards may begin to implement the court's decision, that's one thing. It is quite another if the studies are designed to circumvent the decision of the United States Supreme Court.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dr. Mays

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WITHOUT PREJUDGING the results of such studies, whatever the findings may be, they will probably reflect discreditably upon the regions investigated. It is hardly possible that Negro children in general

could compare favorably, all across the board, with white children. This would be impossible because since emancipation the South has seen to it that Negro children received inferior facilities. They have seen to it that considerably more per capita was spent for the education of the white child than was spent for the Negro child. There was a time once in the South when the average per capita expenditure for the Negro child was $12 as over against $50 per capita for the white child. In some areas the white child received 2 to 6 times as much for its education as the Negro child. It is only within the last twenty years that the South has made any serious attempt to equalize educational opportunities for Negroes. The Negro teachers were likewise paid much less than white teachers.

* * *

THE WHITE SOUTH and America have also seen to it that the Negro's economic opportunities were less than the economic opportunities for whites. There have been many deliberate efforts to keep the Negro poor. Low economic status leads to disease. All these factors will play their part to make the white child show up better on the whole.

If such factors are used to prove that the Negro is inferior, then I will suggest that the people who make these studies carry their surveying further. Compare the white children in Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina with the white children in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois. I believe that on the whole the white child in the South will not show up as well. I suggest further that they compare the achievement of a select group of Northern Negroes with a similar group of Southern whites. Unless they do all of these things, their findings will be both untrue and unfair.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier

Segregation

Sat. 2-4-56

P. 8

HERMAN TALMADGE has written a book, "You and Segregation." He says that the Supreme Court violated the law and the Constitution when it declared segregation in the public schools unconstitutional; that "the citizens of the sovereign states are the court of last resort" — not the Supreme Court; that Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln believed in segregation; that the NAACP's sole aim is complete intermingling of the races including intermarriage; that God advocates segregation, created the races different, and set bounds of habitation—to keep them apart; that "the Fourteenth Amendment does not in any way support the proposition that the several states may not have separate schools," and Negro teachers will lose their jobs if segregation goes.

Dr. Mays

Pittsburgh Pa.

HE QUOTES approvingly the Richmond News Leader: "To acknowledge the court's authority does not mean that the South is helpless . . . Rather it is to enter upon a long course of lawful resistance; it is to take lawful advantage of every moment of the law's delay . . . Litigate? Let us pledge ourselves to litigate this thing for fifty years."

When Mr. Talmadge argues that the citizens of the sovereign states are the court of last resort, he places the state above the Federal Government and he provides no protection for minorities. If the states are supreme, the Federal Government is not needed.

* * *

THOMAS JEFFERSON and Abraham Lincoln both expressed views in opposition to the mixing of the races. But Thomas Jefferson died in 1826, 130 years ago when the Negro was in slavery and Lincoln was assassinated in 1865, ninety-one years ago. Neither saw the Negro in operation as a free man. It is untrue to say that the ultimate aim of the NAACP is intermarriage. Any person who believes in equality of the races would be accused by Mr. Talmadge as advocating intermarriage.

If God advocates segregation and separated the races, the white man should not be in Asia and Africa and the Indian should be in possession of the United States. If God did not intend for the races to mix, the white man should not have mixed them during slavery when he took advantage of female slaves.

When Mr. Talmadge says the nine justices violated the law, I prefer their unanimous opinion rather than his.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier P. 8

Progress

Sat. 2-11-56

Pittsburgh, Pa.

WHENEVER great progress is made and mankind gets a great thrust toward something better, someone has had to break with tradition, with the beaten paths of yesterday. If we live, move and have our being in the same old path, little or no progress will be made. In every field of endeavor, progress has been made when someone dared to break with the past.

Dr. Mays

We have freedom of speech, thought, and expression partly because more than twenty centuries ago Socrates walked the streets of Athens in bare feet thinking and expressing what he thought. The Athenian Government killed Socrates, but we Americans will die for the right to have our say. Socrates broke with tradition.

* * *

WE HAVE today the greatest of all religions, the Christian religion, because nineteen centuries ago a Jesus and a Paul dared to challenge law and tradition that stifled spiritual growth and freedom. We have the Christian religion because men dared to walk outside the beaten path. We have further religious freedom because Martin Luther cried out against indulgences and declared the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers.

Where would we be in science if Galileo, Copernicus, Bruno, Bacon, Darwin and others had not dared to break the chains of the past and proclaimed new scientific truths? Where would we be in medicine and surgery if someone had not dared to break the spell of superstition and fear. A race was emancipated mainly because Harriet Beecher Stowe, Henry Ward Beecher, Frederick Douglass and other abolitionists cried out against the injustice of slavery.

* * *

WHEREVER WE find progress, it is because someone had the courage to break with tradition. Less than one hundread years ago, women were denied the ballot and a college education. Women are free today because Susan B. Anthony and others like her broke with tradition and declared that women had the same right to be educated and the same right to vote as men.

In 1946 Branch Rickey broke with tradition and dared to put on the team of the Brooklyn Dodgers Jackie Robinson. America stood breathless wondering what would happen. As is usually the case, nothing happens when one takes a stand for the right. Branch Rickey dared to do the unpopular thing. For progress some people have paid with their lives; some have been jailed; others have been ostracized. But this is the price of progress. History shows no other way.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier P. 10

An Unwarranted Act

Pittsburgh, Pa.

WE HERE in the South are a confused people. I suppose what Jesus said about those who crucified Him when He was dying is certainly applicable now—"Father forgive them for they know not what they do."

Recently, the State Board of Education of Georgia asked that the pension of Dr. Guy H. Wells, former president of the Georgia State College for Women, be discontinued because of his stand on segregation. For nineteen years, Dr. Wells was president of the Georgia State College for Women and for nine years was president of the Georgia Teachers College at Statesboro. At present, Dr. Wells is executive secretary of the Georgia Council on Interracial Cooperation. While the State Board of Education was acting to revoke his pension, the University System Board of Regents of Georgia unanimously voted to take away Dr. Wells' title of president emeritus of the Georgia State College for Women. These are vindictive acts and it shows how confused and vindictive people can become.

Dr. Mays

Sat. 4-7-56

AS FAR as I can gather, Dr. Wells has done nothing except speak to clubs over the state urging Negro and white leaders in the local communities to get together in good-will and honest intent to resolve differences that have arisen over the May 17, 1954, decision of the United States Supreme Court. He is accused of lambasting the state government and calling the Governor and legislators stupid. Dr. Wells denies having made any such statement and knowing Dr. Wells as I do, I believe he is telling the truth. Even if he had gone that far, it does not warrant a man's pension being revoked who has served twenty-eight years as president of two Georgia institutions and who has served the educational system of Georgia much longer.

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IT IS my hope that their effort to do this will be found illegal for this is another attempt to destroy freedom of speech and to frighten all people who are on the state's payroll. Dr. Wells has never been accused of being a radical man, and as far as I know, he has never insisted on any program designed to mix the races. He has simply urged that Negro and white leaders get together and agree on a program in the light of the Supreme Court decision. It is a sensible thing and if the South had done that, the great panic that besets the South now would have been avoided.

NEGRO NEWS

Constitution

Dr. Mays Due Honor As Orator

Atlanta, Ga.

Mon. 4-23-56

P. 3

By CLAUDE GEORGE

Morehouse College President Dr. Benjamin E. Mays will be honored as one of 19 distinguished citizens by the national forensic society of Delta Sigma Rho. Eighteen men and one woman are in the group to be honored in Chicago.

The honorees were selected from 19,000 alumni by a committee of scholars for their outstanding contributions to the welfare of their fellow man through the contributions to the ethical and effective use of speech, Dr. Thorrel B. Fest, national president of the group, said.

Edwin D. Canham, editor of the "Christian Science Monitor"; William O. Douglas, U.S. Supreme Court justice; Hubert H. Humphrey, and Wayne Morse, U.S. senators; H. V. Kaltenborn, radio commentator, and David E. Lilienthal, ex-chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, are among the honorees.

Integration Not Doom For Negro Colleges, Mays Says

Defender Sat. 3-17-56 P. 10

By GEORGE DANIELS

Chicago, Ill.

Seldom in history has a single issue stirred the feelings or erupted the emotions of so many Americans as racial segregation. But of all the questions born out of the 1954 desegregation decision, one question alone stands supreme among these left unanswered: The future of the Negro college.

Indeed, what will become of those institutions when desegregation is complete, when white institutions begin accepting Negroes on equal basis with others?

Will the Negro college or university, founded to educate the sons and daughters of slaves, continue to have a place in America's expanding system of education, or will it vanish as segregation vanishes in U.S. public schools and tax-supported colleges?

MAYS' VIEWPOINT

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, famed Baptist theologian and president of Morehouse College in Atlanta, said last Friday night that desegregation will not interfere with the permanent existence of Negro colleges and institutions.

Addressing some 300 persons in the auditorium at DuSable high school, Dr. Mays predicted that Negro colleges will grow and mature with America instead of being snuffed out of existence as other institutions drop their racial bars.

Listing reasons why he believed Negro colleges are "here to stay," Dr. Mays said:

"More people are going to college now than ever before in the history of the United States. This year, we have between two and a half million young people in our colleges and universities. By 1970 this number will have doubled — meaning that every existing college will have to expand its facilities."

FIRST RATE

Dr. Mays said if the "need" is there, and if the college is first rate, "its future is secure."

"But the thing that bothers me is that the need for more colleges will be so great that even our two-by-four colleges will survive," said Dr. Mays.

According to this theologian and educator the test of survival for Negro colleges will be their ability to comply with the standards of excellence as outlined by regional and national rating boards.

"This includes not only adequate facilities," he said, "but first rate teachers, as well."

NEVER BE EXTINCT

Dr. Mays said:

"Negro colleges will never become extinct in an era of integration because each college has character, reputation, friends and alumni who will see to its safe future.

"Some people who do not think clearly, belive that a desegregated society is one that shuts, rather than opens. Nothing good is lost in a desegregated society, but every college will be more liberal, more democratic and more Christian.

"When churches become Christian enougt to integrate, there will still be a need for Hyde Park and Olivet Baptist churches. When we get rid of residential segregation and integrate public schools in the north as well as the south, there will still be a need for every public school.

"Someday, some great historian is going to write how Negro colleges, founded to educate the children of slaves, grew and matured with America."

Appearing along with Dr. Mays was Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk university in Nashville, Tenn. The program was sponsored by the Chicago alumni associations of the two schools.

39 Colleges No 14

BLOOMINGTON, Ind. — Tennessee A and I University of Nashville and Central State College of Wilberforce, Ohio were among the 39 colleges who sent delegates representing 47 members of the United Nations to the Little United Nations Assembly at Indiana University, March 2 through March 4.

Representing Bulgaria and Liberia respectively the Tennessee State and Central State students turned in creditable performances: following strict international political policies in the manner traditionally followed by members of the United Nations.

The Assembly had its beginning last year at which time Fisk University of Nashville and Central State were the only two Negro colleges represented. This year, however, Central State was the only Negro repeater with Tennessee State making its debut.

Like the real United Nations Assembly which convenes in New York, the make-believe world organization debates propositions of international concern.

All resolutions adopted by committees were presented to the general assembly and they were re-debated and accepted or rejected by the assembly.

The Bulgarian delegation from Tennessee State shrewdly and forcefully presented the Soviet line of international strategy.

Robert King, principal speaker for the trusteeship council and member of the Bulgarian delegation, lulled the general assembly into a rousing burst of applause with his dynamic and forceful oratory in condemning the Mexico-sponsored resolution which provide for the formation of a permanent committee on non-self governing territories.

King called Bulgaria "always a champion of liberty and a force to the freedom loving peoples of the world."

Following his major address, King received from Luna's assistant secretary general, Jack Shaw of Indiana University, a note congratulating him "for the best, most **most interesting speech of the entire assembly."**

Alice Marie Bettis from Central State, Liberia's Legal Committee delegate, brilliantly launched attacks against the Western policy which denounced adoption of a definition of a principle of the United Nations Charter.

The Tennessee State Delegation included: Bernard Chadwick, Robert L. King and Cornelius Jones.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier Sat. 3-17-56 Pittsburgh, Pa. P. 10

'What Students Are Striking About'

WHEN there is eternal dissension at a college, very few people know what the real trouble is. As a rule, the majority of the teachers do not know and a majority of the students do not know. It sometimes happens that the leaders of dissension are not thoroughly conversant with the issue. If this is so, I certainly have no right to dabble in an eternal situation. But I think I can speak in general terms without damage to the cause.

Dr. Mays

As an outsider, I thought that when students in the State College of South Carolina began their strike, they were striking in sympathy with the college faculty, staff and administration. I thought this because the South Carolina Legislature had done two unfortunate things.

■

IT PASSED a bill to the effect that any state employe who was a member of the NAACP would lose his or her job and, secondly, it passed a bill to appoint a committee of nine to investigate the NAACP activities among the students and faculty at State College.

These two bills are unfortunate because the NAACP has done nothing except to use non-violent means to achieve Negro rights and to use the machinery of the law and the Federal Constitution in its efforts to get these rights. That is the American way. It is the way that the Founding Fathers established for individuals or groups to achieve first-class citizenship in America.

To try to kill that organization when the Legislature permits the Ku Klux Klan and the Citizens Council to exist is unfortunate. I thought the students saw these measures as a means of shackling and destroying the vitality of one of the most promising state colleges for Negroes in the nation.

■

BUT I think I was mistaken. It seems now that the whole thing was aimed at the administration of the South Carolina State College. It also seems that the trouble that the college was having with the Legislature was seized upon as the appropriate time to make the attack on the administration. If this observation is correct, it is most unfortunate. The two do not go together.

It is understandable that misunderstanding will arise occasionally between students and administration. But to confuse that with another issue, which to my mind is far more serious, was not wise. A misunderstanding between students and administration can always be ironed out provided there is good faith, honesty and integrity on the part of the students and good faith, honesty and integrity on the part of the administration.

If I am correct in my analysis, I think the students in their saner moments will conclude that their procedure might have been more wisely channelled. I could wish that they might have seen the issue in its larger perspective. The teachers at the State College are good and loyal citizens and I still wonder what the Legislature needs to investigate.

My View

Courier P.10

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Sat. 5-19-56

'The Democrats and Republicans'

Pittsburgh, Pa.

NOW THAT Vice President Nixon has announced that he will run with Eisenhower, the Republican slate is just about complete. The Republican party is united. There seems to be none of the wrangling that existed in 1952 between the Eisenhower and Taft factions. It is the Democrats that are terribly divided at the moment.

Dr. Mays

The choice of Nixon as Eisenhower's running mate is a momentous choice. The Vice President is not the most popular man in the United States. At the moment the nation does not seem to have the confidence in him that it has in his Chief.

And yet, if Mr. Nixon is nominated and if Eisenhower's health holds out, the Republican ticket will be difficult to beat. Since Mr. Eisenhower has said if at any time his health interferes with his major duties as President, he will step aside — a great responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the Vice President. Everyone wishes that it will not be necessary for Mr. Eisenhower to step aside.

But suppose he should step aside in the midst of the campaign or even later? It is quite conceivable that Nixon may be President of the United States. I think the two parties might do well to see to it that the nominee for the Vice Presidency is as strong and outstanding as the Presidential nominee.

■

THE DEMOCRATS are wrangling over civil rights and will no doubt continue to wrangle over civil rights. It will be a stroke of genius if Mr. Stevenson or someone else is able to keep the Democratic party together. If the Democrats split again, it will be a long, long time before they will be able to heal their wounds. If the Democrats stay together and if they nominate a man like Stevenson, Harriman or Kefauver, they will give the Republicans a stiff race if President Eisenhower should decide to withdraw on account of his health.

■

In 1952 most of the Negroes voted the Democratic ticket. They remembered Roosevelt and Truman and they liked the kind of things that Adlai Stevenson was saying. They thought that he would make a worthy successor to Roosevelt and Truman. I am sure more Negroes voted for Stevenson in 1952 than for Eisenhower. Negroes are waiting now to see what both parties are going to say in their platform about the implementation of the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court. Unfortunately, both parties are going to play politics with civil rights. And yet, the position for both parties is clear.

■

THE SUPREME COURT has ruled that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional. A large section of the South is rebelling against that decision. Whether Republican or Democratic, the party has no choice but to uphold the decision of the Supreme Court.

My View

Courier P.10

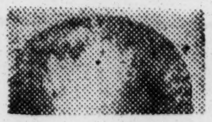
By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Sat. 6-2-56

Who Will Benefit?

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE STATE COLLEGE of South Carolina is a fine institution. I saw it for the first time as a seventh grade student in 1911. It has grown in quantity, in quality and in beauty since that time: under Wilkinson, Whittaker and now Turner. It is one of the finest institutions in the



South and its physical development in recent years is phenomenal. It does not yet appear what the institution might become.

Dr. Mays

It is only a rumor, but it is all right to write about a rumor because there may be a smattering of truth in a rumor. It is rumored that there is a movement on foot to get the students now enrolled in the State College not to return in the fall. Frankly, I don't think such a move could work because a thousand or more students would hardly drop out of school or matriculate somewhere else. Then, too, students are not wholly independent. They have their parents and in the final analysis parents have the good sense to advise their children wisely.

■

BUT SUPPOSE this rumor became a reality? Suppose 12 or 14 hundred students would not return to the State College in the fall, who would benefit? Certainly the 200 faculty and staff people would not benefit because they would be there without jobs. The faculty and staff would not benefit nor their children.

The students would hardly benefit because all of them would not be successfully placed in other schools in the state and in the nation. Financially, many of them would be unable to go to school at all. Fees are cheaper in the state colleges than they are in private institutions.

With the tenor of things in South Carolina they would not be absorbed in the white institutions in the state. So by and large, the students would not benefit.

■

IF THERE were no students, you could have no college and the institution would close and that would be the end of one of the finest chapters in education in the entire South. It would take years, probably decades, to recover from a tragedy of that kind.

As it is now, the school is meeting a need and without it the need would not be met. If every white school in South Carolina were opened today to Negroes, the need for the State College would be just as great as it is now and anyone who doesn't see this is stupid.

The time will come, too, when all of the institutions in the State of South Carolina will be opened to all of the people. I am not a prophet, but even people who believe in segregation do not believe that segregation will last forever. When that day comes, State College will still be needed.

To try to destroy that school is foolish indeed, whether the destroyer be Negro or white.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier P.10

'To What Purpose Does General Clark Speak'

Sat. 5-26-56

Pittsburgh, Pa.

IT IS mighty late in the day for General Mark Clark, now president of Citadel Military College in South Carolina, to express his views on his opposition to integration in the armed forces. Integration has been going on in the Army, Navy, Marines and Air Force for quite some time It is just about a completed job and I have my first time to read of any officer in the armed forces who say that it is not working. Southern generals and Army officers have boldly said that integration in the armed services is working well.

Dr. Mays

■

WHAT PURPOSE does General Clark serve when he says that he was opposed to integration in the Army in 1951 and is opposed to it now? It is also revealed that General Clark has praised Negro soldiers as doing a remarkable job. Now he says they are cowards and among the worse he has commanded. Why this contradiction and sudden smear of Negro soldiers?

Is it a part of the Southern pattern to defeat the implementation of the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court? Is it that in being in Rome, General Clark must act as a Roman?

Does he feel that he must join Mr. Waring, the white citizens council, the Southern Congressmen and others who are against the decision of the Supreme Court in order to make himself whole with the state officials of South Carolina? What is to be gained by Mr. Clark's belated statements?

The record of the Negro soldier dating back to the Revolutionary War is a good one. He has been praised in American history for the various wars in which he has fought. I suppose any person in his position feels that he must make himself whole with the people with whom he associates. Maybe he feels that to keep silence would be interpreted to mean that he is in favor of desegregation.

■

FIGHTING IS a matter of morale. All through the decades the Negro has been jimcowed, lynched and humiliated in every area of American life. And yet, he has never proved traitor to the country and has fought for freedom and democracy which he has never fully experienced. Does Mr. Clark understand this? If the Negro can make the kind of soldier he has made under humiliating circumstances, what kind of a soldier will be make when every form of restriction and humiliation has been removed?

The amazing thing is that the Negro has been loyal, brave and heroic under humiliating circumstances where many people would have deserted and turned traitor. I was not with General Clark and cannot deny one way or the other the charges that he makes. But if what he says is true, it is an indictment against the segregated Army and an indictment against the American democracy.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia

Courier P.S Pittsburgh

THERE is something about state affairs that I do not understand. We hate communism in this country. We punish any American who expounds the Communist cause. Men are sent to jail for espousing the Communist doctrine. Even those who are not convicted for being card carriers are denied the privilege to leave the country. Most of our national defense is built up because we do not want the Communists to get a foothold in this country. We want to check their spread in other parts of the world. Yet we support Marshal Tito. He told us out front long ago that he was a Communist and intended to remain Communist. He did make it clear though that he would be his own kind of Communist and would not be dictated to by Moscow.

Dr. Mays

Sat. 11-10-56

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NOT TOO long ago Tito went to Moscow and apparently Moscow and Yugoslavia got together and now there is no break between communism in Russia and communism in Yugoslavia. There was considerable talk once whether we would continue to give aid to Yugoslavia. I understand now we are going to continue this aid. Are we really against communism or are we just against communism in Russia? If I understand communism, it is against our way of life whether it is Tito's brand or Bulganin's.

Now Poland is having internal strife. Evidently the Polish Communists want to be independent of Moscow and if they break with Moscow, I predict that the United States will give them aid. Where does all this lead to? I wonder if we think we can lure Yugoslavia and Poland away from communism by lending them money which will turn out to be giving them money. I wonder! I believe all brands of communism are treacherous and opposed to our way of life. Maybe there is something going on here that I do not understand. If it ever comes to a showdown, Yugoslavia will decide with Russia against the United States. But as long as Tito can play both ends against the middle; as long as he can get huge loans from the United States, he will do so. If one can get several million dollars for nothing, why not play both ends against the middle?

■

THE AMOUNT of money owed us by European nations would perhaps be enough to endow hundreds of colleges in the United States, maybe all the colleges. Some day I hope we will reappraise our values. I hope we will be as concerned about providing adequately for our schools as we are about giving money to foreign nations and that we will be as much concerned about perfecting democracy in America as we are about defeating communism abroad. Congress will appropriate billions at the drop of a hat for foreign nations, but will defeat a bill for education. We need to reappraise our values.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier P.S

Willa B. Player Inaugurated

Pittsburgh Pa.

Sat. 11-3-56

SUNDAY, Oct. 14, 1956, Dr. Willa B. Player was inaugurated as the ninth president of Bennett College. It was the first time in the history of Bennett College, reaching back to 1873, that a woman had been elected president. It is unusual for women to be elected presidents of colleges. In our group, for the most part, the women presidents have been founders of their schools. For example, Mrs. Bethune, Mrs. Brown and Miss Burroughs. Quite some years ago, Miss Branch was the president of Tillotson College.

Dr. Mays

Miss Player's election is significant because she was elected on merit, not because she was a woman. When her credentials are compared with the credentials of men college presidents, they are equally impressive and in some instances more so. She holds degrees from Ohio Wesleyan, Oberlin and Columbia University. She was President Jones' right hand person. It is the first time, too, that a Negro woman of Miss Player's training has been given the opportunity to administer the affairs of one of our oustanding colleges. I predict that time will prove that President Jones and the board of trustees were wise in their choice.

■

THE INAUGURATION was beautiful. According to the printed program, 117 colleges and universities were represented and 26 officials of learned societies, educational and professional organizations. Dr. Karl W. Bigelow of Columbia University gave a stimulating address. Miss Player's inaugural statement was excellent.

Bennett College is definitely the lengthened shadows of President and Mrs. David Dallas Jones. Anyone who saw Bennett College in 1926 when the Joneses went there and see it now will agree with me when I say that the college is the lengthened shadows of the Joneses.

■

TWO OF our most significant colleges, Bennett and Spelman, are dedicated to the higher education of women. They both have a great heritage, are firmly anchored and both have a great future.

Miss Player assumes the presidency of Bennett College with the goodwill of educational institutions everywhere and with the support and goodwill of the Methodist Church. We salute Bennett College and its new president.

My View

Courier P.S

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Sat. 11-24-56

Crisis in Middle East

Pittsburgh, Pa.

WE ARE closer to a third world war than we have been at any time since 1945. It seems so difficult for men to build a permanent peace and a decent world. Man knows enough to do it, but he isn't good enough to do it. We know better than we are able to do.

Dr. Mays

It will be difficult to convince the world that England and France did not give Israel the nod to invade Egypt. Although it may be difficult to prove, it will be more difficult for England and France to prove that they did not encourage the Israeli forces to invade Egypt. When the English military left the Suez in 1954, the agreement was that if the waterways were attacked and if Egypt was attacked, the English would again guard the canal. Israel invasion of Egypt made it possible according to agreement for the British to return.

England and France wanted to seize the canal by force when Nasser nationalized it. They were restrained mainly by the United States. Many things will have happened before this article is printed. The Suez Canal crisis will be well on the way to solution or we will be deeper involved in the direction of a third world war. If France, England and the Arab nation abide by the vote of the United Nations assembly on Nov. 2, the situation will be clearing before this article appears.

■

HOW STRANGE: Russian forces invade Hungary. The French and English bomb Egypt. Three of the principal countries of the United Nations violate the United Nations' charter. National agreement means very little when nations think their economic status and prestige are at stake. Strange to find the United States and Russia standing on the same side in the United Nations in condemning Israel, France and England.

Strange again to find that England calls what she is doing in the Suez, police protection and yet England drops bombs. The human mind can just about justify anything it wants to do.

■

IF THE United Nations can settle the Middle East crisis, if it can get Israel to withdraw her army from Egypt and if it can get England and France to withdraw their forces, the United Nations will be strengthened considerably. If they fail in their efforts to do this, the United Nations will become a debating society with little influence in the settling of world conflicts. I shudder to think what will happen if Russia goes to the defense of Egypt and the Arabs.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

The NAACP in Ga

I WISH I could believe that the state officials were really interested to find out if the Atlanta branch of the NAACP owes the state income tax. I wish I could believe that that is their chief motive for demanding the records. Most people know that the NAACP is supported by voluntary contributions. They know, too, that the NAACP is a sound patriotic organization.

Dr. Mays

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WHAT IS going on in the South today since May 17, '54, reminds one of what he reads was happening during the decades leading up to the War Between the States and what happened in the South during the days of Reconstruction. There were forces in the nation that resorted to every conceivable means to maintain the institution of slavery. These forces were so determined to maintain slavery and the Negro and white abolitionists were so determined to abolish it that we had a Civil War. There are people in this nation who are just as determined to maintain segregation. I have recently read pre-Civil War and post-reconstruction history. There is a resemblance to what is going on now. This is not a perfect parallel, but there are resemblances.

■

THE ATTORNEY General of Georgia has made it clear that he intends to make trouble for the NAACP and has said in effect that he intends to drive it from the state. It isn't income tax. The war has been declared on the NAACP because it has been too successful in arguing its cases before the United States Supreme Court. It was too successful in winning the May 17, 1954, decision, at which time the court declared segregation in the public schools to be unconstitutional. In the thinking of the pro-segregationists, the NAACP is a trouble-making organization. They erroneously believe that if the NAACP were destroyed, there would be complete calm on the Southern front. They believe that Negroes would be perfectly willing to continue as second-class citizens segregated and jim crowed. They are wrong.

■

WHEN IT comes to the draft Negroes are treated equally. When it comes to taxes they are treated equally. They pay, though poor, as much as white citizens of similar economic standing. Negroes die on the battlefields of Asia, Europe and Africa. They have always fought for democracy which they have never completely enjoyed. They are becoming more and more enlightened. They are becoming more and more economically stable. They know the Federal Constitution and what it guarantees. Knowing all these things, Negroes will never be satisfied to be treated differently for no other reason than the fact that God made some of them different in color. This thing is much deeper than a few people who guide the NAACP. Negroes want to walk the earth with dignity, and this is a desire that can never be destroyed whether the NAACP lives or dies.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

The NAACP Trial

FOR SIX days the State of Georgia was prosecuting the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The state claims that it is concerned about the income tax status of the NAACP here in Georgia. I doubt if anybody believes that income tax is the problem. Eugene Cook announced months ago that he planned to run the NAACP out of Georgia. This is the first step in his effort to do that.

Dr. Mays

■

THE COURT trial ended Friday, Dec. 14. Attorney Hollowell was exonerated because he was not an officer of the association at the time the order was served. Mrs. Eunice Cooper and W. Hodges were acquitted and discharged because they had no records in their possession. L. D. Milton as treasurer of the Atlanta branch was to open his books for inspection Monday, Dec. 17, and Mrs. Ruby Hurley as regional director of the NAACP was ordered to open her files for inspection Monday, Dec. 18. J. H. Calhoun was committed to jail until he revealed the NAACP records or cause them to be submitted. He was in jail two or three hours. Mr. Calhoun was sentenced to 12 months in jail, but this sentence was suspended "on good behavior." The NAACP as a corporation was fined $25,000. This will be appealed and in all probability the Georgia case will find its way to the Georgia Supreme Court and from there to the United States Supreme Court.

It was clear from the beginning that the NAACP could not win in Superior Court. It was also clear that the organization could hardly refuse to submit its books for inspection whatever the state's motives might be. From the beginning one could almost predict what Judge Pye was going to do. At times he was both judge and prosecuting attorney.

■

WHAT IS happening in the South since May 17, 1954, should be enough to convince Negroes that although nearer to first-class citizenship than we were, we have a long, long way to go before Negro Americans will be accepted on the basis of character and merit. Every effort is being made in the Deep South to keep the Negro a third- or fourth-class citizen. Negro leaders who have been naive and who felt that equal justice and equal opportunity were just around the corner will have to rethink their position. The white people who believe that all Americans, irrespective of race, should have equal justice and equal opportunity are still a small minority.

I predict that the persecution which the NAACP is receiving in Texas, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina and persecution yet to follow, will cause Negroes to close ranks and become more determined to become first-class citizens in the South and in the United States.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Charles S. Johnson

SPEAKING to the Morehouse men on Nov. 1, I made this remark: "Had I to choose, I would be dead at 63 like Charles Spurgeon Johnson, having accomplished as much as he, than to die at 969 years like Methuselah having accomplished no more than he."

Dr. Mays

The man did so much in so few years. It staggers the imagination. He wrote so many good books, so many fine articles, served on so many committees and commissions, did so much for Fisk, so much for humanity and mankind that it will be a long time before we find another so gifted and so devoted to a cause. He was one of those rare persons that we find once in a great while.

■

HIS LIFE should be an inspiration to any youngster who feels that race and circumstances of birth are handicaps over which he cannot overcome. The opportunities for our young men are much greater in 1956 than they were for Charles Spurgeon Johnson when he was born in 1893. And yet despite crippling circumscription, he made a brilliant record at Virginia Union University and the University of Chicago. At the age of 29 he had become a famous author by being the chief author of the volume, "The Negro In Chicago." Presidents Hoover, Roosevelt and Truman appointed him to important commissions. He was one of 20 American scholars sent to Japan in 1946 at the request of General MacArthur to advise on the reorganization of the educational system of that country. He did important work with UNESCO and served as a delegate to the Conference on Indian-American Relations in New Delhi, India, in 1949 and made a lecture tour of the Scandinavian countries in 1955.

■

LET COLLEGE presidents and professors who feel they do not have time to write take note. Some 15 or 16 books stemmed from his mind. Among them "The Negro in Chicago," "The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy," "The Negro in American Civilization," "Shadow of the Plantation," "A Preface to Racial Understanding," "The Negro College Graduate," "Growing Up in the Black Belt" and others.

It is not surprising that seven colleges and universities conferred upon him honorary degrees: Virginia Union University, Howard University, Lincoln University (Pennsylvania), Central State College, Columbia University, Harvard University and the University of Glasgow Scotland.

The memory of this man will live in minds, hearts and books for eyars to come.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

How Illogical Can Intelligent People Be?

Courier P.10 Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 6-16-56

THE STATE Board of Control of the State of Florida argued recently that if the state-supported universities of Florida were desegregated it "would pose threats of violence, wreck scholastic standards and destroy their financial structure." This is the reply of the state officials to a Federal judge's order that the state present evidence to determine when segregation can be accomplished at the university level in Florida.

Dr. Mays

The board submitted the "results of a massive survey of students, parents, faculty members, and alumni of the white University of Florida and Florida State University and Negro Florida A&M." The survey pointed out that violence would probably result from mixing the races on the state's college campuses.

■

THE REPORT said further that either the entrance requirements of the white schools will have to be drastically lowered or most Negroes barred from university education and that if Negroes were subject to the academic requirements that white students are required to meet, more than 90 per cent of the Negro high school graduates could not attend the white universities.

He argued further that the financial structure of the two white schools would collapse. He expressed doubt that the Legislature would appropriate funds if the state universities were opened to Negroes. The survey also showed that Negro children are almost as vigorously opposed to integration as their white counterparts.

■

TWO OBSERVATIONS are necessary. When high state officials indicate that there would likely be violence if Negroes were admitted, those state officials are inviting violence. As to violence, there has been only one flagrant case and that was at the University of Alabama. There has been no violence in Tennessee, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and very little at the University of Louisiana. There will hardly be any violence if the proper precautionary measures are taken by top officials of the state and university. When high state officials predict the possibility of violence they could be expressing what they hope will happen.

■

NO SURVEY in the South on desegregation at this time by students and supporters of state universities could be a true index of the situation. The South is so emotionally wrought up over this question that the majority of the people are free to say one thing and one thing only. We want segregation to continue. With the climate being what it is, it is hardly possible to expect a majority of the students in any state university to say they favor desegregation. It is not as bad, but it reminds me of the situation in Germany when parents who hated Hitler were afraid to say so, even in the presence of their children.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Why Sen. George Signed Southern Manifesto

Courier P.10 Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 6-23-56

THERE is no doubting the fact that Senator Walter George of Georgia rose to high position as senior Senator from Georgia. His prestige and influence became national and international. He is considered a great American. He is respected at home and abroad.

Dr. Mays

As far as I know, Senator George never did wave the red rag of race in his campaign and on the whole conducted a decent campaign. This can be said for very few Georgia politicians. Senator George has been in the Senate around 34 years and he has reached the respectable age of 78.

When one considers Senator George's influence in the nation and the world, and his age, one has to wonder why a man like Senator George would lead and participate in the Southern Manifesto which was signed by approximately 100 Southern Congressmen.

■

DID SENATOR GEORGE sign the Southern Manifesto because he really believed that the Supreme Court was in error when it said that when you segregate a man on the basis of color you deny him the equal protection of the law? It seems clear to me that if a man wants the decision of the Supreme Court revoked, he must believe that it is all right to segregate a man because God made him colored.

And yet, it is so difficult for me to believe that a man of Senator George's stature believes that. If Senator George led the Southern Manifesto because of his conviction, one has to respect him for it even though we question the rightness of his position.

■

DID SENATOR GEORGE lead and participate in the Southern Manifesto for political reasons? Did he think that he had to sign it in order to beat Herman Talmadge in the Senate race? Evidently, Senator George finally concluded that the ex-Governor would beat him even though he signed the Southern Manifesto. Was it politics? If it wasn't politics, was it social pressure? Did Senator George feel that he would be ostracized socially if he didn't sign it?

If Senator George yielded to social pressure, it is most unfortunate. Senator George has made his mark, he has respect and prestige at home and abroad. Even if Talmadge had beaten him in the Senate race, Senator George would still have been a great man. If he had lost a few friends by not signing the Manifesto, history would still have given him a large place. Why did he lead it? This question disturbs me.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

After College, What?

Courier P.10 Sat. 6-9-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.

MOST of the colleges have had their commencements and thousands of young men and women have come out with college degrees. Many things confront them: jobs, marriage, professional and graduate schools. Since there is a shortage of teachers in some sections and a shortage of engineers, physicists, chemists and mathematicians, those who have majored in these subjects will in all probability find good employment. The best students will be accepted for further study. Many of the young women will get married and will not pursue further study for the time being. Many will get jobs and others will study further.

Dr. Mays

■

THESE YOUNG people will find that the better they applied themselves in college, the better their chance of jobs and the better their chances of being accepted in graduate and professional schools. Although it is difficult to get many young people to see it, a good college record brings large dividends and when that good college record is backed up by strong recommendations, that student is likely to land on his feet. Even those who have not done so well in college will stand a better chance than most of those who didn't go.

Now that new opportunities are opening for Negroes and the circle of employment is widening, it is hoped that the Negro college graduate will seek employment in new fields. Although the employment opportunities for the Negro college graduate are not more than 50 per cent as good as those of the white college graduate, by seeking every available avenue for employment and by being competent, Negroes will enter more fields and the circle of opportunities will widen.

■

AS DESEGREGATION increases, it is clear that a good many Negroes will lose their jobs. But on the whole more Negroes will be employed in a desegregated society than in a segregated society. Token integration is not what we seek. There can be plenty of discrimination in a non-segregated society. As we clamor for desegregation, we must be alert to the fact that there can be and that there will be discrimination in a non-segregated society.

What does all this mean? It means that the Negro college graduate must not only prove himself competent, but once employed he must make himself an asset to the firm or company which employs him. It is possible for an employe to be so good, that he impresses his employer as being an indispensable person on that job. For a long time employers are not as likely to be as understanding and as considerate of the shortcomings and defects of their Negro employes as they are of their white employes. Shortcomings on the part of Negroes may be interpreted as racial, whereas shortcomings on the part of white workers will be considered individual. So Negroes must be good to get into new areas of employment.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Point IV in Education

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 7-7-56

SPEAKING at Baylor University in May, President Eisenhower suggested that the Government Point IV Program be extended to education by foundations and private universities. He suggested the establishment of educational centers in lands lacking adequate facilities. It might be said in all kindness that the President's idea is not new. The churches have been doing this for many decades. The Ford, the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations are helping in backward areas.

Dr. Mays

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I AM NOT opposed to American philanthropy assisting backward areas in foreign lands. But I wish the President had urged foundations, corporations, and American millionaires to do more for the private colleges and universities in the United States; especially the smaller colleges.

■

The state universities get billions from the states and they also get hundreds of millions from foundations and industry. The private colleges must depend wholly upon student fees and philanthrophy.

I wish the President had spoken a good word for the private colleges and universities. The private colleges must share the increase in enrollment. They will need more money for scholarships, salaries, scientific equipment and buildings. The money for these expansions must come from private sources.

The President's endorsement of a plan to assist private colleges in this country would have been a step in the right direction. May be all this will

be done in the new study on education which I understand the Federal Government is sponsoring.

PRIVATE education must remain free. It would be most unfortunate if all American education were government-controlled. If this should happen academic freedom would be almost completely destroyed. Tax-supported education should be the freest because it gets its support from all the people. And yet thought is more highly regimented in tax-supported institutions.

I WISH THE Federal Government would contribute to private colleges, a one-time gift, without any strings attached, as much as it spends in one year for national defense. If that figure should be sixty billion dollars, it would be enough to endow the 1,900 colleges and universities in America with $31,000,000 each.

If we took only 700 private colleges, each could be endowed with $85,000,000. If the sum for national defense was thirty billion, the 1,900 schools could be endowed by $15,000,000. If 700 private colleges were helped each could be endowed by a sum exceeding $40,000,000.

If our Government can give billions to foreign countries without any strings attached and money it will never get back, it should be willing to invest in its own youth without strings attached. We have given away billions without ever receiving proper appreciation from the countries which received it.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

'Segregation—North and South'

A DISTINGUISHED white Southerner who lived in New York five years said in Atlanta recently that with the exception of transportation, New York is as segregated as Atlanta. The gentleman is mistaken. I have heard Negroes say something like that when they discovered that the North was not free of segregation and discrimination. Those of us who live in the South must learn to be factual and not defend the South when it cannot be justly defended. Those who live in the North should see to it that they do not make the South worse than it is.

Dr. Mays

I doubt if a white man is able to make an accurate comparison of segregation in the North and South; unless he makes a special study of the problem. A superficial observation is not enough. A Negro knows the difference from experience. So, when one says that New York is almost as segregated as Atlanta, he is woefully mistaken.

IN THE South every state has segregation written in its state constitution. It is not true in the North except some Northern states have laws against intermarriage. All of the first-class hotels in New York will take Negroes. I do not know of a single hotel in the Deep South that will take Negroes. It has been a quarter of a century since I was refused service in a New York restaurant. I do not know one restaurant in the Deep South that serves Negroes on a non-discriminatory basis. Theatres are open to all races in New York on a non-discriminatory basis. Theatres in the South are highly segregated—so segregated that I have never seen inside of a segregated movie in my whole life. And God helping me, I never will.

I drive through the South and find that many filling stations have segregated rest rooms—not so in the North. Parks and libraries are available to all peoples alike in the North—not so in the South. I may not be able to join any white church in the North, but I can worship without embarrassment and could join many of them. In most churches in the South, I could not worship and could hardly join more than two or three. There is not a single university or college (public or private) in the East that is closed to Negroes. This cannot be said of the South.

BUT THE North isn't perfect. Residentially, Negroes are about as highly segregated in the North as they are in the South. Whether North or South, residentially speaking, one Negro can choose a thousand whites and two can put ten thousand to flight. As a rule, North or South, when a Negro moves in, white people run. When it comes to work the North discriminates a plenty.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Probe to What End?

A COMMITTEE of the House of Representatives is investigating racial integration in the public schools in the District of Columbia. I must raise the question: to what end? Investigators usually find what they decide in advance to look for. Is the Committee of the House of Representatives interested in attempting to prove that integration does work? Is it attempting to prove that the Supreme Court was in error in its May 17, 1954, decision?

Dr. Mays

Is it an attempt to slow the process of integration? Is the committee interested in finding out the errors the school officials in the District made in order that other communities may avoid those errors as they attempt to integrate? Is the investigation designed to furnish evidence to get to get the Supreme Court to reserve itself?

Is the committee interested in studying Boston, New York, Chicago, where there has been integration for decades? Will the committee also make a study of Baltimore and St. Louis? What purpose will the investigation serve? Is this a part of the campaign to smear the Negro race?

THE SUBCOMMITTEE is headed by Representative Davis of Georgia, and I understand that it is made up principally of Southern Democrats. I am of the opinion that the committee's investigation will be a biased one. If the House of Representatives want an unbiased study, they should appoint a group of social scientists who have been trained to make investigations of this kind. I doubt if politicians are qualified to make an unbiased study.

If the purpose of the study is to prove integration does not work, I hold that the time is too short to determine that. If it is an attempt to prove that integration has brought new problems, that is to be expected. If it is designed to prove that Negro students do not measure up in achievement in every particular to the white students, it shows the damaging effect of inequality in education over the years.

LOOKING AT the problem onesidedly, I am sure you could find enough cases to argue against integration. But looking at it from an unbiased point of view, one would have to set the good points over against the bad points and see which set of facts outweigh the other. I am sure that there have been some unpleasant experiences in the Washington situation.

How could it be otherwise when segregation has been practiced for so many decades? I wish I could know when politicians are sincere and honest and are really seeking light and when they are doing something for the sole purpose of perpetuating themselves in office.

No one is wise enough to know this except God. The South's aim is to get the North and the Federal Government to leave Negroes completely in the hands of the South.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Dies Hard

CLINTON Tennessee, the Virginia Legislature, and Mansfield, Texas, are further proofs that old orders die hard. Men fought to keep feudalism. The reactionaries fought to maintain slavery. The conservatives fought to keep women in bondage. Men who displayed great affection for their wives and daughters and regard for women generally did all they could to keep the ballot and college education from women. It is not surprising when the mob rises up to maintain segregation.

Dr. Mays

There will be more Clintons and Mansfields before schools are completely integrated. Such outbursts are inevitable when the leadership encourages it. The Virginia Legislature, the other states that have voted to abolish the public schools in order to maintain segregation, the signers of the Southern Manifesto, the activities of the society to maintain segregation, the pro-Southerners of Memphis, We the People, the States Rights Councils, the White Citizens Councils, editors who oppose the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court, and the ministers of Christ's God who condone segregation—all these encourage the mob and contribute to violence. They are mob participants.

EVEN THOSE who are opposed to what Clinton, Tenn., and Mansfield, Tex., are doing but are afraid to take a stand against mob rule contribute to the mob by their silence. More people are guilty than those who join the mob crowd.

Segregation will linger a long time in many places of the South. And yet, the Supreme Court has made its decision—segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional. The Supreme Court cannot and will not go back on that decision. It is the law of the land and it will stand. Negroes will need to be poised in these troublesome times and press sanely for implementation in ways and at times suitable to their respective localities. But they cannot take implementation for granted, and if Negroes do not press for obedience to the court, we will have segregated schools, in many areas, for several decades to come.

Under segregation, since Federal suits began, great strides have been taken to equalize educational opportunities for Negroes. More strides will be taken in the future, but one fact is clear and that is, inequality is inherent in segregation where public money is used and where the people who believe in segregation possess and distribute the tax money.

THE SOUTH knows that it cannot win this battle ultimately. It is trying to delay it for a long time. It is afraid of the consequences of social intermingling of the races in elementary and high school. This is the reason there is more resistance to this decision than there is to other decisions such as voting, interstate travel and those permitting Negroes to attend Southern universities. Time will prove that their fears were groundless and that Negroes have no more desire to marry white people than white people have to marry Negroes.

Dixie Desegregation Reaction Criticized

Afro-American P. 16 Baltimore, Md. Sat. 3-31-56

By JOHN H. McCRAY

COLUMBIA, S.C. — "The heat which is being generated in the South today" over the Supreme Court's school decisions is both "unfortunate and unnecessary."

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, made that statement as he addressed the 38th annual convention of the Palmetto Education (State Teachers) Association Friday night.

31a Negro

Dr. Mays keynoted the two-day session whose theme, "Forward With Youth in These Critical Times," was spelled out in all public meetings with methods by which integration can be brought about.

* * *

DR. MAYS, who was introduced by President John F. Potts of Voorhees Junior College at Denmark, began his discourse by saying:

"There is so much frustration, so much talking, so much writing and so little thinking; there's so much prejudice, so much bias that any man who says anything is on the spot."

The critical period for the South began, he said, with the May 17, 1954, Supreme Court ruling. He said it was unfortunate that the decision had been made necessary.

"We brought it (the decision) on ourselves," he declared. "Our sins caught up with us."

He said that state laws and the Plessy vs. Ferguson 1896 Supreme Court decision had established the "separate but equal" doctrine, which southern states ignored until faced with court decisions in 1936—40 years later.

* * *

DR. MAYS cited figures showing the difference in per capita expenditure in 13 southern states actually increased in favor of white children between 1919 and 1931.

He chided southerners for accepting "the Supreme Court decision when it's what we want and resorting to White Citizens Councils" when the decision goes the other way.

"For 50 years," he declared, "you and I have obeyed the law of 1896. I never did like it. I never will like it: but I obey the laws."

The decision has been grossly misinterpreted, Dr. Mays pointed out. While opponents to integration shout it means "overnight" changes, actually — and he read from the ruling — he said, the court, the NAACP nor any colored leaders have demanded an overnight change.

* * *

"THEY SAY we are going too fast," he said, "but as far as I know there hasn't been a single school desegregated in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina or Florida."

Wild applause greeted his dismissal of the intermarriage argument of segregationists: "There is going to be a great disappointment after integration when they (whites) find we don't want to marry them."

Even more sustained applause followed his declaration:

"Here in my native state; when it is unlawful to belong to the NAACP, the right of every citizen, white and colored, is seriously threatened."

He said it was unfortunate that the NAACP is being attacked. "It has followed purely legal and constitutional procedures," he added.

* * *

DR. MAYS said that school boards ought encourage meetings between parents of both races on local levels and that in all deliberations affecting the general welfare of the state, there ought to be colored representatives included.

"Do anything else to me, but don't ignore me," he warnd.

Dr. John W Davis, former president of West Virginia State College, now director of teacher information and security for N EA, also spoke on the program, over which retiring president, Dr. Madge P. Harper of Orangeburg presided.

Others on the program were Miss Thelma Fields, the Rev. W. M. Parker, Mrs. Catherine Fitzpatrick and a massed high school choir.

* * *

RICHARD SINGLETON, a S.C. State College sophomore, a native of Sumter recited excerpts from a congressional listing of the heroism and valor of the 24th Regiment of the 25th Division.

The state PTA convention met Thursday morning and afternoon

A stiff battle developed just before adjournment over a resolution introduced by the Rev. M. D. McColl[illegible] of Orangeburg, presid[illegible] of the Orangeburg NAA[illegible] chapter and a delegate [illegible]om Felton School.

The [illegible] solution urged condemnation [illegible] the new state law which outl[illegible]s NAACP membership for [illegible] employees, the White Citizen[illegible] Council and segregation.

* * *

MRS. C. V. GREEN, also of Orangeburg, opened the fight against its adoption, offering a motion that it be first studied by executive officers.

Observers were convinced the text of the measure wasn't clearly understood by the delegates who voted its final adoption in a standing vote.

President Zack Towsend ruled, however. that the matter would be studied by the executive board and reported back to the body, which does not meet again until 1957.

The PTA elected the following as new or re-elected officers for the ensuing year:

* * *

THE REV. Zack Towsend, Aiken, president; Mrs. D. R. Thompson. Pendleton, and John E. Dowling. Charleston, vice presidents; F. P. Paul. Columbia, corresponding secretary; Mr. C. V. Green, Orangeburg, chairman scholarship committee; Mrs. B. L. Davis, Anderson, world understanding committee;

Mrs. J. L. Perry, Anderson, chairman health-education committee; D. B. Belton, Winnsboro, recording secretary; Peter Poinsette, Charleston, treasurer; Mrs P. M. Gibbs, Spartanburg, chairman home and parent education committee;

Mrs. L. A. Bradby, Aiken, chairman school education committee, and James E. Brockington of Charleston, chairman of the membership committee.

The convention closed Friday night after an address by Mrs. Edith Sampson of Chicago.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 3-31-56 31a Negro

"The South's Strategy"

THE DEEP Southern states are working hard to destroy the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court. Senators, Representatives, Governors, state righters, citizen council members, and middle-of-the-road liberals are standing pretty close together on this issue. When the white citizen councils say that they are against violence but determined to keep the schools segregated they are the forerunners of the manifesto that approximately 100 Congressmen presented to Congress saying that they will resist with all their might, through legal channels, the desegregation of the schools. So the members of the white citizen councils and the Southern Congressmen stand hand in hand.

Dr. Mays

P. 10

* * *

WHEN WILLIAM Faulkner says that if the South is pushed too fast, liberals like himself, must join the segregationists, he takes his stand with those Congressmen and members of the white citizens council. The Deep South is organized on this matter and they are using every method they can to convince the nation that the Supreme Court made a mistake. When Governor Marvin Griffin says to Wilson who was expelled from the University of Alabama that he will see to it that he enters any university of his choice, Mr. Griffin is taking sides with the mob that led the movement to oust Autherine Lucy. When the Governor of Florida says he is going to ask the Supreme Court to reverse its ruling with respect to Negroes entering the University of Florida, he joins the citizens council.

* * *

THE UNFORTUNATE thing about all this is that the voice of the Negro in the Deep South cannot be heard. Those in the South who are opposed to the Supreme Court decision can get headlines. William Faulkner and Waring of the Charleston News and Courier can get the ear of the Northern press. Hodding Carter can get television space and Eugene Cook of Georgia can get the headlines when he discusses the matter at Yale University. Roy Harris and Herman Talmadge can get their views broadcast when they say that if a Negro should enter the University of Georgia it will be worse than the riot which was staged at the University of Alabama.

This volume of one-sided publicity on the subject is gaining many friends for the segregationists in the North. They are becoming more and more confused and believe that they should leave the South alone. This is exactly what the South wants. They want to be left alone so that they can treat the Negro as a second-class citizen as they have done since the days of Reconstruction.

Leader Predicts Negro Colleges Desegregation

Courier-Journal Sec. 2 Tues. 3-20-56

Cleveland, March 19 (AP)—The president of a Negro college in Atlanta yesterday forecast survival and eventual desegregation of Negro institutions of higher learning.

Louisville, Ky.

Negro and white colleges will be desegregated and "will enter a larger field of usefulness," said Dr. Benjamin Mays, head of Morehouse College.

"They will no longer be hampered and circumscribed by law and custom which now restrict the mind and cramp the soul," he said. "But they will be free to become the kind of institutions which they deserve to become."

Dr. Mays spoke at a convocation of the United Negro College Fund, a group of 31 privately supported colleges in 11 Southern states and Pennsylvania.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier Sat. 4-28-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.

"Do Negroes Want to be Free?"

I HAVE reluctantly come to the conclusion that most Negroes do not want to be free if they have to do anything to get it. It is an old story, but a true one that freedom has to be won. It has never been given, and it never will be given to one on a silver platter. If freedom could be given to one on a silver platter, it would soon be taken away, because it takes eternal vigilance to keep freedom and such persons would lose it.

Dr. Mays

Atlanta is a great city. We boast about the culture of Atlanta Negroes and we talk about the beautiful homes that they own. We, here, in Atlanta, are held up as a model for Negroes in all parts of the country. And yet I am going to reveal some startling facts about Atlanta and Georgia Negroes.

THERE ARE something like 94,700 Negroes in Atlanta and the Atlanta area 18 years of age and over. Only 19,600 are registered voters. This leaves 75,100 eligible to register and vote, but who are not registered.

In the State of Georgia there are 2,600,000 white people eligible to vote. One million four hundred thousand are registered. There are 1,200,000 Negroes in Georgia eligible to vote and only 90,000 registered. To state it another way, less than 8 per cent of the Negroes are registered, but over 53 per cent of the white people are registered. In Atlanta only 20

per cent of the Negroes eligible to vote are registered.

As strange as it may seem, there are public school teachers and college and university professors who are not registered. There are property-owners who are not registered. In fact, I learned on good authority that there are some wealthy Negroes who do not vote in Atlanta. I could understand it a little better if Negroes in small towns and rural areas did not register and vote because of the constant intimidations made by white people threatening them if they vote. But this is not the case in Atlanta. Negroes can register and vote freely in the city of Atlanta.

■

I DO not argue that the ballot will bring the millennium to Negroes. I do know, however, that whenever Negroes vote in large numbers they are treated with more respect. A voteless people is a hapless people. Negroes are going to be kicked around politically, economically and socially for a long, long time. They will be kicked around less if they register and vote. Even civil rights gained through the Federal courts will prove useless without the wise use of the ballot. It seems to me that people who have as little as Negroes would seize every opportunity to increase their status. Do Negroes want to be free?

Negro educator favors moderation

Miami Fla. B. Post, Fla.

CINCINNATI, April 10—(AP)—Northerners should not "distort and twist" the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court on school integration, a Negro college president said here last night.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Negro president of Morehouse College, Atlanta, told the annual meeting of the Cincinnati Urban League:

"You in the North have to be careful that the tensions of Alabama and Mississippi don't overflow into Ohio and Illinois and New York."

Tues. 4-10-56

Dr. Mays said President Eisenhower's request for "moderation with progress" should be supported.

"The real issue (in the South) is between those who are willing to go slow and those who don't want to see any speed at all," the college president said.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier

'What Will the Outcome Be?'

Sat. 4-21-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE DEEP SOUTH is much less inclined now to implement the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court than it was in the summer of 1954. Several of the deep Southern states were talking in terms of compliance back in 1954. States like Florida and North Carolina are behaving like Virginia and Georgia. In other words the South is kicking harder against the decision since May 31, 1955.

Dr. Mays

■

IT IS pretty clear in my mind that the Deep South is thoroughly organized and every effort is being made to present a solid front to the nation in opposition to the Supreme Court.

The citizens councils all over the South are defying the decision of the Supreme Court. Five or six states have passed interposition bills. Ninety-six Southern Congressmen, Senators and Representatives are on record as pledging to do everything they can legally to get the decision changed.

So-called white liberals are speaking out against the decision. Ministers and professors in the Deep South hear nothing, see nothing and say nothing.

■

IN ADDITION to this, the South is doing a good job to impress the rest of the nation that the court's decision was ill-timed. Their point of view is being carried in the reputable magazines of the nation. The South has access to radio and television. The Southern people have Northern people confused. The South is doing a good job in getting the North to believe that the Supreme Court was wrong.

It will be a terrible thing for this country if we permit the prestige of the Supreme Court to be dragged down to a position of impotence because the Deep South wants to continue to segregate the Negro by law.

The South has laways wanted to treat the Negro as it pleases.

■

THE VOICES that are coming out of the South are voices of emotionalism and excitement. The two best statements I have seen recently from the South are those of Ralph McGill in the Atlantic Monthly and Mark Ethridge of Louisville. Most everything else I have read by Southerners in the Deep South have shed more heat on the subject than light.

I am sure this wave of emotionalism will subside and when all the steam has been let off, people will begin to talk sense.

All of this heat could have been avoided if the Negroes had been taken into account where all over the South the white leadership has ignored the Negro as it has done in previous years and has acted on the assumption that the Negro does not exist and that he does not count.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier P. 8

What Is a Middle Ground?

Sat. 4-14-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.

NORTHERNERS and Southerners are talking about the middle ground in the Supreme Court controversy. Most of them, unfairly, put the white citizen council at one extreme and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at the other extreme. This is unfortunate because the NAACP is a law-abiding organization and the white citizens council is a group that defies the law. What is the middle way?

Dr. Mays

Certainly, white citizens councils do not represent the middle way. They say that the Supreme Court decision should not be obeyed. They are doing everything in their power to circumvent the decision, to maintain segregation. The ninety Southern Senators and Congressmen who signed the Southern Manifesto do not represent the middle way because they are doing everything in their power in a legal way to get the decision of the Supreme Court reversed.

■

THOSE STATES that have passed interposition acts and nullification acts do not represent the middle way. Theirs is a way of defiance. William Faulkner does not represent the middle way, because he has said that he is with the people of Mississippi. He has made the most unfortunate statement of all people who write and speak on the subject.

According to the New York Times he has said in essence that if necessary he would fight on the side of Mississippi against the United States, even if it meant going out into the streets shooting down Negroes. Nothing worse could be said.

Mr. Faulkner has been considered to be a great liberal, but when pressed his liberality goes with the wind. The middle way is not represented by the white Atlanta newspapers, because as I understand it, they are with the majority of the people of Georgia who believe in segregation.

■

THE MIDDLE WAY is not represented by the Richmond News Leader, because they advocate litigation for fifty years if necessary to maintain segregation. For the most part ministers and professors are afraid to open their mouths on the subject. What is the middle way?

I am afraid that the people who are calling for the middle way are up to the same old game. Let us do nothing. The middle way is for the Boards of Education in each community to call together the Negro and white leadership in that community and the three groups sit down together in reason and sanity and discuss ways and means of compliance and not ways and means of defiance. They may decide that something can be done now or they may decide that it will take six months or a year of preparation before anything can be done. This is the only middle ground I see—compliance and not defiance—get together.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier

'A Dignified Statement'

Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 5-5-56

IT IS difficult for a college faculty to know what to do when the highest authority in the state has voted that the activities of the student body and faculty be investigated in order to find out what the faculty and students are doing in connection with the Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This is the situation that faces the faculty in the South Carolina State College in Orangeburg.

Dr. Mays

The South Carolina bill makes unlawful the employment by the state, school district, any county or municipality thereof, of any member of the NAACP, and provides penalties for violation.

The General Assembly also authorized a committee of nine to be appointed to investigate the NAACP activities at the State College; three by the Governor, three by the President of the Senate and three by the Speaker of the House.

A part of the faculty's thinking follows:

"Believing as we do in a government of laws interpreted by the United States Supreme Court, though we share the opinion of the dissenting justice, we accepted as law the position of the majority of the Court in Plessy versus Ferguson that the equal protection clause permitted separation based on race provided that the separate facilities were equal. When the Court reversed itself, unanimously, in 1954, and held that the equal protection clause did not permit discrimination and separation in the public schools based on race, both consistency and our beliefs in law and order demanded that we accept their interpretation as the law of the land. We also accept as the law of the land the Supreme Court's interpretation that in the effectuation of the constitutional principles involved, local school boards may give weight to certain public and private considerations so long as a prompt and reasonable good faith start is made toward full compliance of the protection of the constitutional rights involved. While we may reasonably differ among ourselves as to how much time is necessary and consistent with good faith compliance, we believe, as long as law and order prevails, courts will always be competent to decide that point.

"Finally, we believe that censure on the basis of irresponsible accusations or suspicions can never be condoned.

"These, then, represent our beliefs. With regards to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, we conceive of it as simply one of the many organizations which give vitality to the beliefs hereinbefore set forth. We disavow any knowledge of information that that organization is subversive or inimicable to the common good or represents any more than the maintenance of law and order in the determination of and in the protection of the constitutional rights involved."

This is a manly, dignified, honorable statement. The trustees and state officials will respect the faculty for such a fine document.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier P.10 Sat. 2-25-56

Original Sin

THE OLDER I get and the more I see, hear and observe, the more I am convinced that man is not wholly good. Potentially, there is as much evil in man as there is good. As to which one will gain the ascendancy depends upon environment and the extent to which one has been influenced by the Christian religion.

Dr. Mays

Many of the politicians in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and Virginia are behaving like insane men. One is tempted to ask, are these men sane?

Pittsburgh, Pa.

They are resurrecting the doctrine of interposition or nullification. They are trying to say that states have a right to set aside a decision of the U. S. Supreme Court when they, the states, believe that the Supreme Court has usurped power that does not belong to it, but belongs only to the states.

* * *

ONE STATE has declared the Decision of the U. S. Supreme Court null and void and of no effect. Other states have given the Governor the power to abolish the public schools and use tax money to run private schools. Again a certain state has made it possible for the abolition of public parks, golf courses and recreational facilities in order to maintain segregation. Georgia is contemplating a bill to make it a crime to petition a school board to integrate schools. The Richmond Leader advocates litigation for fifty years in order to maintain segregation.

These people are pathetic and they act as if they were God Almighty. These men can no more maintain segregation forever than they can roll back the waters of the Mississippi with their hands. They may succeed for a time, but God and the moral weight of the universe are against them.

* * *

MEN ARE not only potentially evil, but most people are afraid to speak out and act when they think their jobs are at stake and when they think they will lose social prestige. The ministers in Virginia stood up, not against segregation, but against abolition of the public schools. The League of Women Voters, two college presidents, a Catholic Bishop and Methodist pastors have assailed the private school plan, but they have not expressed any opposition to segregation itself. Even if they believe segregation is wrong and the Supreme Court should be obeyed, they are afraid to say so. Even many Negroes are afraid to say so.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P.10 Sat. 2-18-56

H. L. Mencken

UNLIKE my colleague, George S. Schuyler, I did not enjoy the rare privilege of knowing H. L. Mencken personally. Like George, I knew the man's works from his Smart Set days, and I was one of the [illegible] his admirers as he poked fun, rapturously, during the twenties and the thirties.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Prattis

Significantly enough, Mr. Schuyler's writings came to my attention shortly after I had learned of Mencken. There have been those who have referred to Schuyler as the "black Pegler." But Schuyler was the "black Mencken." No other essayist of whom we could boast in the twenties possessed Schuyler's ability for satire and the caustic lampooning of popular fallacies.

DuBois and Rudolph Fisher and some others wrote beautifully, but Mencken and Schuyler served you a spiced-up literary dish which made you smack your lips and ask for more.

* * *

IN THOSE far-off days, I read all that each man wrote that I could lay my hands on. I was delighted with their barbs at boobs and yokels. I was almost delirious at times when I read after them and saw them bring the high and the mighty to taw. It was good for the soul to have the truth laid bare.

In those days, I was trying to be what they call an "egghead" today and, as such, Mencken and Schuyler became a fad with me.

However, there was always more than artistry to their work in those days. There was humor, good humor. Mencken disagreed with many, laughed at many, but always to exhibit what he believed to be truth and never, so far as I could discern, to hurt anybody.

His yokels were a faceless class. They were somebody you could laugh at because you were not the yokel. But no single yokel was ever directly hurt by Mencken's poignard. Always, he leveled off at wrong ideas, at fallacies — in sportsmanlike fashion — rarely, if ever at individual personalities. He had only one cause, the cause of truth.

* * *

HE WAS an agnostic. He didn't know whether there is a hereafter or not, but he strongly doubted there was one. However, he was even sporting and reasonable about that. He said that if he should meet the angel Gabriel after he had passed, he would extend his hand, admit his error and take what was coming to him.

There are many men today who write as caustically as Mencken ever did. But they write out of meanness and lack the good humor of the Sage of Baltimore. These other men will be forgotten, but not Mencken. He has earned a lasting place in American literature.

Agnostic or not, the chances are that God would be pleased if most of his children lived the life of a Mencken. Certainly, this would be a better world if they did.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier Sat. 2-18-56

SINCE early December, Negroes in Montgomery, Ala., have been boycotting the city buses.

I understand the boycotting resulted from the arrest and fining of a cultured Negro woman who would not get up to give a white person her seat.

Dr. Mays

It seems that Montgomery has a regulation whereby there may be empty seats in the car but if they are reserved for white people Negroes may not sit. It seems customary for Negroes to be requested to relinquish seats to white people.

In some Southern cities the rule is, first come, first served; if the white people get on first and fill up the bus, Negroes will stand; if Negroes get on first and fill up the bus, white people will stand. This does not seem to be the custom in Montgomery.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THERE WAS spontaneous resentment on the part of Negroes when the Negro passenger was arrested and fined.

Negroes held a mass meeting and the Rev. M. L. King Jr. was chosen as their spokesman.

Two or three things are significant about the Montgomery boycott. It shows that the city officials and the people who manage and operate the buses in Montgomery want more than the segregation of Negroes.

They resent Negroes showing solidarity and manhood.

The leadership in Montgomery is wise in that they are requesting only those things that are within the segregation pattern. This puts Montgomery on the spot because they are not even willing to grant requests that do no violence to segregation.

* * *

IF THE Negroes had been asking for the abolition of segregation, the white people would have argued that that was the reason the Rev. Mr. King's home was bombed and that of another Negro.

But they cannot say this. They are angry and upset because they have not been able to beat the Negroes of Montgomery into submission.

It is more than segregation they want. They do not want Negroes to stand up like men.

Negroes are requesting three things: better treatment of Negro passengers, a first come first serve regulation on the buses, and Negro bus drivers in predominately Negro areas. All three are within the Southern pattern of segregation and they are not willing to grant them.

This is significant and it speaks volumes.

* * *

ANOTHER SIGNIFICANT thing is that Negroes are sticking together in a way that I have not seen anywhere in the South; nor the United States.

It is also significant that the Montgomery Negroes are doing this in an orderly manner.

The statute of the Rev. M. L. King Jr. has increased tremendously since he urged the crowd at his house, after the bombing, not to get panicky and/or resort to violence for "He who taketh the sword will perish by it."

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 3-3-56

What Does The Deep South Want?

WHEN the Supreme Court on May 31, 1955, clarified its May 17, 1954, Decision, declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional, I stated that the South had won a victory. I said that because everything that the Southern attorney generals requested the court to do in the briefs they submitted was granted by the Supreme Court. They asked the Supreme Court to set no time limit for desegregation and leave it to the district courts in the case of implementation. They asked the court to take under consideration the fact that the South was not uniform and that was all the more reason why there should be no time limit set for implementing the Decision. Every one of these requests was granted by the Supreme Court.

Dr. Mays

* * *

THE IMPLICATION was that if no time limit was set and if the matter of implementation was left to the district courts, the South would go along with the Decision. This did not prove to be the case. The South got what it asked for and yet the deep Southern states are virtually in a state of rebellion against the Federal Government. I am forced to ask the question, how honest is the Deep South? Despite the fact that it is as clear as day that the Supreme Court set no time limit, one can read an editorial in the Atlanta Journal under the date of Feb. 14, that the Supreme Court decree is too abrupt. The editorial accuses the Supreme Court of demanding "that an entire regional structure be torn down and rebuilt overnight." How can anyone say that about the Decision of the Supreme Court?

* * *

DESPITE THE fact that the Supreme Court granted the South what it requested, Virginia has voted interposition. Georgia and South Carolina have voted to abolish the pub-

lic schools in order to maintain segregation. Georgia is now in the process of passing a bill of interposition. Mississippi is doing something similar. Alabama has passed a bill declaring the Decision of the Court null and void. It isn't surprising then that there is rioting at the University of Alabama, economic boycotting in Mississippi and South Carolina and the Ku Klux Klan rides again in Orangeburg, S. C. The politicians and the lawmakers are largely responsible for all of this.

The vast majority of the white people in the South want to be free to treat Negroes as they please without Federal interference; free to jim-crow him, push him around, brutalize him, and keep him forever a second class citizen.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier Sat. 3-10-56 Phila P.8

They Encourage Riot

NOT LONG ago Roy Harris, a leading political figure in the state, told the faculty and students at the Savannah State College if efforts to abolish segregation were pushed, there would be violence and bloodshed. When Mr. Harris says that, he is encouraging violence. He is saying that if Negroes or white people encourage the abolition of segregation in keeping with a Supreme Court decision, that will lead to violence. It is clear that in this situation, Mr. Harris places the state law above the Federal law—the flag of Georgia above the flag of the United States.

Dr. Mays

Pittsburgh, Pa.

The radio reported last evening that Herman Talmadge said in effect that if Negroes entered the white tax supported institutions of Georgia, the incident at the University of Alabama would be mild. Mr. Talmadge is a former Governor of Georgia and an aspirant for the United States Senate. Mr. Talmadge is encouraging the students at the University of Georgia or Georgia Tech to organize a mob to keep Negroes out.

* * *

RECENTLY, I heard that at a white citizens' council meeting in Montgomery, Ala., where Senator Eastland spoke, handbills were passed around advocating that Negroes be shot and killed, if necessary, to maintain white supremacy. It is easy to believe that if these handbills were passed out at a meeting where a United States Senator was the chief spokesman, it was done with his approval. When a Mayor of a city joins a white citizens councils, the Mayor joins a group which encourages mob rule and violence.

* * *

THE SAME is true when the Legislature of Alabama passes a law saying that the Supreme Court decision is "null and void" and of no effect in Alabama. When a Legislature does that, it encourages mob rule. When the Legislature of Virginia passed its interposition bill, it encouraged lawlessness. When some of the leading citizens in South Carolina and Georgia put on economic boycotts against Negroes, they create a state of tension which could lead to violence. If Governors, Senators, Attorneys General, Mayors and leading citizens do things to encourage violence, we can expect anything.

And all of this disturbance about nothing except the Supreme Court has said that to segregate a man because of his color is unconstitutional; all because a few Negroes here and there have petitioned the school boards to desegregate the schools.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier P.10 Sat. 3-24-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.

'The University of Alabama Will Repent Now'

"INSTITUTIONS, like individuals, must do something to atone for their behavior when it turns out to be obviously embarrassing and wrong. The individual does not always get on his knees and ask God to forgive, but in one way or another, the person apologizes for the way he has behaved.

Dr. Mays

This is what is going to happen at the University of Alabama. This will be necessary because nothing can justify 3,000 students rioting in protest to the matriculation of one lone Negro girl. It doesn't make sense, it doesn't sound good, and the University of Alabama has become world-famous in the wrong direction.

* * *

APOLOGIES ARE already being made. The press reports that the officials have announced that they will accept any qualified Negro student who applies provided the court authorizes it. Although Miss Autherine Lucy had to sue to be admitted, the officials are saying that she was finally expelled not because of her race, but because of false accusations against the University of Alabama. They say they just do not want Miss Lucy.

The university is telling the world that it does not want any Negro student, however well qualified that student may be. But they are wanting to give the impression that the University of Alabama, administration, faculty and students are law-abiding people. Unfortunately, this statement will never get the circulation in the national press nor in the world press that the rioting got. Without a doubt, Alabama's and America's prestige abroad have been damaged. The statement that they will admit a Negro student under court orders does not help us abroad.

* * *

BUT ALL is not lost. My prediction is that within less than two years, Negroes will be enrolled in the University of Alabama. Whether Miss Lucy succeeds in being readmitted is not the point. Some other student will be admitted very soon to the University of Alabama. If a good student seeks admission and qualifies, President Carmichael has said to the world that he will take that student if the court orders it. The court is bound to order it. I hope Miss Lucy succeeds in returning to the University of Alabama, but if she does not, I trust that a Negro student of high academic ability and with outstanding personality will apply for admission—one so good that it wall make it almost impossible for the university to turn him or her down.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier P.10 Sat. 3-17-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.

'It Was Not a Surprise'

I FOR ONE was not surprised when President Eisenhower announced Feb. 29, that he would run for a second term. The dramatic build-up could indicate nothing else especially when the doctors were reporting favorably on the President's condition. I thought at one time that it was cruel for the people to urge Mr. Eisenhower to seek a second term. I still think that a good many people in the Republican party wanted Mr. Eisenhower to run for political reasons only. They think that the Republicans can win with Eisenhower and they want the Republican party to stay in power. I suppose politically that's all right. But if that is the only reason, it is indeed a selfish motive.

Dr. Mays

* * *

ON THE other hand, I think I would have done what Mr. Eisenhower did had I been in his place. It was very difficult for the man to resist the pressure of the crowd when thousands of people, yes millions of people, wanted Mr. Eisenhower to seek a second term. It was almost impossible for him to resist the pressure. Then, too, Mr. Eisenhower feels that he hasn't finished the job. Of course, he would feel that way if he stayed in the President's office for a hundred years. The truth is that no man can finish a job. A significant job like the Presidency of the United States can never be finished. But I am sure there are other things that Mr. Eisenhower feels that he can do if he had a little more time.

* * *

I THINK the only decision that Mr. Eisenhower had to make was whether or no he could do justice to the job from the standpoint of health. I do not think extending his life for a few years longer was the deciding factor. Mr. Eisenhower will be 66 when he finishes his first term. If he is elected and serves the second term, he will be 70. If he is President, he may die before 70, and if he isn't he may die before 70. If he is President, he may live beyond 70, and if he isn't, he may live beyond 70. As to how long Mr. Eisenhower will live, it is mainly in the hands of God and not in the hands of the doctors.

And if he should die before 70, there is no better way to die than in the service of his country. He has served his country as one of America's greatest soldiers, and to serve it a second term in the office of President is something that a normal man might aspire to do. A real man cannot shirk responsibility in the hope of living a little longer.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

Politics—Chapter One

Fri. 8-3-56 Atlanta Ga.

"We recognize the problems and political necessities of other states and we insist that they in turn recognize ours." P. 1

The caucus of Southern states representatives, with four governors present, ended on that seemingly irreconcilable note. But hope persists.

The next chapter will be written in Chicago next week when the platform committee goes to work. A bigger one will be composed at the convention.

The concluding one likely will come in the weeks immediately after the convention.

Men who attended the caucus in Atlanta reported it as frustrating and, therefore, the more intense. A few of those present reportedly thought their states would accept a platform plank which, in a few adjectiveless phrases, recognized the Supreme Court decision on schools. Others declared such a plank would lead to their states withdrawing from the Democratic Party.

The method of withdrawal will be new.

There will be no walkout at Chicago, though South Carolina is not so sure but what some of her delegates may choose so to do. The South Carolinians proposed, in the event they were not satisfied with the plank, what may become the pattern for those three or four states which later may determine to quit the party.

Bitter Experience

They have learned, from bitter experience, that a third party is folly. And the physical walkout creates not sympathy, but public animosity.

Therefore, they reportedly said in the private sessions they would, if dissatisfied, nominate their governor, George Bell Timmerman, and stay with him "all the way." They would then instruct their electors to cast their votes in the meeting of the electoral college for Gov. Timmerman.

Gov. Timmerman, without mentioning himself or the South Carolina plan, did say after the sessions closed that South Carolina would not go along if the plank adopted was not satisfactory.

While no other state leaders endorsed the South Carolina idea in the executive sessions, or in discussions with newspaper representatives, it was said that persons from Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia privately had shown interest in it.

Representatives at the caucus, in talks following its near-midnight conclusion, said they merely hoped for the best. They felt, and properly so, they had shown political maturity and progress in their caucus. It was coordinated and it lacked the brawling disorder of the Dixiecrat movement which hurt the South badly.

Unity Required

Some of the more realistic shook their heads over the prospect of a united party. They said that, with the Republican Party planning a vigorous civil rights program, as evidenced by President Eisenhower's legislation, and by announcements of a strong plank on that subject in the GOP platform, the Democratic convention could not avoid at least a bare affirmation of the court's decision. They felt their states would accept this if the plank did not go on to urge implementation. But these same men were pessimistic about four of the "Deep South" states. And they were sure that without convention acceptance of the court principle all chance to carry the normally Democratic Eastern and Midwestern states would be lost. "To win," said a caucus delegate, "we must have complete unity in October and November."

So it was that while the caucus closed on a note of harmony and a plea for party unity, there was a long-odds chance, and they hoped that by some political miracle they might get through.

Sen. Estes Kefauver was condemned, unofficially, by the Deep South delegates. Yet all recognized that political forces conceivably could produce him as a vice presidential nominee.

They did not want Averell Harriman to be nominated. This was unanimous. And this had much to do with their decision not to bolt at Chicago.

But their real decisions will come in state committee meetings after the convention. By that time the GOP platform may make it possible for the Southern Democrats to accept their own and close ranks to fight to win.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution Atlanta Ga.

Will Truman Go for Logic?

Sat. 8-4-56 P. 7

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 10—There goes on here a desperate struggle for the political soul of Harry S. Truman. He has announced that he will make known his political choice on Saturday afternoon at 3:30.

He is not a king maker. Nor has he sought to be. There is no evidence that he, or any of his close associates, is trying to organize delegates for any candidate.

Yet, his personal choice will influence many.

On the basis of logic he should make that choice Adlai Stevenson. The former governor of Illinois has almost enough votes to win on the first ballot. Harry Truman has never been a man who went around backing lost causes. He also wants unity in the party because he believes its nominee can win in November.

There are other links in the chain of logic which should lead him to say that he has canvassed the situation and finds Stevenson the man most likely to lead the party to that victory.

But Harry Truman is not a logical man.

And by noon Friday it became known that a call had gone out to the veteran Sam Rayburn, speaker of the House, and the permanent chairman of the convention, to come to Chicago tonight and begin to apply his great store of common sense to the situation.

Friendship

Truman, the story goes, believes that he cannot afford to abandon his old friend Averell Harriman, present governor of New York. He is sold, say those who have dug into it, on Harriman's promise to wage a "Give 'em Hell" campaign. Certain men close to the former president reportedly have told him he can swing the convention to Harriman.

This is almost certainly impossible. It is simply not true that Harriman can win. Whatever delegates the former president might be able to bring to the governor would be more than offset by the surge of Southern votes to Stevenson. From the beginning the Deep South attitude has been that the nominee of 1952 is the least objectionable of candidates likely to come before the convention. A drive by Mr. Truman for Harriman would send them in almost solidly for Stevenson, thus nullifying any strength the former president might be able to create.

Mr. Stevenson appears to have a hold on the biggest block of convention votes. His current total is figured at about 600, with 686½ needed for nomination.

Choice

To pursue the avenues which open up from such a possibility, if Harriman should be the choice, and a strong civil rights platform be voted, the convention would then almost certainly be deadlocked and a dark horse would of necessity be advanced.

Hence the call today to Sam Rayburn to come on to Chicago and talk turkey. Harriman can't be nominated. Stevenson can.

So it is that the preconvention hours lost their original flatness from the moment of Mr. Truman's arrival

The hotel lobbies were filled with rumors and people well ahead of the arrival of the delegates. There were as many stories from the usually reliable sources supporting the theory of a Truman bow to Harriman as for Stevenson.

Both Stevenson and Harriman had chats with the former president today.

After Harriman's meeting with Mr. Truman, he declined to speculate on whether Truman would back him and how effective such support would be. He commented, "I believe I'm going to win the nomination."

Asked what he and Truman talked about, Stevenson quipped: "We decided to elect a Democratic president."

The logic all supports a statement by Mr. Truman saying he admires Harriman and he would be his normal choice, but that he has surveyed the situation and believes party unity will be best served by nominating Stevenson.

That's the logic.

But Mr. Truman is not always a logical man.

And it is true that the call went out to Texan Sam Rayburn to get on his horse and come over quickly to round up all the strays and get things in order.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution Atlanta Ga.

Truman Kicked Lantern Over

Mon. 8-13-56

CHICAGO, Aug. 12—Harry S. Truman has moved somewhat in the manner of the late Mrs. O'Leary's cow, which once kicked over a lantern and set Chicago afire.

The city was politically on fire all through the hot, humid Sabbath and the flames will continue to burn into the days that follow. In fact, some of the fire of dissension will smoulder for years.

There was tremendous activity of the smoke-filled-room type as managers for Gov. Averell Harriman, whom Truman endorsed on Saturday, sought to pry loose the Stevenson delegates.

The Stevenson forces, whose grins were a mixture of confidence tinged with just the least bit of apprehension, were engaged in trying to work out an alliance with Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas. Truman hardly will become known as a king maker at this convention, but he has come very close to making the senator from Texas a king for a day, and maybe more. He has well over 100 votes which it is believed he can control.

During the day the arriving delegations hurried from train to caucus room. The Southern bloc now has more power. There is almost sure to be a rush of favorite sons to which delegations will remain faithful for two or three ballots. Not all are willing to join with Lyndon Johnson's forces.

Symington

As the day wore on one could say that Adlai Stevenson remained the probable nominee. None believed Harriman had any real chance. But, the dark horse figure of Sen. Stuart Symington of Missouri began to be visible on the horizon. If Stevenson should not have enough votes for nomination after three ballots, there would be a swing toward Symington.

The vice presidency also became a hotter issue. Over at the Sherman Hotel where the Tennessee delegation is housed, there was some worry that Stevenson might indeed have made up his mind to ask for Sen. Estes Kefauver if, and when, the nomination is determined.

Gov. Frank Clement, convention keynoter, shares with his delegation a deep dislike for Kefauver. This disenchantment is shared by other Southern delegations.

And what of Harry S. Truman, who wrote, directed, and starred in the drama of Saturday?

He was by no means finished. The second act is yet to come. It is plain he means to keep himself before the convention. On Monday or Tuesday he plans to hold a press conference and answer questions.

Truman, beneath his beaming, is embittered and angry about something. A close friend who saw him privately shortly after his Saturday afternoon decision for the governor of New York, said the former President greeted him by saying, "Well, I guess I let them know I was in town."

'They'

Truman then went on to reveal his resentment against persons whom he identified only as "they." He said "they" had treated him almost like a pariah and had not shown him proper consideration. He reportedly had not received enough tickets and there were other minor irritations.

Truman has never liked Stevenson. But Stevenson certainly had not neglected Truman. He had met him at the train. Indeed, there was never a moment when Truman was not surrounded with company.

Just who the mysterious "they" were is not yet clear. But what goes on, of course, is a struggle for control of the party. The party leaders of the Roosevelt and Truman days are pretty well out of things today. Truman is fighting to hold on and this was one reason for his drama and the great buildup to it. If Stevenson is nominated it will be a severe blow to Truman.

Privately, the ex-President feels the party must have a strong civil rights plank to win. He is willing to lose the South, or some of it, by putting in such a plank. Indeed, one may rather safely predict that all the present talk of an acceptable platform is meaningless. The endorsement of Harriman means that if necessary a floor fight will be launched to get it.

And so it was as the flames burned furiously after Truman, like Mrs. O'Leary's cow, had set Chicago afire.

RALPH

Constitution

McGILL

Fri. 9-28-56

'Lessons' Via Television

Atlanta, Ga.

P. 1

At a time when the United States admittedly falls further and further behind in production of scientists, necessary to the technology of our future, about 45 per cent of our high schools offer no courses in physics.

The result is a further drain on colleges. They must, in effect, provide high school courses, or the equivalent, for those who enter and elect that science. The same thing largely is true in the teaching of chemistry.

All of which serves to bring into focus some very dramatic successes and exciting experiments in the field of teaching with television and film. Films have not done the job hoped for because they were produced in the same manner as noneducational film. Television, and its Kinescope film, developed the technique of bringing the product into a living room, classroom, or barroom. The American people not only demonstrated they were willing to listen to a lecture, a discussion, or a panel, they revealed an eagerness so to do.

Now with the coming of color to television, use of color films on this medium has enabled education to bring into classrooms via the TV screen subjects which could not as well have been offered as on the black and white Kinescope. But the two together are doing tremendous jobs.

Master Teachers

Pittsburgh's extensive and successful use of master teachers on television has stirred the whole educational world. Their second step is equally impressive.

After discussion with informed persons in the field of physics it was agreed that Prof. Harvey E. White, vice chairman of the department of physics at the University of California, was one of the great teachers in his field and, in addition, one who possessed the necessary quality of "getting through" to students. Assisted as before by The Fund for the Advancement of Education, Pittsburgh persuaded Dr. White to take a year's leave of absence.

Dr. White now is at work preparing 175 television scripts or "lessons" on physics. They will cover a year's course. Once news of this got abroad, the National Academy of Sciences, the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science, and other affiliated organizations, urged a more extensive use.

As a result Encyclopaedia Britannica films will put the 175 scripts, or lessons, on film in color and black and white. It will be a nonprofit job. The full set of color prints will retail to a state or city department of education at about $24,000, the black and white at about half that.

Already some schools have been able to find "sponsors" in their localities who will donate to them a set of these lessons by one of the great teachers in the country, though they are not yet ready for sale. By using them, a school system would need but one or two physics teachers who could grade papers and help out with the routine delivery of the course.

Reaching Students

In this manner a great teacher can reach many thousands of students. And, of course, as Pittsburgh, and now Chicago, have demonstrated, a professor can teach in any other subject, reaching an unlimited number of classrooms at the same time.

Chicago's Junior College this fall is offering identical courses in the classroom and on television, in four subjects—English, biology, social sciences and political science. Students take the same written examinations. Full credit will be given. Some 500 students had been anticipated. The total enrollment was almost 1,500.

In Maryland, Washington County, which has 47 schools, this fall began operation of a closed-circuit television curriculum. Some 6,000 elementary and high school students will receive instruction in science, mathematics, English and social studies.

There is a great and dangerous crisis in education.

But it is really more of an opportunity if we do but have the will to exploit it.

RALPH

McGILL

'I Cannot Sit Back and—'

Not all people agreed with Gov. Frank Clement's keynote speech at the Democratic National Convention. It was condemned by some as being overdone in content and delivery.

But it is difficult to see how any citizen of whatever opinion could criticize a single syllable of his broadcast announcement made at the time Tennessee troops were sent into the riot-torn towns of East Tennessee. Especially pertinent was his statement:

"I cannot sit back as governor and allow a lawless element to take over. If they can take over Tennessee because of one issue they can take it over on others." The governor was dealing with lawless elements, the most violent of which reportedly had come a distance of more than 100 miles to agitate mob action.

The essence of free, representative government is law. The United States, and its form of government, will cease to exist the moment a mob, of whatever origin of incitement, is stronger than the forces of law.

The governor put his finger on a great historical truth when he said: "If a lawless element can take over Tennessee on one issue they can take it over on others."

It was the threat of mob law which caused Hamilton and Jefferson, with their associates, to hurry toward Constitutional government.

Mobs in 1786

In 1786 at Exeter, N.H., a mob gathered outside the hall where the legislature was meeting and threatened the lives of the legislators if they refused to vote an issue of paper money. Militia dispersed them, but they stood on the fringes and cursed the representatives as they left under protection of the troops.

In Massachusetts mobs attacked courthouses and actually prevented courts from meeting. Under the leadership of Daniel Shay a mob of 1,200 persons attacked the arsenal in Springfield. They had demanded that the British property, captured or confiscated, was the common property of all since the war had been won by common effort. Militia from five counties had to be called out to put down what came to be called "Shay's Rebellion."

There were many factors indicating the need for a stronger national government, but none was more potent than the threat of mob violence against the central authority, and the Congress, which existed under the Articles of Confederation.

It was the threat of lawless elements which caused the Constitution of the new Republic to lay so much stress on the protection of life, liberty and property. It was this same desire to further surround the person and his property with legal protection that the first 10 amendments to the Constitution were written.

Young Republic

Nor was the young Republic spared this test.

In 1794 the authority of the new government sharply was challenged by a lawless element in Pennsylvania.

The Congress had put a small tax on whisky. The pioneer people long had been in the habit of making their own. Indeed, many of the nation's best-known and respected citizens usually had a small whisky still about the place to keep up a supply of spirits, medical or convivial.

Angry farmers of Southwestern pioneers viciously assaulted the local officers of law.

An alarmed and uneasy President, former General of the Armies, George Washington, ordered out militia. Some 13,000 of them marched in. Three of them were killed. Leaders were arrested and convicted. The principle of law was established—firmly.

Mussolini led a tyrannical mob against Rome. The government was too weak and its law enforcement agencies too corrupt to resist. When Hitler was named chancellor by the then senile President, General von Hindenburg, all he asked was authority over the police. He wanted to clear the way for his lawless, hoodlum mobs of Black Shirts.

Wherever lawless elements arise—they must be put down, promptly and without hesitation. Governor Clement's statement stems from the first president, George Washington. It must never have an ending. Or the nation ends.

McGill sees press failing to tell story

Afro American, Baltimore, Md. Sat. 7-21-56

ASHEVILLE, N.C.—"Either we haven't printed enough or it has been so written it hasn't been understood."

Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, made this statement here on Thursday as he expressed doubts that the nation's press had done a thorough job in informing the public on the segregation question.

Speaking at the opening session of the North Carolina Press Association, Mr. McGill said:

"All I know is that the peddlers of hate, distortion and falsehood seem to have been more successful than we."

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

Sen. Kefauver's Bold Move

Thurs. 8-2-56 Atlanta Ga.

With all hope for presidential nomination gone, Sen. Estes Kefauver who, in the immortal words of Snuffy Smith, was not "a'hint the door when the brains was passed out," skillfully has placed himself in the most strategic position for the second choice.

Adlai Stevenson, while gratified at the news of the tall Tennessean's decision, about which he had no previous word, hastened to make public a statement there had been no "deals." He meant no deal for the vice presidential nomination.

But Kefauver, a vote-getter, has placed the convention, at least theoretically, under a degree of obligation. He has removed one of the roadblocks to unity; namely, himself. And while he has thrown his support to Gov. Stevenson, he has not necessarily affronted Gov. Averell Harriman. Those who guide the New Yorker's political destinies are practical men who would not be averse to the east Tennessean if the convention worked itself around to their man.

Chances of such a development substantially were reduced by the Kefauver withdrawal. But the possibility is by no means eliminated.

If the convention should become disrupted and divided by a platform fight over the inevitable civil rights plank, the riptide of it might bring Gov. Harriman safely to shore.

'The South'

The plain truth is "the South," despite its several caucuses, cannot know what it is going to do because no person can predict what will come before the convention. The Democrats are not disciplined. Mr. Leonard Hall, the Republican chairman, is able to have perhaps 99 per cent of his delegates jump obediently through his hoop at each crack of his whip.

The Republicans, for example, are never disturbed about their platform. They cynically accept the historical fact that no one ever pays much attention to a platform. Neither party has ever made any great effort to carry out all the details of the platforms so painfully constructed every four years. The Republicans have most pragmatically refused to allow a platform plank to disturb them.

But Democrats are different. They haven't carried out their own past commitments as if they were the law of the Medes and the Persians, "which altereth not." But at convention time they fight, bleed and die and often disrupt their party and its election chances over the phrasing of a sentence. Most of them know they likely will not read the platform after it is adopted. Indeed, a poll of the delegates of either party, taken immediately after endorsing it, would reveal a shocking lack of knowledge of what is in it.

Platforms

Southern Democrats, for example, know full well they have never considered themselves bound by any platform of the past. Why then all this business of caucusing and defiant voices?

The reason is the Democratic Party is a national party . . and the only one. The Republicans have no regional sociological "rights" problem. Indeed, they may be able to establish themselves as the dominant party for a long span of years because the Democrats do have one.

Democratic political leaders from the South feel they must make violent protest to justify themselves at home. They know the platforms are not binding, and never have been. But they fear competition by some opponents who will make much of their position vis-a-vis the platform. They also suffer because they feel they cannot tell their people the truth about the political situation of our times, profoundly influenced as it is by the steady and inevitable course of world-wide, human and "colonial" events.

So the Democrats, from the standpoint of practical politics, and to a degree entrapped in a sort of minor Greek tragedy, make the welkin ring and the eagle scream over a platform they know is not legally binding, however much it may be morally so.

All this could bring Averell Harriman to the fore, however unlikely it now seems.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution Atlanta Ga.

Mouse and Monster

Thurs. 8-16-56

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 15—The platform mountain labored and, as was expected, brought forth a rights plank denounced by Northern extremists as a mouse, and by Southern bitter-enders as a monster, which would devour their way of life.

It was the original rights plank which produced strategic reverberations on the floor, and had Chairman Sam Rayburn, an expert man with the gavel, busier than usual as he sought to control and channel the parliamentary tides which threatened to disrupt the convention and bring on a Southern revolt.

The platform, and the rights plank as first approved by the committee, seemed really to be a moderate document which most of the delegates, North, South, East and West, were accepting. It was not exactly what anyone wanted, but no platform ever is.

The extremists, North and South, called immediate caucuses when the plank was released.

The Harriman organization was actively engaged in trying to bring about a floor fight.

Rights Plank

The rights plank was a masterpiece of semantics. It is of more than ordinary interest that the man most responsible for it was a Georgia-born Negro, Congressman William Dawson of Chicago. He is regarded as a moderate by the Negro extremists, and the Southerners of extreme view look upon him as a dangerous man.

He took the position that the North had to have the plank state that the Supreme Court decision was a part of the law of the land. It is, of course, and it was not really possible at any time to take the unrealistic view that the plank could avoid mentioning the court decision. Congressman Dawson was confident his people would go along with the Democratic Party so long as it stated this was a part of the law and called for a steady course of action by law. He went along on the "no force" sentence in the plank and also agreed it should not contain any statement calling for implementation.

There are other "rights" pledges in the platform, especially in the field of education and of human rights. But, the rights plank was the big one. It could be read to mean a strong recommendation for federal participation by those who wish to interpret the words in that manner. And, for those who look for mildness, and "deliberate speed," that, too, was there.

Masterly Exercise

It was a masterly exercise in the use of words, such as mortal eyes seldom see and mortal minds seldom fully comprehend.

In one sentence, it giveth; in another it taketh away. The phrase, saying the federal government must act, for example, was modified two paragraphs later by the sentence rejecting the use of force.

It was this plank which went to the convention at 8 o'clock. By 8:30 there were, of course, Northern leaders working desperately to persuade the necessary eleven platform committee members to sign and present a minority report which would include a sentence calling for enforcement of the Supreme Court decision without force but through all legal means.

About a half-hour later all the prominent officials disappeared from the platform. The band made music. Singers sang and very soon the convention was in a confused and disturbed condition as delegates began to question one another and as chairmen left the floor seeking information. Reporters and television men also poured onto the floor seeking to know what was up.

In an upstairs room the big drama was going on. A compromise would avoid a floor fight. If there could be none the battle would be joined.

So it was that a smoothly running convention was suddenly interrupted by the old, old controversy between North and South, and delegates looked toward a session which would carry them into the early hours of Thursday morning.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

The South's Dilemma—

Wed. 8-1-56 Atlanta Ga.

Senator Walter George recently predicted most of the Southern Democratic delegations would support Adlai Stevenson in the Chicago convention. He thought there "might be" one or two exceptions.

He almost certainly had in mind Kentucky, where Governor Happy Chandler is engaged in an interparty dispute with the Stevenson faction. The senator's other possible exception might well have been South Carolina, which toys with a third party movement.

Continuing, the senator said he knew the South was not entirely content with the Stevenson position on the Supreme Court's school decision, but Mr. Stevenson remains more acceptable than any other major contender.

On July 30 Senator Prescott Bush, who is chairman of the Republican convention Platform Committee, said "without question" the delegates at San Francisco would have a strong civil rights platform which would include President Eisenhower's civil rights legislation.

Here, in the above four-paragraph nutshell, is the South's dilemma.

Convention

No possible candidate will ap-

pear at either convention who shares, and supports, the unqualified opposition to the Supreme Court's decision which some Southern leaders demand. Others, who yield to none in their precipitous pressure for segregation and defiance of the court, have announced a firm intention not to bolt. Among these, for example, is Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia.

These men have learned from the past that a third party, however filled with sound and fury, in the end is a dead-end street.

What the Republican party will do is, as Senator Bush said, not a matter of doubt. It sees a chance to win over the Negro and independent vote. It could, if overwhelmingly successful by virtue of Democratic chaos, establish itself for a generation.

Adlai Stevenson's long and often discouraging primary campaign saw his political fortunes fluctuate greatly. While some of his most warm supporters despaired, Stevenson held firmly to his concept of the Democratic Party. It is that it must continue to be an organization where regional factions meet to fight and orate, but finally to compromise their differences. Stevenson's chief objective was to preserve necessary party unity.

He early defined the segregation problem as a national crisis which could be "solved" only by conciliation and not by military force. This earned him the opposition of the more extreme leadership. But at the same time, he made it entirely plain that he had all his life believed in the principle handed down by the court and would not compromise it. This brought down upon his head coals of fire from many Southern leaders.

Triumph

Almost immediately, Stevenson's two major primary rivals, Senator Estes Kefauver and Governor Averell Harriman, moved to exploit this situation. For a time they made progress. But Stevenson fought without retreat and finally achieved an impressive triumph. Both Senator Kefauver and Governor Harriman came around to saying they never considered military force and, instead, firmly would seek conciliation. On the eve of the Atlanta meeting Sen. Kefauver dramatically withdrew in favor of Stevenson.

Now the convention approaches. The Democrats must write a civil rights plank. It certainly cannot be less than that of 1952. The plank cannot ignore the great national crisis. If it does, then assuredly the convention, and party, will disintegrate.

The Republican Party, with no regional problem, can proceed without worry. The Democratic Party, which is the only truly national party, must somehow look to the future. It offers, through its national character, the only machinery to effect ultimate conciliation and solution.

The philosopher Santayana once said, "He who does not learn from the past is doomed to repeat it." Confronted with their dilemma the Democrats must keep their past in mind.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

5 Southerners, One Negro

8-11-56

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 9—Amid omens both hopeful and forlorn, a committee of 15 men, including "Five Southerners and One Negro," today will begin work on the gravest issue for the Democratic convention which opens in the great stockyards amphitheater next Monday.

That is the plank on civil rights.

To give the party even the slight chance to win now accorded it by the pollsters, the historic gulf between North and South must somehow be bridged with a plank which will enable both factions to walk it.

There broods over the deliberations an ancient and perhaps Cassandra-like chapter of history. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois seems likely to be the party's nominee. He regrets that political necessity dictates the presence of a civil rights plank. But his personal position is clear.

In 1860 the likely nominee of the Democratic Party was from Illinois. He was Stephen A. Douglas. Then, too, it was argument over a plank in the platform which split the party. Douglas wanted a plank which contained slavery in the states where it then existed. Southerners insisted on a plank extending it to the territories.

When they didn't get what they wanted they walked out, destroying the party. Only twice in the remainder of the 19th century did the Democrats break the Republican hold. And not until more than a decade of the 20th century had passed did the Democrats elect a president. The Republican Party may establish itself for a generation or more if the Democrats repeat the decision of 1860. "Those who do not learn from the past are doomed to repeat it."

Committee

Press dispatches reporting appointment of the platform committee noted it included 15 persons of whom "five were Southerners and one a Negro, Congressman William Dawson of Chicago."

He, too, is a Southerner, a native of Dougherty County, Ga., born April 26, 1886. This is south Georgia, where much of the old plantation economy survives. Its county seat and his native town is Albany, a growing, industrialized, attractive city. Albany and the cotton-hog-pecan agricultural area about it, from which it draws its strength, symbolize "the new South."

So, for that matter, does Congressman William Levi Dawson.

In an interview he has said that as a boy of 15 he remembers the fear in his family over an attempted lynching in the county. When he went North he "hated" the word Democrat. He had clawed his way up through the Albany Normal School, Fiske University, and Northwestern University Law School. During the first World War he was a lieutenant in the 365th Infantry.

Roosevelt's concern for people brought Congressman Dawson actively to politics and the Democratic Party.

He is aggressively for full and complete citizenship for his people.

Symbol

It is precisely here he is again a symbol of our restless, changing times. Congressman William Dawson would typify to the average Southerner an extreme and dangerous "radical."

Yet, here in Chicago Congressman Dawson is under attack from some of the younger Negro leadership, especially the intellectuals in the labor movement.

"I am a congressman first. I happen to be a Negro and the question of race comes second," he says. And sticks to it.

This is some of the background. It illustrates the complexity of America in 1956, in politics and in economics. Chicago itself is a dramatic documentary on that subject. It is one of the great sprawling cities with a vast, growing Negro population, and voting blocs of Italians and others of European ancestry.

The dilemma of the Democrats is also the dilemma of the United States.

Yet, in a time when the world is shaken by the Communist power, and harried by rabid nationalisms in Egypt and the Middle East, the focus of news is on the 15 persons, including "five Southerners and a Negro," who have a writing job to do.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Chicago Jams Frisco's Craw

8-20-56

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 19—This is a story of two faces. They belong to Sen. Everett Dirksen, chairman of the GOP subcommittee on civil rights, and Gov. Goodwin Knight of California.

Both faces look harassed and grim.

Sen. Dirksen had just discovered that while the Southerners here are neither feverish and wild-eyed nor crying for a holy war against the Supreme Court, they nonetheless are against a strong civil rights plank calling for immediate implementation.

Gov. Knight won and lost a delegation fight. He does not want Richard Nixon for vice president. A lot of Republicans don't. But this convention is under direct White House control. The California delegation caucus had to agree on the unit rule to prevent their split from becoming public property. This was possible since Sen. Knowland appointed a third of the delegates and Nixon a third. But Gov. Knight insisted there be no delegation endorsement of the vice president ahead of the vote cast in the convention. A few delegates were so angry they talked.

There is plenty of evidence that the dramatic televised story of the Democratic Party's open convention for the vice presidency shook the Republican leadership. It troubles the rank and file of delegates here. They all are talking about it. But there is no indication the White House grasp on the convention will be relaxed.

It's Here, Too

Nor is there any slight doubt but that the platform committee was shaken to find the Republican Party is up against exactly the problem which confronted the Democrats at Chicago in writing a rights plank. To be sure the degree of trouble is not as great. But it is here.

It is the first time in all its history the GOP has been so harassed. The answer is apparent to all. The Republican Party has never been a national one. That is to say, it never entered candidates in the South. It did not have to concern itself with local state politics in dear old Dixie. Until Dwight Eisenhower came along, the Republican organizations in the South were purely patronage devices and in no sense a "party." With few exceptions the delegations were in the pockets of the national committee. Alf Landon, nominee of 1936 and the forgotten man of Republican politics, strongly denounced the make-up of Southern delegations and flatly declared they were traded like sacks of potatoes.

But, some of the Southerners who supported Eisenhower really set out to build a Southern party. There has been, relatively speaking, considerable progress in two states, Georgia and Florida. Florida has elected a Republican congressman, and Georgia entered a candidate in the fifth congressional district in 1954. This year, at least two districts will see GOP candidates. Louisiana also has moved toward establishing statewide organization.

Clamor From Dixie

So, to the literal consternation of Northern Republicans, this first convention after the Eisenhower triumph finds them with a genuine demand from the Southerners that they not be set back in their sttae's efforts by a rights plank designed primarily to catch Negro votes in the industrial East. There are some of these who would be willing to carry the fight to the floor, but this wish almost certainly will be throttled.

This has left the Republicans so shaken that one can almost feel the tremors on Nob Hill as if a mild earthquake were building up. As they become a national party they find themselves with a Southern wing and in precisely the predicament of the Democrats who have always had to reconcile the emotions and the local political demands of a North and a South.

It will not be easy choice. The GOP had planned a stiff plank in an effort to win Negro votes in the pivotal states of the East and Midwest, and regain the Congress. They also believe they have an excellent chance to carry Florida, Texas and Virginia as they did in 1952.

Sen. Dirksen looks grim.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution
Atlanta Ga.
Wed. 5-30-56
Y.I

With France As Our Midwife

When proud Cornwallis surrendered to George Washington at Yorktown in 1781, about half

the fighting men under his command were Frenchmen. Among his officers were notables from France, Poland and German Duchies.

Americans tend to forget that . . . especially those who protest the United Nations, saying glibly, "We should have more U.S. days, and fewer U.N. days."

We have allowed some of our historians and the many old-fashioned Fourth of July orators to make our revolution a private affair. They have made it something entirely won by the sturdy woodsmen and the peoples from the towns thinly strung along the Atlantic.

It comes as something of a shock to consider that of Washington's army almost half the infantrymen were French . . . speaking no "American" at all, save the few words any soldier picks up in a foreign land.

Indeed, had not the American rebellion against a foolish, and ill-advised British crown, become a part of international affairs, and an issue of the imperialistic grapple between France and England, it almost certainly would have been stamped out. The fighting in America became a part of the greater war. And, in the end, it was a French fleet and French soldiers which turned the tide.

Colonies

There were some 2,000,000 people in the colonies. Only a little more than half of them supported the rebellion. There were fifth columnists. There was a deportation of loyalists. There were desertions. The congress was so lacking in support that some of Gen. Washington's most bitter words were reserved for it and its failures to supply and sustain his army. Unscrupulous profiteers profited by the misery of that army . . . which was never larger than 25,000 men.

Yet, those of it who did not desert, who were faithful to principle and cause, made of it the fabulous army it was—and is. It should make our spines stiffer, our pride strong, and our patriotism enduring. And so may it be said of the businessmen, the farmers, the lawyers, the professional men who did not profiteer, but who placed their lives, their honor and property in the balance.

But, we ought not to forget the Frenchmen and the French fleet . . . especially the fleet which really made Yorktown possible.

It is no exaggeration to say the new republic was born out of international affairs, with France as midwife. And in those days the people knew it.

At any rate, the real myth of the American beginnings is that of isolationism, of a small army of ragged Colonials fighting alone.

Nor, should we forget how a czar's ships stood off New York and Mexico in the years of the War Between the States when the French, in an ill-conceived, abortive dream of empire, established an emperor in Mexico City. The Russian crown did not wish to see the France of that time attack the beleaguered Union with a blockade or to see them move forces from Mexico to seize one-time Spanish territory along the border.

Again

The story of the Confederacy's strong hopes of bringing in England on her side is one of the great chapters of that war.

The truth is, we have always been involved in international affairs . . . and always will be, whether we like it or not. Our strength is such that any foreign power planning war, must attack us or seek us as an ally. So, Japan sought to destroy us in the Pacific, believing Germany could handle the Atlantic. And so, in 1917, Germany declared unrestricted submarine warfare against our shipping, knowing it meant war.

We must always be aware of, and participate in, international affairs. We have always been a part of them—and always will be.

But, never more so than in 1776-1781 when a French fleet and thousands of French soldiers, enabled Washington to bring the new republic into being at Yorktown.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution
Atlanta Ga.
Sat. 6-2-56
Y.I

A Little Girl Is Shot—

A little girl of three, happy and innocently at play in the safety of her own yard, fell sud-

denly to earth. She had been shot.

No hostile sound had marred the serenity of her play. No sudden fear had intruded on her innocent dreams. But, when they picked her up she was dying.

Had anyone heard a shot?

None had.

The birds still sang. In neighboring yards other children shouted and ran at play as innocent as hers had been.

Had anyone seen anyone with guns?

Silence. . . .

And then, later, someone remembered there had been nearby two boys with a .22 rifle. . . .

Again, silence. . . .

Death

Then, after a while, the mute, but yet articulate tongues of ballistics spoke. The gun was identified.

There was tragedy for all, though to be sure the greatest burden of it was on those who mourned the child. There is a bitter taste to all death. But it is the more so when it is a useless, needless death.

The boys? They had fired at a turtle, perhaps at another target. They had moved on to other targets. A .22 bullet, even the "long," is a tiny pellet. But death runs with it for at least a mile. And, if by chance it ricochets off a stone, it will go whizzing for a quarter or a half mile as deadly as a hideously contrived atomic bomb of vast potential if it meets a head or heart, especially a small and childish one. There was no intent or guilt in the firing. The boys, too, were at play. The sun was warm on them, and life was good.

But a child was dying. And a law was broken.

For a time bitterness, grief and anger almost unbearably stirs in the hearts of those who love a child, so precipitously snatched from life into the deep mystery of death. But, a kindly man, dedicated to God, prayed and talked. Patiently he explained the death of a child may not be rationalized. It is one of the great and inexplicable mysteries. And unless one can lean on faith there is nothing on which to lean.

Finally, those who loved the child said, out of their grief and broken hearts:

"It is done . . . nothing can bring back the child . . . but is there not something which can be done which will make little children safe, especially when they play in their own yards?

Every city, every year, hears this plea.

Anguished parents have felt the bitterness of resentment rise in them until they are choked by it when some needless reckless folly, or drunkenly-driven car has needlessly taken a life.

Guns

They have felt it, too, when two boys go out with a rifle or pistol — and one comes back, weeping or seeks to flee from what he has left behind.

(Last year, of all the deaths and woundings with guns, including hunting accidents, 42 per cent were in the age limits between 14 and 18.)

What can be done?

There are a few things.

Guns are not for cities. Target practice is for rifle ranges, supervised by instructors.

Death dealing weapons require strict discipline.

Witless parents, who know nothing of lethal instruments, should not give their children guns unless they also give something of themselves, and make sure the boy has expert training, and understands he can kill. Let fathers teach their son safety and gun-sense, or have it done.

Neighbors are to blame when they do not promptly call police when they see a boy with rifle or air rifle. If his parents do not have judgment enough, then neighbors owe it to the boy to protect him from himself and his parents.

Better a reprimand than a dead boy, child or adult.

It is against the law to fire air rifles or rifles in the city limits of any city in America.

Let the grand juries, the police, the law enforcements officers act strongly to enforce it.

These things, at least, may be done.

"—They Remain The Same"

Tues. 5-29-56
Y.I

There is an old French proverb to the effect that the more things change the more they re-

main the same.

One thinks of that in looking at the Republican Party of 1956.

It is not at all the same party it was as late as the summer of 1953 when Sen. Robert A. Taft passed from the scene where he had so honestly and so long played an integral part. And assuredly those who led it in the days of Coolidge and Hoover would have great difficulty recognizing it. Mark Hanna and his elite group, who held such a stranglehold on the party and who wrote protectionist tariffs on its banner, must now be near apoplexy in their ghostly gatherings as they witness the Eisenhower administration move toward relaxation of trade restrictions and ask for power further to reduce such barriers.

And yet, despite all that has been done to remold the party nearer to the heart's desire of Dwight D. Eisenhower, its basic foundation has not been greatly altered. In the Democratic primary campaign in Florida, both Stevenson and Kefauver have attacked the Republican Party as one of "privilege." Both have referred to the GOP as being conducted by, of and for an exclusive "lodge" of the privileged few.

Cause

Certainly some of their spokesmen, notably Secretary of Defense Wilson, have given substance to that charge by their casual comments about unemployment and also lauding the suffering caused by loss of jobs as being one of the privileges of our sort of country. It was, of course, woolly thinking, but one feels it nonetheless reflected their impulsive reaction better than did their retractions.

The President has at times seemed almost a prisoner of his lodge brothers. They have had their fingers burned, however, enough times to be more careful. They deceived him about Dixon-Yates and in an important airline decision. In both he reversed himself after learning the facts. But, by and large, the Republican Party organization remains a tightly held one. Its directors represent essentially the same interests as in Mark Hanna's time. Their objectives are basically the same. Today's leadership is face to face with a different kind of world, and the old means will no longer lead to the same end.

In a sense, the last of the Old Guard effectiveness passed with Sen. Taft. He was a very great person and an utterly honest one. It sometimes is forgotten that he stood for public housing and actually was denounced as

communistic by the head of a real estate organization. One always knew where he stood and, more important, one knew he had reached that position without any appeasement of opposition. To him the Senate of the United States was an important institution, one of the three sturdy legs of the stool on which our government rests. He never thought of membership in the Senate as something which would benefit his law practice, or enable him to make good business contacts. He dedicated himself to government because he considered it worth such dedication.

Shock

It must have been a really great shock to him to lose the nomination in 1952. He could not have known that he symbolized to many who honored him an America which was no more, and would never be again as the industrial revolution dragged it inexorably on toward great concentrations of population and change.

Whether defeat hastened his death will never be known. But it was a stunning one, and today we see how much finality it had. Not even in his own party is there more than a small contingent which still thinks of this country as being as it was before the first great war . . . when life and traffic were neither so crowded nor so hurried.

So in 1956 the Republican Party, plumping for low tariffs, freer trade and serving, too, as Mr. James Reston has said, as "baby sitter to the world," is not at all the GOP of McKinley, or even of Coolidge and Hoover.

But the "lodge brothers" and "men in the gray flannel suits" still run it. Their means have changed with the world. The ends remain the same.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

Joe Stalin: Never Forget!

P. 1

Wed. 6-6-56

Out of Russia comes the story of Joe Stalin as told by those who survive and rule.

It is pure horror.

Millions of innocent persons, tortured in soundproof rooms, "confessed." They were killed. Millions more were arrested, killed or imprisoned. Children, the old, the helpless—they, too, died of terror, torture and brutality.

Atlanta, Ga.

This is a story which reminds one, too, of the exhuming of a rotting corpse.

Never forget, in thinking on how many died, screaming with torn and ravaged flesh, that this sort of thing is a part of any and all totalitarian governments . . . not just Stalin's.

It was true of Mussolini and his Fascist "Black Shirts." It was true of Adolph Hitler, and his concentration camps where little children, the sick, and the old were killed because they were in the way; and their families murdered because they were Poles, or Jews, or Balts.

In this country there were men, some in high position, who were part of, or who supported, pro-Nazi groups. They carry on the cancer of anti-Semitism, and Fascist ideology. And, there were the Communists, plotting for Stalin.

All are evil—equally so.

All would suppress our constitutional guarantees.

All would create a Hitler or Stalin-type government here if they could.

Never forget that.

Danger

The present danger is that the new rulers of the Soviet Union will, by their exposure of the incredible years of terror under Stalin, convince many Europeans and Asians that there was nothing wrong with communism but Stalin.

Present occupants of the Kremlin offer a more serious challenge to the opponents of totalitarian powers than did Stalin. It is evident they are not bent on war. But, they are well into a plan of extension of Marxist communism. They have put aside military aggression. In its place they have a policy of "friendliness," of trade, of foreign aid, of technical assistance, and of assisting long-dominated peoples in their natural desire for national existence.

Our own reaction to this has been one of semibewilderment. We cannot afford to refuse to accept any, and all, moves which seem soundly to promote peace and avoid war. Thus, while we regretted the invitation, we are sending Gen. Twining, Air Force chief of staff, on a visit to Russia. We, in turn, will find it necessary to ask some of the Russian staff to come here.

Uneasy

The world powers are entering a new phase of uneasy coexistence. The Russians, not having to obtain permission of any committees or a congress, can act with more flexibility.

Because they are so able to move, they are, in a very real sense, winning the so-called cold war. President Eisenhower, as we daily see, is a captive of the fact this is a political year. The Congress, with one eye on November, refuses him financial and legislative power to act.

The problem is critical.

Meanwhile, it would be interesting to listen in on the private conversations of the Kremlin's occupants. That they barely escaped Stalin's terror is plain. They must daily have eaten the dry bread of fear.

They speak of the increasingly insane Stalin looking coldly at his associates and asking, "Why are your eyes so shifty today?" . . . "Why did you not seem to look at me in the eye this morning?" His suspicions thus aroused, led all too often to arrest and death.

They survived, by trickery, flattery and debasement of self. They watched friends die and disappear without protest. Now, they live. Russia is a dictatorship without a dictator.

And, thereby is the more formidable.

RALPH McGILL

Journal + Constitution

Ike and B'rer Rabbit

P. 1

Atlanta, Ga.

"An' den Chile, B'rer Rabbit he climbed a tree."

"But, Uncle Remus, rabbits can't climb trees."

"Dis time, Chile, B'rer Rabbit, he just bleeged to climb a tree," said Uncle Remus sternly.

A little while ago the President of the United States was pictured in the nation's newspapers signing a farm bill.

This being an election year, both parties were just "bleeged" to have one.

The President didn't like it. For that matter, neither did the Congress.

The bill did provide for a "soil bank." Farmers will be paid to leave land idle. Grandfather would have been startled by that. Under the Democrats similar legislation was condemned by Republicans as socialism. It still is, under the GOP. But it is a necessary stop gap.

Most of us who looked at the bent figure of the President signing the bill no one really liked, wondered about it.

Behind most of us is a farm background. A father, or grandfather, was "a farmer." Many of us spend a lot of time in wistful, wishful thinking about going back to "a farm." Actually "the farm" and its way of life about which we dream is gone.

There has been going on, as part of the industrial revolution, an agricultural process of change even more revolutionary in effect.

Automation

Legislation, controls and labor unions have been able more or less to channel the industrial change.

This was not true of agriculture.

Automation is an example.

Machines which replace men have been accepted in industry, but never without delaying resistance. Labor unions have been jealous to assure themselves control over its use.

But, not on the farm. Automation has proceeded there without any opposition whatever, save lack of capital.

Farms have been shrinking at an almost unbelievable rate. In 1935 there were 6.8 million farms in the United States. In 1955, just 20 years later, there were 4.8 million. The reduction continues.

The farm population declines even more rapidly.

In 1940 there were 30.5 million persons on farms. In 1955 the total was down to 22.2 million. It dropped further in the first half of this year.

But production booms.

From where do all the vast surpluses come?

86 Per Cent

Of the nation's 4.8 million farms there are 100,000 listed as "super units." Then come 2,000,000 large "family-managed" farms. They are capitalized at between $25,000 and $100,000. These two types, the super unit, "farm factories," and the large, well-managed farms, produce about 86 per cent of all the tremendous agricultural abundance which plagues this country and distorts congressional approaches to the problem.

Obsolete

That means that more than 2,000,000 American farms join to produce the remaining 14 per cent. Of this number 1.7 million are described as "undersized, under-equipped, economically obsolete."

These "marginal" farms chiefly are located in the Southeast and North-Central area of the United States. In Minnesota, for example, their operators were among the "discontented" who voted for Sen. Kefauver and his promise of 100 per cent parity. In the Southeast they are a perpetual bloc vote for whatever political candidate will promise them the most.

There is no general farm discontent, as both Republican and Democratic political leaders learned, save in the areas where there are the most of the small farm units, whose owners or renters dwell daily on the rim of disaster.

For the most part today's farmers are, because of long years of profits, well capitalized and mechanized to require less labor.

The real farm bill lies in the future.

31a 1956

WHITE (RALPH McGILL)

RALPH McGILL

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Tues 8-14-56
p. 1

Convention Hangs in Air

CONVENTION HALL, Chicago, Ill., Aug. 13—This Democratic convention now hangs, like Mahomet's coffin, somewhere between heaven and earth. It will continue to hang there until Wednesday evening when the platform comes before the delegates.

The bands play jaunty tunes, the lights glitter and glare, the standards add their colorful touch to the continually stirring floor of delegates, but the real heart of it lies miles away in downtown Chicago at the Conrad Hilton and the Blackstone Hotels.

There the platform committee was at work. And there the political powers were wrestling with the great and unresolved elements which must be brought together before the convention can nominate its candidates. There still is a chance things here may blow up in emotional fireworks over civil rights. There is yet a possibility that Adlai Stevenson may be destroyed in the convulsive struggle for power.

The South, which gave up the old two-third rules, was desperately seeking to restore it with the organization of a Southeastern-Southwestern bloc.

Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia, one of the powers of the Southern senatorial leaders, flew in to join with his close friend, Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas. All through Monday these two toiled by telephone and personal calls to construct what could be an effective veto of a platform they might deem unacceptable, or a candidate who would not tailor his position to fit their demands. There were others also at work.

Nothing was more fascinating to watch than the efforts of the Stevenson and Harriman managers to hold what they had and to add new votes. Men came and went. A special telephone switchboard in each headquarters was jammed with incoming and outgoing calls.

Carmine DeSapio

For more than an hour late Sunday night I stood in a corridor of the Blackstone Hotel and watched the suave and polished Carmine DeSapio, head of the New York City's Tammany Hall, operate in and out of a total of four rooms. Delegates from many states came, DeSapio moved from room to room, like a doctor seeing his patients. Never ruffled, always calm, he was seeking to build an Eastern and Western bloc for Harriman.

This organization has apparently made up its mind to cut off the South from any consideration. This was not the original plan. For a time, in the immediate hours after President Harry Truman's endorsement of Gov. Harriman on Saturday, his managers made overtures to some of the Southern delegations, including Georgia. There was a hint that if they came along there would be a civil rights plank which did not contain a reference to the Supreme Court by name. The Southern delegations were amused but not interested. Now the Harriman group is committed to a very strong civil rights plank and will bring it to the floor on Wednesday night. If the convention should accept such a plank, as they did in 1948, the whole thing will go up like a bucket of skyrockets.

Unity

As of now, there is an almost desperate desire to have unity. As one cynic put it, "There are men here who are willing to rise above principles."

The platform committee is not talking. But from one of its members I learned that the civil rights plank will be left until all others are completed and agreement reached. This member said the present thinking is that the plank will be based on the one of 1952, which President Truman declared to be satisfactory to him.

There will be an effort to avoid mentioning the words Supreme Court. The emphasis will be on rights as established by law. This would be an indirect way of saying that the Supreme Court decision is the law.

Stevenson is caught in the dilemma of this situation. He is regarded by most Southerners as the most moderate candidate.

But much depends on the wording of the platform and the interpretation of it by the Southern blocs now being organized by Senators Russell and Johnson.

So, until Wednesday night, the convention hangs in the air.

RALPH McGILL

Journal & Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Sun. 8-12-56
p. 1

Even Margaret Didn't Know

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 11—In Suite 508 of the Blackstone Hotel before former President Harry S. Truman announced his choice of Gov. Averell Harriman for the Democratic nomination, there was a mixture of tenseness and casualness. The former President had kept his secret even from his wife and daughter Margaret.

Margaret Truman Daniel busied herself as an unofficial hostess to the many callers. Wearing a stylish summer dress she was charming and attractive. Much prettier than her pictures reveal. There is about her a radiance and happiness which testifies to the joy she is finding in marriage.

The former President alone was relaxed. Beaming like a beneficent Sphinx, he let visitors know he had his decision written out and in his pocket.

The ex-President was savoring every moment of it, as he had all those of the two days he has been here. He could hardly wait. His family and friends went ahead of him to the Crystal Ball Room of the Blackstone, which was packed with all standing room taken. Margaret Truman came in with her husband, Clifton Daniel, New York Times newsman. She sat very still, obviously tense. She remained so all through the announcement.

Typically Jaunty

But, old artilleryman Harry Truman entered with his typically jaunty step, his face pink beaming, the hot lights set up for television making his glasses sparkle.

He teased with the cameramen for a moment, asking them to get through with their flashlights so he could see. He knew every news medium in the nation was waiting on him, and he savored that too. He said he had no copies. He would read it twice, he said. He told those who wanted to run for the telephone to do so. "I'll read it slow so you can get it, Tony," he said, to Tony Vaccaro of The Associated Press, on the front row.

He set his stage well, making them the more eager, and then he read his decision. The fall of the proverbial pin would have sounded like thunder in the room.

It was broken about midway when he spoke of the need to have a nominee who would be familiar with the duties of the office. All over the room reporters looked at one another and in the silence one heard the many whispers of one word, "Harriman."

It was a typically Truman message, specific and direct.

It was not, when it came, too much of a surprise. All morning the conviction grew that it was Harriman, but still many could not believe it. They argued that Mr. Truman, a professional, would not back a loser, and said Harriman would need a miracle to be nominated, even with Truman support. But, Harry Truman is not a logical man. He was put under great pressure to be neutral, but Mr. Truman is not a neutral.

Adlai Relaxed

Almost immediately after the Truman decision Adlai Stevenson appeared in his packed convention headquarters. He seemed relaxed, as he likely was. It was good to get the Truman decision over with.

There is no assurance that Harry Truman's endorsement will bring material help to Gov. Harriman. Within minutes after Mr. Truman was done there were delegates swearing they'd be damned if they'd be dictated to. Political leaders believe Mr. Truman at best can swing not more than 100 delegates of which perhaps 25 would be taken from Stevenson.

The Southern delegates are not pleased. They have long been disenchanted with both Mr. Truman and Gov. Harriman.

There is a very real chance Stevenson may be strengthened by the Truman choice.

That's what all Chicago was doing Saturday night . . . trying to evalue whether Harry Truman could indeed become a king-maker.

Not many thought he could.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 8-29-56
p. 1

"Suburbia" Political Force

When the professional politicians in two-party states quit the convention hall and retire to their rooms, or to dinner, and talk, there is much to be learned if one will but bend an ear and listen.

One of today's favorite subjects concerns a shift in social attitudes brought on by the great urban growth of America and, more especially, the concentration of it in and about the great industrial centers. "Attitudes" and one's social status often determine how one votes.

There is a new political force in America. It first made a noticeable impact in 1952. This force is "suburbia." It is a factor everywhere. It is more of one in the great industrial states of large population.

While "suburbia" is many things, it is, for the most part, made up of young and middle-aged wage earners who are keeping the American economy "dynamic" with their down payment system of maintaining a higher standard of life.

They have spread out everywhere, but in greatest numbers from the industrial cities. Papa and mama would never leave the apartments or tenements. Papa has his beer saloon, his bowling alley, and, usually his social club—Italian, Lithuanian, Polish—or his ward political "club." But, the sons and daughters have moved out. They have their new homes with a plot of grass, the barbecue pit, and maybe even a patio with easy chairs, and an outside plug-in for the record player.

Churches

The sociologists, and the politicians, know these things. They note, for example, that while most downtown churches are badly off in attendance, the churches in suburbia are booming.

Going to church in the crowded city wasn't important. In "suburbia" it takes on a new community status, and importance.

This is taking place among Negroes as well as whites.

It makes for a certain conservatism. With mortgage and installment payments to make, and that plot of grass and the outdoor grill, these people do not feel like a "minority."

Politicians, fascinated by any new force, since politics is a struggle for power, estimate this vote is now about 14 per cent of the total.

The "minorities" now left in the cities, continually increased by those who took the places of those moving to "suburbia," are composed of white and colored. They come to the industrial areas from job-shy sections of the country seeking employment. They make up an approximate 11 per cent of the total vote.

So, the political leader who just a few years ago figured

how to balance out his city "minority" vote now must juggle this new force.

Factors

There are yet other complications for a politician trying to balance these forces.

In Michigan, for example, Governor Mennen Williams is in trouble because a Polish-descendant congressman was opposed by a Negro. He could not help either without antagonizing the other. He did the only thing he could do, stay out. He thus aroused a certain resentment from each.

There are many factors at work in politics. But suburbia and the understandable desire of any, and all, minorities to obtain an equal share of citizenship in a country which constitutionally guarantees it, and politically promises it, are providing further problems for the politicians.

The great city machines, as we knew them 20 years ago, are a thing of the past. The diffusion of the cities into "suburbia," offers a delicate problem. The political leader must decide how much of the "tenement" minority of 11 per cent of the votes he can satisfy without losing too many of the 14 per cent which resides in "suburbia."

It is not an easy task.

It is an influence not at all confined to Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco, Illinois, Pittsburg, et al.—but to Des Moines, Atlanta, Richmond, Dallas, Minneapolis and St. Paul. And, again et al. The degree of it is greatest where most of it is.

RALPH McGILL

Journal and Constitution

The Parties and Their Future

Atlanta Ga.

A few weeks before the national political conventions a book was published titled "Eisenhower, the Inside Story." It was written from the stenographic texts of cabinet meetings. These were made available so the book might be read before the campaign.

In it was revealed that early in his term the President was so frustrated and disturbed by the opposition of reactionaries in his party, and by the methods employed by Sen. McCarthy, that he, Mr. Eisenhower, considered forming his own party.

Jan. 11-11-56

In the light of the events of last Tuesday that is precisely what he has done . . . in so far as the people are concerned. They elected Mr. Eisenhower by a tremendous, historic majority, leaving no doubt as to their desires. But they elected the Democratic party to control the House and Senate.

It would also seem this, too, was what the people wanted. . . . Eisenhower for President, and the opposition party in control of the legislative branches in which, for so long, a coalition of both parties has prevailed.

Mr. Eisenhower formally put before the nation, in his acceptance speech at San Francisco, his program for a "New Republicanism." In an interview, during his campaign, Vice President Nixon told the writer that he felt his own political future and philosophy committed to such a program.

One may be very sure that any Republican who might be at odds with the Presidential viewpoint will, after the landslide, keep such beliefs to himself.

'Quo Vadis'

So, it is of interest to ask "Quo Vadis?"

The Republicans now have won over the minority groups.

One of the plans of their strategists, even in the pre-campaign months, was to drive a wedge between the Negro voter and the Democratic party. Their success in this maneuver was one of the real surprises. It was more complete than had been imagined.

Since this was a major objective of the GOP, in its long-time planning to build a party strong enough to remain in power, it hardly is possible political leaders will forget this during the sessions of the Congress.

The President, having frankly, and with candor, admitted that his concept of the future calls for retaining all, and expanding some, of the social legislation already on the statute books, put there by the New Deal, can expect more support in 1957. He almost surely will be able to pass an aid to education bill. His amended and augmented health measures, also should go through the mill.

Skillful Aloofness

The President has been very skillful in keeping himself aloof from controversy. In the highly explosive school segregation issue he declared it was not his duty to endorse the Supreme Court, but to see to it the Constitution, which he swore to uphold, was sustained. He thus cleared the way for his political and legislative leaders to proceed according to their political dictates. They did so—with the results revealed by the balloting last Tuesday.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

Atlanta Ga.

Flight of The 'Minorities'

J.M. 11-9-56

No great amount of post-mortem probing is necessary to discover what happened on Tuesday last.

For the moment, the Republican Party is almost entirely in possession of the "minorities." These historically have belonged to the Democratic Party with one major exception—that of the Negro. His vote was Republican until Franklin D. Roosevelt came along, in a deep depression, to win the loyalties of all the millions stricken by the economic and social diseases of that period, of whatever color or ancestral background.

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About 22 years have passed since the worst of that grievous and melancholy period. Many of the children of those who lived through it have no emotions about it.

Nor are they aware that it was the Roosevelt years which produced the reforms of what was a vicious system. It was the old GOP system, for example, which caused millions of farmers and homeowners to lose all they had, having no recourse to credit or extension of loans.

The Republican administration under President Eisenhower has adopted and proclaimed its support of all the New Deal legislation. It has become an integral part of what the President refers to as "my program." Millions of young voters do not know the origin of these "socialistic" measures, now so firmly a part of the nation's political life. They consider them a part of what the President has called "the new Republicanism."

Suburbia Vote

These younger persons are, by and large, a part of the vastly expanded, and expanding, "suburbia." They are a new political force, these "suburbs."

There were other developments.

We are so vast a country that many Americans do not know, for example, that in New York state the so-called "Italian" vote is the largest single potential bloc. Actually, of course, there is no such thing as a bloc vote unless the interests of any such group are directly involved. Nor, are many Americans aware that in New England the Polish, Italian, French-Canadian and Baltic-states groups are formidable political factors.

In the great industrial states we have an excellent example of what happened in this field.

All these voted heavily for President Eisenhower.

But in Michigan the Negro, Polish and Italian voters went heavily for the Democratic governor, Mennen (Soapy) Williams. His vote was close to that of the President. The GOP gubernatorial candidate's vote total was about that of Adlai Stevenson. In Chicago the minority votes, Negro, Polish., etc., remained faithful locally to the Democratic organization. But Eisenhower carried the state and Cook County. Industrial Cleveland helped Democratic Gov. Frank Lausche win a substantial victory in a state which went for Eisenhower by more than half a million.

Negro Vote

In the South the Negro vote went solidly Republican in most cities. In others it was two to one for the President. This, plus the support given the T. Coleman Andrews Dixiecrat Party, was enough to swing several Dixie cities into the GOP ranks. In Tennessee and Louisiana this shift was enough to place those states in the Eisenhower column. The third-party movement was not significant. It was made up of those who refuse to face the facts of life and who somehow believe the clock of time and history can be turned back.

As long as jobs remain plentiful and the world remains uneasy about war, there is every reason now to believe the minority shifts of Poles, Italians, et cetera, will stay with the Republicans. The Negro vote remained loyal to the Democrats in certain areas, but only where, as in Michigan, they had Democratic candidates who had demonstrated a recognition of the aspirations which the Negro considers legitimate.

The vitality of the Democratic Party remains unquestioned. Without such leadership and organization it could not have increased its majority in the House and retained control of the Senate in the face of the President's tremendous victory.

But the post-mortem reveals the need for future action.

RALPH

McGILL

31a White
Constitution

Ike's Victory And the Riddle

Thurs, 11-8-56
Atlanta Ga.

For this we go back to 1848.

That was when Gen. Zachary Taylor, nominee of the Whig

Party, was elected President of the United States and failed to carry either the House or Senate.

Tuesday's election, and the final tabulations of Wednesday, presented the nation with a riddle.

President Dwight David Eisenhower piled up a skyscraper total of votes. He received almost 60 per cent of all those cast. It was a more emphatic triumph than in 1952.

Yet, as Wednesday's hours crawled past the noon, the weary tabulators in Nevada came up with their finals. Sen. Alan Bible had defeated his Republican opponent.

He was the 49th Democratic senator to be elected.

This retained for his party the control it had won in the off-year elections of 1954. Well before this, Democratic control of the House, by a larger margin than before, was assured.

So, there was the biggest riddle.

President Eisenhower was a giant in victory.

But the same people who turned to him in an hour when the skies were dark with threats of war and Russian plotting refused to trust his party with control of the Congress.

Defeated Friends

Not only that, but in their decision to retain the losing party in control of the Congress, the people defeated four of the President's closest political friends and supporters.

The administration made no secret of the fact it was concentrating its Senate fire in two states, Oregon and Washington. The popular governor Langlie was made the keynoter of the Republican convention to dramatize his importance as the opponent of Democratic Sen. "Maggie" Magnuson in Washington state. Secretary of the Interior McKay, a former governor of Oregon, was persuaded to resign and take his demonstrated vote-getting power home to defeat Wayne Morse, a former Republican who disagreed with the GOP and had gone over to the rival party. He was the chief target.

President Eisenhower carried both states by huge majorities. But—

Both Magnuson and Morse won without too much trouble.

In Colorado handsome Dan Thornton, former governor and a very close friend of the President, was a candidate against Democratic John Carroll. Dapper Dan Thornton was regarded as about as near a sure thing as politics can produce. Candidate Carroll defeated him.

In Pennsylvania the veteran Sen. Jim Duff, one of the original Ike men, was eliminated by the young Democrat, Joe Clark.

Upset Patterns

This is the riddle.

Whatever the answer, the fact remained that in the election of 1956 the American voters had crossed party lines and upset old, established voting patterns as never before.

None questioned the meaning of the Eisenhower victory. It meant the people wanted Ike.

He had smashed the South, taking five states, one more than any other Republican ever did.

If that means the acceleration of the two-party system, that is all to the good.

Probing into the wreckage of the Stevenson campaign, one finds the Negro vote in the South shifted almost entirely to the Republicans. The T. Coleman Andrews party, while itself impotent, nonetheless polled votes to help swing some Southern states and cities to the Republican column. One of these, where the Negro vote also assisted, was Montgomery, Alabama. That the cradle of the Confederacy should vote Republican is somewhat sensational evidence of the upsetting of old political patterns and legends.

The women, who voted in greater numbers than in 1952 because of the war threats, have proved their weight as a balance of power.

There are a lot of riddles. But none greater than that of the President and the failure of his party to be as strong as in 1952.

The Calm Voice Of Reason

Ralph McGill, distinguished editor of the Atlanta Constitution, is perhaps the most articulate and sincerely dedicated liberal in the South.

He is no William Faulkner, nor Hodding Carter for that matter. His is the calm and considered voice of reason amid a bedlam of near insanity.

P.4 Afro American

The Fund for the Republic has been distributing reprints of his profound article, "The Angry South," which first appeared in the Atlantic Monthly.

Sat. 12-8-56 *Baltimore

IN THIS article, Mr. McGill, a Southerner born and bred, performs a needed public service by revealing that although the interpositionists are screaming loud and bitter defiance in public, privately they know and admit they are wrong.

Moreover, he is frank enough to tell the South it is fighting a losing battle.

The Humpty Dumpty of segregation, he says, has fallen off the wall.

And if the South were able to put Humpty Dumpty back together again, the legal wall upon which he sat is no longer there.

On the matter of states rights, Mr. McGill says if states rights means inequality of citizenship as Southerners insist, this doctrine will never win national support or acceptance.

* * *

ALL THE devices and evasions trumped up in Southern legislatures designed to give one child less opportunity than another cannot succeed, he says, because they politically immoral.

The Southerner is correct in saying that states rights are firmly imbedded in the Constitution, but what he overlooks, says Mr. McGill, is that they no longer mean what the manifesto signers say they mean anymore than they meant in 1860 that there was a states right of secession.

The somewhat common statement that 'We will die rather than yield' or 'Don't you know there will violence if the schools are integrated' is a mere public expression of men who privately admit they are licked.

* * *

WE CERTAINLY agree with him that the South may be angry, sad, resentful and defiant on the race question.

But it must and will be converted to the American way of life which in 1956 means no segregation, just as it was converted to the American way of life which in 1865 meant no slavery.

RALPH McGILL

Children of The South

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga. 7/13/56

Defeat of the federal bill to aid education serves but to place the spotlight on an almost frightening problem. Lack of education could defeat the United States.

Our population advances at the rate of 3 million per year. Schools, already overcrowded and short of teachers, will be more engulfed.

On the basis of children already born, we know a tidal wave of students will, through the next 15 years, inundate the public school system. We already admittedly are failing to educate enough specialists, and train enough teachers.

Eventually we will have federal aid to education because there is no other alternative.

State spending for education provides the clinching arguments for that conclusion.

Educational officials have worked out a yardstick which cannot be dismissed. It is that of "ability to pay." This ability is figured on the basis of total personal income reported in each state, divided by the number of school-age children there.

There is a second, the annual expenditure per pupil.

Standings

Under this yardstick the educational map of the United States is darkest in the Southeast. Based on ability to pay, Mississippi is in 48th place, Arkansas 47th, Alabama 46th, South Carolina 45th, North Carolina 44th, Georgia 43rd, Kentucky 42nd, Tennessee 41st, and West Virginia 40th.

Each of these states also averages an annual expenditure of less than $200 per pupil.

Virginia here offers a contradiction. She is 32nd in ability to pay, but still averages less than $200 per pupil.

Other states, with less ability to pay than Virginia, spend more per pupil. Louisiana, for example, is 39th, which is much further down the list than the Old Dominion. But, Louisiana's average annual expenditure ranges between $200-$249. Florida, in 27th position in ability to pay, is in the same bracket.

With these two Southeastern states, spending $200-$249, are Maine, 30th in ability to pay; Vermont, 31st; Texas, 28th, and Idaho, 36th.

The next division includes those states averaging $250-$299 per pupil per year. Here the roll-call takes us from coast to coast. It includes: New Hampshire 19th in ability to pay, Massachusetts 9th, Rhode Island 10th, Connecticut 3rd, Pennsylvania 13th, Delaware 2nd, Ohio 8th, Michigan 11th, Wisconsin 18th, Illinois 7th, Iowa 26th, North Dakota 37th, South Dakota 33rd, Kansas 21st, Oklahoma 35th, New Mexico 38th, Colorado 20th, Arizona 29th, Nevada 4th, and Washington 12th.

Note that Oklahoma, Arizona, New Mexico, North and South Dakota which are in this bracket, though below Texas and Florida in ability to pay, manage to spend more per pupil.

$300 Up

The third category includes those states which average spending $300 or more per year per pupil. New York, which also ranks No. 1 in ability to pay, and New Jersey, 5th in yardstick, are the only such states in the East. In the middle-belt are Indiana, 15th in ability, Missouri 17th, and Minnesota 25th. In the West are Montana 22nd, Wyoming 24th, and Utah 34th. On the West Coast are California, 6th in ability, and Oregon 16th.

Here again are certain obvious contradictions. Oregon, ranked 16th in ability to pay, spends more than $300 per year per pupil, while Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and others, with more ability to pay, are in the $250-$299 list.

There are deductions to be drawn; explanations to be made. But there is one deduction which cannot be changed. It is that many American boys and girls are receiving much less educational opportunity than others. Children in the Southeast, especially the rural areas and small towns which do not supplement state aid, are being penalized the most.

Local and community aid cannot begin to narrow the gulf.

We eventually will have a federal aid bill—because we must.

RALPH McGILL

The Image Of America?

Constitution, Aug. 8-9-56, Atlanta, Ga.

Even for one ever spellbound by his country, it is difficult to put it into words and say, "This is my image of America."

Is it the sea on some long, white beach, with the surf crashing in on the sand, and sending the long rollers to spread out like foaming curtains, eternally repeated, along the shingle? Is it a valley with a field of corn green against the backdrop of hills, and a farm house at the end of a lane? Would it be the mountains at evening, with the haze of blue enveloping them with the mystery of coming night and dying day? Might it be the great plains, golden with wheat, until it looks to be a vast, calm sea, ruffled only by some hot breeze, barely strong enough to make the heavy heads of grain move in a slow rhythm? Or would it be a city, "million-footed," crowded and noisy, its buildings piled high with life and vitality, and all the many-faceted sides of life, beautiful, repellent, noble, degraded, pitiful, glorious?

What is the image of America?

What would one do if told to put it on paper, to illustrate it with the camera so that persons who had never known it, save in the distorting mirrors of tortured propaganda, would see it plain?

The United States Information Agency in Washington has sought to do that for the Russians. "Amerika," an illustrated magazine, of the format size of Life, has been distributed there. It is part of a mutual plan. The Russians will sell their counterpart, "USSR," in this country.

Propaganda

A similar magazine was distributed in Moscow during the war. Its copies were so popular, and the demand was so great, they became black-market items. It was suspended by Washington when the Russians turned from Allied cooperation to the cold war and the bitter anti-American policy which prevailed during the Stalin period, and into our present.

"Amerika" does not deal in politics, or ideology, insofar as the text or pictures are concerned.

But, "America" is there.

It is a composite "image" of this country which would please most Americans, though it may not be the exact image in their minds.

The cover is that of a child, barefooted, at the edge of the Pacific. Her back is to the viewer. Red of hair and jacket, and wearing a red plaid dress, because it is pretty and has no political connotation, she is extending a toe toward the edge of curling, thinned-out surf.

On the inside cover is a black-and-white photograph of the great redwood trees of California. On the back, in color, is the New York skyline at late dusk, with the lights on, and the sky a dark purple behind it. Inside the back cover are two boys in a small sailboat, with some modest cottages in the background along the shore.

'America'

On the inside pages are stories and pictures familiar to us from seeing them in our newspapers, newsreels, television and picture magazines.

There are the fields of grain, golden and beautiful. There are our roads and superhighways, winding like great ribbons across the continent. There are American homes, towns, people at work and play. There is a picture series of a family preparing for the arrival of a fourth baby—and photographs of the joy and pleasure it brings to them all.

There is an essay by Jesse Stuart, "A Man and His Land," a narrative of his father, a Kentucky hill farmer, counterpart of the Russian peasant, though we do not like the word because it somehow became confused in our thinking with "serf."

There are medical notes, modern architecture, sports pictures and also those of ten young women of great achievement. These, and others, also show the Negro participating in the nation's life.

There is the story of Ben Franklin, photographs of fashions, ore boats on the Chicago River, oil fields, some of our beautiful bridges, Americans on their vacation. And there are, too, some of our humorous cartoons.

What first took the Russians' cork under was a two-page spread of automobiles — and their prices. "They are pretty and cheap, and they must be good," said the Russians . . . who noticed, too, there was no "ideology" propaganda.

The image of America — if we can but provide it—will be strong medicine.

RALPH McGILL

The Big Test Is Still Ahead

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 8-15-56

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 14—Late Tuesday the Adlai Stevenson bandwagon began to pick up steam and to roll with some of [redacted] the momentum

it had before Harry S. Truman slowed it down.

It came about, in part, because of a realization that if Sen. Lyndon Johnson could deadlock the convention the party might end up with a candidate it didn't want. It also was an acceptance of the fact that the party, even as Mrs. Roosevelt has told it, must make its own future and not fight always on the old battlefields of FDR's New Deal and Truman's Fair Deal.

Stevenson seems now reassured of nomination. There will still be a bitter last-ditch fight on the civil rights plank, but the sales talk now is to have a moderate plank and then try to add Sen. Estes Kefauver to the ticket to offset some of the objections of those who wanted it stronger.

So, while there will be a rights plank fight, it now has less chance of succeeding than before.

North-South

It means, too, the North-South warfare within the Democratic Party will worsen, not diminish. Some Northern Democrats, angry at what seems to them a sellout, tonight were saying the time has come when they must, in this convention and in the Congress, take an anti-South stand on civil rights and other legislation, such as the FEPC. Heretofore, they have more or less played ball with their fellow party members from Dixie. But not any more.

It must be understood that every convention has within it two major objectives. The primary one, of course, is to nominate candidates. But even more basic is the need to take positions on issues which will win congressional and state races.

There are, for example, some 61 congressional districts in the

United States in which the Negro vote constitutes the balance of power. No delegates, and more particularly, no elected official, from a state where this vote is so great a factor, will support a moderate civil rights plank which does not affirm the Supreme Court decision.

Not only will they refuse to vote for such a plank, they will, because of the political necessity, take a strong public stand against it so as to get on the record.

Rights Plank

It is commonplace, while visiting from delegation to delegation, to have a Northern Democrat ask, "Why don't the Southerners, with no Republican opposition in their states, understand that we must have a strong rights plank?"

Southerners on delegations here also genuinely are surprised to find the Supreme Court has friends who are as outspoken in its behalf as the South is against it. While this is educational, it is not in any degree an ameliorating factor.

Jim Carey, a vice president of the American Federation of Labor and CIO, also president of the Electrical Workers Union, has now joined with Minnesota's Hubert Humphrey, whom the Deep South regards as a sort of political anti-Christ, in saying it is time for the Democratic Party to clear the air with a rights plank which pledges to seek compliance with the court's decision since the dispute over so doing has "become symbolic of where the party stands."

While neither mentions the South, both may be said to believe the time has come for the Northern and Western wings of the party to proceed without the South.

Labor, for example, is planning a campaign in the next Congress to organize Northern Democrats to refuse to vote for committee chairmen on the present seniority basis. This labor will hardly be able to do, but it is symptomatic of union feelings.

These are some of the tensions seething beneath the deceptively calm surface of this convention.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

Atlanta Ga.

Visible Signs Of Change

Fri. 8-17-56

CHICAGO, Ill., Aug. 16—Well before Adlai Stevenson was nominated as the Democratic presidential candidate, the shadowy form of a new party could be seen emerging from the words, written and spoken from the character and philosophy of the [illegible]n.

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From this time on this new party will come steadily into focus, taking on strength and substance. It may too, take on strength not now considered possible.

There were many symbols of it here in Chicago.

There was, of course, the failure of Harry S. Truman. He literally was shocked into a period of destructive bitterness when he found he was no longer an influence in the party organization.

But there was another. In a sense it was even more symbolic of the change. This symbol was an aging, shaggy-browed man. He came to Chicago on Wednesday. He could not obtain a hotel room for the day. A friend borrowed a small studio bedroom in the somewhat comic headquarters of Kentucky's Happy Chandler.

John L. Lewis

The man was John L. Lewis, head of the miners' union.

Time was when, if John L. Lewis came to town, the trumpets sounded, [illegible] drums thundered, the big limousines rolled, red carpets were spread and the best suite made ready.

He was one of the architects of the New Deal, bringing his hungry and discontented miners belligerently into the Roosevelt ranks. Later, like Mr. Truman, he reached for power and found it no longer was there. He went then to the Republicans.

He had come to Chicago, he said, to try and do what he could to stop Stevenson. He growled about Walter Reuther. "Walter," he said, "climbs to heights where few can go. He even talks about Laos and Cambodia."

He was powerless to slow Stevenson's bandwagon. John L. Lewis, too, belongs in the past. He no longer is influential.

There were many here, from the Roosevelt and Truman years, complaining they had been mistreated about tickets, hotel rooms, and recognition. They could not believe they no longer were regarded as a part of the party organization.

Some were embittered. Others, like Mrs. Roosevelt, saw and knew what had happened. The New Deal and the Fair Deal served their time. But the Roosevelt social philosophy long has been an integral part of the nation's laws. Even the Republicans support it and make no attack on it.

Symbols

This is precisely where Harry Truman has been so tragically wrong. At a time when he had gained national stature and popularity, he was persuaded to insist on naming a candidate who would wage a Truman style fight on the old fields of bygone political wars. Victory was won long ago.

There were other visible signs of the change.

Early Thursday morning, when the great old bald eagle of the party, Sam Rayburn, said in his gravel-like voice: "I have heard a lot of ayes and nays in my time and I think I know which carries," the ill-timed platform revolt was over. It too is a symbol.

It was not at all a Southern victory, as some of the papers and pundits here are saying. All the Deep South states were prepared to vote against the so-called moderate plank. They still are angry.

The revolt died because there was no real support for it in the convention. The delegations of those who presented it were split. It became known Thursday that one of the organizers of it, checking the delegates, sent word up to Chairman Rayburn they did not even want a roll call.

Adlai Stevenson will be a fighting candidate. He will create a hard-hitting, fighting party. But it will not be merely a "give-'em-hell" type of Harry Truman fight. America is changing because the world is changing. There must be new vision, new ideas, new objectives, new courage and intelligence. All of that Adlai Stevenson brings to the Democratic party. He owes nothing to Harry Truman or to Lyndon Johnson or Tammany Hall. He and his are the architects of the [illegible]

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

Atlanta Ga.

Ike's Name Is Magic

Wed. 8-20-56

COW PALACE, San Francisco, Aug. 21—Sole owner of the one name which can stir and thrill undetermined millions of Americans, and which consequently has been injected regularly into the veins of an apathetic convention, has come to lend his presence, too.

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Dwight D. Eisenhower, peace, prosperity, and progress, four more years.

These are the phrases. But always it is the name which fetches the cheers. It is an interesting study to watch the gathering of young Republicans, some 5,000 of them. All they had was a telegram from Ike and one from Mamie. But when the words were read they leaped and screamed as if the telegrams had been handed them graven in stone by a tongue of sacred fire. Or, as if the burning bush had spoken.

The Republicans were troubled by the free convention choice of a vice president at Chicago. From the podium they kept saying theirs had been free all along. And Chairman Len Hall, who began months ago to lock up the choice for Nixon, piously proclaimed that of course any Republican who chose could offer for the office.

Technique

But the technique finally evolved for solving the dilemma left them by the Democrats was shrewd and foolproof. One cannot avoid admiring the unknown political mind which produced it.

All any aspiring Republican has to do, if he is filled with the desire to run, is to ask Mr. Eisenhower for a talk. There he would need only to discuss his record and his ideas about the Eisenhower plans to remold the Republican organization nearer to his own concept of politics. If satisfactory, he would be welcome as a candidate.

Who would come and knock at the door?

No one.

There will be many who will walk through the door to see the President on the sixth floor of the St. Francis Hotel. But there will be none to say, "Mr. President, allow me to discuss my qualifications of loyalty to the team and the Eisenhower blueprint so that I may oppose Mr. Nixon."

But let none fail to observe the political skill of this device which makes it, as they say, "an open convention, secretly arrived at."

The Republican Party has found itself here, greatly to its own surprise, with the small but definite beginnings of a Southern party. The result was their platform plank on civil rights was just about that of the Democrats. The latter, of course, in typical fashion, arrived at theirs after sweating blood and maiming one another in a floor fight. The GOP is better disciplined. And when some miscreant wishes to stand forth, there are always enough persons present to put on a sad, rebuking face and say, "Now, let's not embarrass Ike. Let's go along and not let the people know we don't agree. Let's not act like the Democrats."

So they don't.

Rights

There are many who are variously affected by the NAACP and its statements, and its official reaction to the GOP rights plank was interesting They prepared a press release saying it was a shade better than that of the Democrats. They read it again and after a conference inserted the word "thin" ahead of the word "shade."

"The Republican Party," said Roy Wilkins, the executive head of the NAACP, "always shows a peculiar ineptness in dealing with the Negro. They don't really have any problems, the Democrats do. Everyone knows it is not easy to reconcile the Southern and Northern positions. But the Republicans could have brought about a great shift of votes in places where it would help. Now, if a Negro is asked to change over to the Republicans he will point to this plank and answer, saying, 'For that?'"

But the men who had watered down that plank got on the podium and spoke mightily for civil rights. And, of course, for Ike, though often as not they were those who had opposed his policies in the Congress. But the name is magic. And pins them safely to the coattails.

RALPH McGILL

The GOP Plan Is Released

U.S. Atty. Gen. Brownell's summoning of the federal district attorneys to Washington for a Dec. 10 conference on ways and means of implementing the Supreme Court decision against segregation on local transportation lines meshes with Republican plans to stabilize the large share of labor, independent and Negro votes which went to President Eisenhower on Nov. 6.

As a source close to the White House said:

"We are certainly on sound ground in standing on the side of law. We are not defying it, but enforcing it. If that redounds to our political benefit, then that is extra profit. But when did it become a political trick, or a wicked act, to live up to the oath of office which requires upholding the constitution and the courts? Does not political and personal integrity demand it?"

"May it be assumed that Atty. Gen. Brownell's civil rights legislation, as introduced in the last Congress, will be presented early in the next session?"

"Most certainly."

(This legislation creates, for example, a special civil rights division within the Department of Justice and also, if enacted, allows citizens to by pass state courts in civil rights cases and sue directly in federal courts.)

Rule Change

"Are there any other plans in this field?"

"I understand that independent operators, friends of labor, will seek a Senate rule change which would modify, or remove, Rule 22."

Rule 22 permits unlimited debate in the Senate. It is the basis for filibuster. Without it cloture, or limitation of debate, could be invoked. The rule has long been the target of labor unions and Negro political organizations.

It is extremely unlikely Rule 22 will be uprooted. The Senate is extremely jealous of its traditions and privileges. One of these is debate unlimited. In the past many of the liberal members of the Senate have supported retention of the rule, even though they deplored the use to which it was being put in preventing a vote on legislation.

The Brownell legislation almost certainly will be enacted into law after a long and bitter fight, including a filibuster. The Republicans fully expect it. Indeed, they hope for it. So great is their confidence, they have included it in their political plan.

Split Party

The plan is to make the inevitable Southern Democratic opposition to the measures appear as a party defiance of minority rights. This will force the Northern Democrats, who would be defeated if they did not give vigorous support to the Brownell measures, to split with the South.

This, the GOP hopes and believes, will open such a gulf as eventually to render the party impotent.

"The old political landmarks are gone," said the source close to the administration. "The party which tries to steer by them will be lost. This year saw the greatest crossing of party lines in history. We believe we can build party strength which can win in 1960 without the magic of the President. In our opinion one of the failures of the Democratic campaign was that no appeal was made to the independents who increasingly split party ballots. We made that a part of our strategy. We even had a convention speech by an independent."

The cabinet member now in highest favor at the White House is Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell. He is given full credit for winning much of the labor vote for the Republican nominee.

One of the many false pictures of labor given the people by its enemies is that it is a monolithic organization controlled by Walter Reuther, George Meany and the ADA. As the Republicans analyze their presidential triumph, they see their greatest achievement was not the winning of much of the Negro vote, but the substantial support of members of labor.

Anyhow—the GOP plan to build for 1960 has now been set in operation.

RALPH McGILL

Look Away, Dixieland—

In the Deep South the Eisenhower Republicans are at once triumphant and troubled.

Also in Dixieland the Democrats publicly are donning war paint and sharpening their hatchets. But privately, they, too, are disturbed and pessimistic.

The GOP problem is the less complex. But it is nonetheless real and formidable. Since early 1951, the Eisenhower leaders in the South have been in an embattled state. They first were confronted with the task of fighting a delegation war in 1952. The nomination of Dwight D. Eisenhower literally turned on the pivot of a floor fight which unseated a Taft-committed Georgia delegation and replaced it with one pledged to then Gen. Eisenhower.

Once Nominee Eisenhower became President Eisenhower, his devoted supporters had a long, hard-fought campaign in all the Southern states to root out the old "post-office" Republicans and establish legitimate, genuine statewide GOP organizations. Some of these are sketchy, but they are there and they function.

Dilemma

Most of the Eisenhower Republicans in the South are business and professional men with substantial interests to manage. They have had, in the very nature of things, little help from the national committee. They are not professional politicians, though they are learning. Nor do they wish to be. Theirs has been a dedicated service of loyalty to one man . . . the President. They have wrought in his name and have been uplifted by his leadership. They have sincerely and earnestly sought to build a two-party system because he asked it.

They have had relatively no financial assistance. They have taken time off from their business to travel about their respective states raising money. Here and there they have entered candidates in local races. Some of these won. They have made a very real contribution. Progress is undenied.

But 1957 is almost at hand. And they do not see how, as businessmen, they can continue across four years, especially with business requiring more attention in a tighter money market.

If they turn it loose, then the old hands, of pre-1952, would pick it up. The "Eisenhower Party" would deteriorate. So they are troubled.

Democrats

The Democrats of the Deep South states plan a succession of filibusters over the GOP civil rights measures. They know Eastern and Western Democrats will be strongly in opposition to the South. Privately, they know these Democrats cannot do anything else, and survive politically. But they are boning up on harsh words to say about them. And they are wearing out any handy thesaurus seeking phrases with which to condemn U.S. Atty. Gen. Brownell. That gentleman may expect often to be referred to as the Thaddeus Stevens of the 20th Century. This will drive a great many young Southerners to their histories to learn something about the abusive and acrid man from Vermont who was chief among the Radicals who took over the Congress after Lincoln's assassination, and either backed or initiated all the oppressive measures of the "Tragic Era" called the reconstruction.

Eastern and Western Democrats already have sounded the trumpet for battle by calling for a coalition to abolish Rule 22, which permits unlimited debate, or filibuster. This will come up on the opening day of the Congress and will introduce a party which could, if unresolved, for a time destroy the Democratic Party as a national force.

RALPH McGILL

Control, but No Leadership

Adlai Stevenson has announced he will not again seek the Democratic nomination. There was never any doubt of this, but he was compelled to make the announcement because of the many queries and urgings from his more dedicated supporters.

He thus strips himself of any claim to leadership. By virtue of the fact he was the 1952 nominee, he became the titular leader of the party. In time he became its loud voice, but never its leader in fact. Senators who held the most firm grip on party affairs would not let go. Some of these gave only lip service to the ticket and not too much of that.

Adlai Stevenson will return to his law practice. He could have a university presidency. But this he has decided against. He wishes to be free to speak out politically. The head of a university must be something of a political eunuch, lest he affront boards of trustees and those alumni whose hearts have been made golden by the tax rates.

The Democratic Party does not now know it, but Adlai Stevenson in time inevitably will become the keeper of the party's conscience. Only he will have a national voice. He has accepted a position on the newly created advisory committee. It was this group which asserted its belief the party could survive nationally only by adopting and aggressively supporting a liberal, progressive program.

Fight Ahead

Control of the Democratic Party remains with Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas, and with Speaker Sam Rayburn of the same state. In an almost literal sense, it is Southern control in that the lack of a two-party system gives to Southern senators and congressmen the seniority necessary to dominate the national committees.

But control and leadership are not synonymous.

And a fight is ahead. There is no need to mask it. It is to be a struggle on the part of western and eastern Democrats to wrest control from the South. This fight already has enlisted, for example, the support of the brilliant young Democrat from Massachuetts who almost won the party's vice presidential nomination at Chicago—John Kennedy.

In the November election the Democratic Party fared best in two-party states, in the West and Northwest. Only there was the GOP vote lower than in 1952. Even in the Southern states carried by Stevenson and Kefauver the Republican total was up. There, too, the shift of the Negro vote and the crossing of party lines by young voters and the so-called independents enabled the President not merely again to break the Democratic hold, but to do so even more emphatically than in 1952.

Population Shift

What both the Democrats and Republicans note is that the national population shift continues westward. The Democratic

Party is stronger today in the West and Pacific Northwest than it was four years ago. It has spectacularly advanced over the past decade. It continues.

In the minds of the party strategists in those states the real vigor of the Democratic Party is no longer in the South but in their area. So they will seek control. They will start on the opening day with an attempt to abolish Senate Rule 22—which permits filibusters.

It is almost certain to fail.

The party throttle is almost sure to remain where it now is—for an indefinite time.

But the West may well win a compromise. Southern leaders Johnson and Rayburn are too able and too knowledgeable to be blind to the political facts of life. They are aware that the election returns of 1952 and 1956 demonstrate the South's traditional grip on the party is no longer firm where the national elections are at stake. It is gone in one state, Florida. It is vanishing in another, Virginia.

The struggle for control is next on the agenda.

RALPH

McGILL

Constitution

GOP Plans for Next 4 Years

Thurs. 11-15-56
Atlanta Ga.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 14—Republican political plans for the next four years were revealed in a neatly packaged answer to a question in the President's press conference here this morning. He was asked if the party had any plans to build up strength in Southern states not carried by Mr. Eisenhower.

"If you will pardon me for using a military axiom," the President replied, "I would say that you always reinforce success, not failure."

The Republican strategists, who, of course, consult with the President, have already made up their minds. They will introduce the civil rights legislation as prepared for the last Congress by Attorney General Brownell. They expect it to pass the House and eventually to produce a tremendous filibuster in the Senate. This they know will produce an explosive, inflammatory flood of oratory which, by its very excesses, will tend to identify the Negro vote more permanently with the GOP. They feel it also will have an influence on the various foreign bloc votes.

In addition to dramatizing the gulf between Eastern and Western Democrats and those of the South, they believe the Southern Democrats, by the intemperance of their extremists, will cause the party to appear as unable to accept the responsibilities of governing.

Events

GOP managers believe events will play into their hands. They know the civil rights legislation will for some time be held up in the committee over which Sen. James Eastland of Mississippi presides. They hope for this. They will then expect pressure, much of it from the Eastern and Western Democrats, plus public opinion, to force the bills out for a vote.

The Republicans know this is their last time around with Mr. Eisenhower. He cannot again be a candidate. They are aware of the fact that it was his tremendous personal following which produced a record presidential majority for him. So, the next four years will be devoted to intensive ground work to strengthen the party at the grass roots. Lacking a personality power in 1960, they will need more precinct and state organization work to remain in power.

All this was wrapped up in the President's answer that the Republicans will reinforce success. A high source in the party said, following the press conference today, that their breakdown of election results showed an increasing number of young people turning to them. This was especially true in areas where young executives and young professional men are interested in politics. They are coming to feel, particularly in the Southern states which went for the President, that there is no place for a progressive to turn save to the GOP. This is because, so it is believed here at GOP headquarters, none of those state governments offers any future for a young progressive.

Increase

Virginia, for example, is regarded as almost a Republican state in so far as the national ticket is concerned. Florida already has arrived. There has been an increase of a hundred thousand Republican votes in that state in the last four years. Louisiana is regarded as merely having a healthy increase in GOP voters. All these states will continue to elect Democratic state tickets for some time, though Virginia may offer a real gubernatorial fight in 1957.

Meanwhile, the President will continue to fill the national image of what a tremendous majority wants a president to be. He will keep to the high ground and the big issues. The political ground work will be done by the pros.

The President looked fine in his press conference. But there was a look of strain about his eyes. Without doubt the gravity of the Middle Eastern problem, and it is still critical, weighs heavily upon him. The private word is that things look a little more hopeful, but it is a fluid situation. The next 48 hours should see the U.N. troops in Suez. Once they are there an easing is expected.

RALPH McGILL

Journal
Constitution

Steel Workers Go to College

Jun. 5-6-56

Twenty-eight universities have begun a program initiated, and paid for, by the steel workers' union. P.1

They will offer courses only in the humanities.

These will deal with only two subjects: (1) The steel worker as an individual and, (2) the steel worker as a citizen. Atlanta, Ga.

The union, with a tremendous reserve fund, has come to the maturity of realization that while wage increases please members, such advances cannot be the end-all of union existence. The leadership also found, in its meetings, that members wanted, and needed, a better understanding of what, more or less glibly, has come to be called "The Humanities."

The cost of such a program is great. But it is being enthusiastically received.

That is one side of a new, but accelerating, development in the expanding field of education.

There are, as usual, two sides to this new educational coin.

The steel workers, by engaging service from 28 universities, present probably the most dramatic "crash" program in new trends.

Business

But management, especially "Big Management," is moving almost as fast.

One of the nation's largest corporations has a program in which all junior executives spend each Monday morning in lectures and seminars on "the humanities." Each summer they are sent, on company time, to a three weeks' course at one of three participating universities. The corporations, of course, foot the bill.

Another of the larger corporations recently opened its own business school for the training of young executives. Business and management methods were the curriculum. This corporation, too, is moving to open up the studies to include "The Humanities."

At least five other corporations are sending executives to summer courses where such subjects are taught.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, perhaps the nation's outstanding school in the field of technical sciences, some years ago made compulsory two years of humanities courses.

Now comes the steel workers' union which purchases the skills of 28 universities to bring to their membership some of these same teachings.

The humanities are, roughly, subjects which deal with what commonly used to be called "culture." That word has had the real meaning winnowed out of it by the cultists. But, in essence, that is what it means.

It is apparent that man, having been given a soul, cannot live by bread alone. This, indeed, has been a fact known to the most ancient of philosophers and teachers. It is one written into all the great religions.

Prejudice

Somehow, in the early, raw days of our republic, a sort of anti-intellectualism developed. It persists into our time and, on occasion, takes on the most swinish aspects. "Culture" came to mean the weekly meeting of the local literary group or a lecture by some author.

But today even the hard-headed managers of business are learning their executives do a better job if their personal lives are rounded out with some knowledge of life other than the material. An appreciation of music, books, poetry, the political and social issues, and an awareness there is a side of life which has to do with the philosophy of living, serve to distinguish man from other animals. As man has more leisure, he needs to know more about the business of living.

The executive who doesn't have some of the humanities is being revealed as one who, lacking the ability to rationalize his own life with the world about him, makes unsound decisions for the reason his perspective — especially on how to get along with people and trends—is not sound. More and more professional men also find themselves wistfully regretting they did not have more education in the arts, to balance off technical skills.

At any rate, educational leaders are impressed by, an interested in, the activity of unions and management in trying to provide something in the "Humanities."

RALPH McGILL

Constitution P.1

Talmadge; A Profile

Sun. 5-20-56

Barring an act of God, Herman Eugene Talmadge, aged 42, will enter the United States Senate in January 1957 as Junior Senator from Georgia, replacing Walter Franklin George, aged 78, and an international figure.

As such he is news.

As the catalyst in one of the big political news stories of 1956, he is being interpreted by the nation's press

Some have made the error of casting him in the stereotype of the Southern demagogue — a Bilbo, an Eastland, a Dixie Joe McCarthy. He has more intelligence than all of these.

Others, even more uninformed, have seen him as a gallus-snapper, a sort of hillbilly clown, or "character." Nothing could be farther from the fact. Those who so interpret him will make a grave and perhaps costly mistake. Atlanta, Ga.

A basic truth about Herman E. Talmadge, which hereby is extended gratis to those who will work with or against him in the United States Senate, is this — do not ever underestimate him. He is very able. To an opposition he is dangerously so.

Intelligence

He is in that period of transition from a young man to one of middle age. In fact, being in his forties, he already is at that latter stage.

He is intelligent above the average.

He is strongly conservative by birth, environment and conscious determination.

But since he is intelligent, he ias not been able to have a losed mind, though to observers sometimes seems, in retrospect, that some years ago he sought to keep it so. Another uess would be that, privately, often is made uncomfortable this fact. It jars with his innets. Without much question almost surely is frequently bject to some inner turmoil.

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A provincial man with a closed nind can, for example, make a emagogic "character" of himelf. But an intelligent man, nowever conservative, cannot uite agree to destroy himself is a man by deliberately making of himself a stereotype caricature with no future and no historical stature. Herman Talmadge is not a provincial.

Discipline

It is going to be intensely interesting to see what happens to him in the Senate. He was governor of Georgia for six years. In the first two of them he was not a good chief executive. He floundered. He lacked the necessary discipline which such a position inevitably requires. Those who watched him closely in those years know that for a time he might easily have eliminated himself politically. Somewhere he found the discipline. He began to mature. In his four-year term he was an excellent administrator and a shrewd organizer of his own future. He emerged from office with more political influence and a greater following than his father, for example, ever possessed.

His father played politics more or less "by ear." There is much f the political scientist in his on. His father was more blunt, rupt and impulsive. He could y but one role. The son can v many.

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RALPH McGILL

Constitution

Tues. 5-29-56

—They Remain The Same

P.1 Atlanta, Ga.

There is an old French proverb to the effect that the more things change the more they remain the same.

One thinks of that in looking at the Republican Party of 1956.

It is not at all the same party it was as late as the summer of 1953 when Sen. Robert A. Taft passed from the scene where he had so honestly and so long played an integral part. And assuredly those who led it in the days of Coolidge and Hoover would have great difficulty recognizing it. Mark Hanna and his elite group, who held such a stranglehold on the party and who wrote protectionist tariffs on its banner, must now be near apoplexy in their ghostly gatherings as they witness the Eisenhower administration move toward relaxation of trade restrictions and ask for power further to reduce such barriers.

And yet, despite all that has been done to remold the party nearer to the heart's desire of Dwight D. Eisenhower, its basic foundation has not been greatly altered. In the Democratic primary campaign in Florida, both Stevenson and Kefauver have attacked the Republican Party as one of "privilege." Both have referred to the GOP as being conducted by, of and for an exclusive "lodge" of the privileged few.

Cause

Certainly some of their spokesmen, notably Secretary of Defense Wilson, have given substance to that charge by their casual comments about unemployment and also lauding the suffering caused by loss of jobs as being one of the privileges of our sort of country. It was, of course, woolly thinking, but one feels it nonetheless reflected their impulsive reaction better than did their retractions.

The President has at times seemed almost a prisoner of his lodge brothers. They have had their fingers burned, however, enough times to be more careful. They deceived him about Dixon-Yates and in an important airline decision. In both he reversed himself after learning the facts. But, by and large, the Republican Party organization remains a tightly held one. Its directors represent essentially the same interests as in Mark Hanna's time. Their objectives are basically the same. Today's leadership is face to face with a different kind of world, and the old means will no longer lead to the same end.

In a sense, the last of the Old Guard effectiveness passed with Sen. Taft. He was a very great person and an utterly honest one. It sometimes is forgotten that he stood for public housing and actually was denounced as communistic by the head of a

real estate organization. One always knew where he stood and, more important, one knew he had reached that position without any appeasement of opposition. To him the Senate of the United States was an important institution, one of the three sturdy legs of the stool on which our government rests. He never thought of membership in the Senate as something which would benefit his law practice, or enable him to make good business contacts. He dedicated himself to government because he considered it worth such dedication.

Shock

It must have been a really great shock to him to lose the nomination in 1952. He could not have known that he symbolized to many who honored him an America which was no more, and would never be again as the industrial revolution dragged it inexorably on toward great concentrations of population and change.

Whether defeat hastened his death will never be known. But it was a stunning one, and today we see how much finality it had. Not even in his own party is there more than a small contingent which still thinks of this country as being as it was before the first great war . . . when life and traffic were neither so crowded nor so hurried.

So in 1956 the Republican Par-[y], plumping for low tariffs, [fr]eer trade and serving, too, as [M]r. James Reston has said, as [b]aby sitter to the world," is at all the GOP of McKinley, [e]ven of Coolidge and Hoover. [B]ut the "lodge brothers" and [me]n in the gray flannel suits" run it. Their means have [chan]ged with the world. The[ir] remain the same.

RALPH McGILL

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January 1957 as Junior Senator from Georgia, replacing Walter Frank-lin George, aged 78, and an international figure.

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It is possible he has not realized it, but the very fact of his intelligence will give him trouble in the Senate. In that arm of government an intelligent man cannot avoid the dual nature of his position. He is not a representative from a district. He is a senator from a state. There are but 48 such states. There are but two senators from each. He will find it necessary to represent the whole country more often than he will his state. This is something many senators do not know, but learn, sometimes the hard way.

A provincial man with a closed mind can, for example, make a demagogic "character" of himself. But an intelligent man, however conservative, cannot quite agree to destroy himself as a man by deliberately making of himself a stereotype caricature with no future and no historical stature. Herman Talmadge is not a provincial.

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This is something of the man who, barring some caprice of destiny, will go from Georgia to the Senate in 1957. There he will find, perhaps to his surprise, that the nation will require more of him than the state. It will be interesting to see what his stature will be at 78.

RALPH McGILL

Mr. Stevenson

Plods Ahead

The Democratic presidential picture is a three-dimensional blur:

Non-partisan research by a reputable company dealing in this commodity reveals that Adlai Stevenson received about 55 per cent of the Democratic vote in the Minnesota primary shocker. Sen. Estes Kefauver had about 45 per cent.

Sen. Kefauver's margin came from the substantial number of Republicans who "crossed over" to administer a defeat to Democratic Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey and Gov. Orville Freeman. The research is relatively easy, requiring only time. It involves checking the registration, which must be by party, against the primary vote. In Minnesota, registered voters may cross party lines in the primary tests.

Still, none can remove the psychological blow to the Stevenson campaign which Minnesota provided. It was a knockdown in the first round. Research provides belated answers. It does not eradicate the damage.

What Stevenson really needed —and might have had but for the shrewdly conceived Republican cross-over—was a snowballing campaign. Had Minnesota given him such a start, he would have been a first-ballot choice at Chicago. His chances to capture public imagination, and thereby emerge as a more formidable contender against Mr. Eisenhower, were shattered in Minnesota.

Rocky Road

He was left with a rocky road, along which he had to fight off an array of political hijackers.

In the harsh weeks of the immediate past, Stevenson slowly has retrieved much of the lost ground. His stock has been climbing steadily, though not spectacularly. He has developed a more intimate style of campaigning which seems currently to be pleasing Californians.

This fact heartens those who believe him to be the answer to a nation's needs. Just ahead, and moving up fast, are the Florida and California primaries. He will go through both. Results will determine his next step.

Victories for moderation and common sense in Texas and Florida should prove helpful to Stevenson in his test in the latter state. The voters there will choose between him and Sen. Kefauver on May 29. On June 5 the two will be on the California ballot.

Stevenson needs to take both. The more his margin, the better his chances to win at Chicago. If he should fail in either, or both states, then he will almost certainly be unable to win the nomination.

It must not be overlooked that Governor Averell Harriman of New York has begun a tentative sort of campaign. It is something like a fighter taking a couple of warm-up left jabs.

Note, too, his journey was westward. There lies most of whatever content of discontent there is in the political situation of 1956.

Clear Picture

The picture, while three-dimensional and not yet in focus, is nonetheless a little more clear.

If Stevenson should, unexpectedly, fail to obtain a verdict in Florida and California —where his chances are improved—the picture would become immediately clear.

The moderates would then move to bring Missouri's Sen. Symington forward as their convention choice. Eastern Democrats, and perhaps some of the Western, would swing to Gov. Harriman.

Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas will not be a convention candidate beyond the "favorite son" category.

He has said so publicly.

Privately he has said even more. "Mr. Eisenhower may not know he had a heart attack," he is quoted as saying to friends, "but I know very well I had one, and I know it is something which makes impossible a nationwide campaign and full attention to such an office as the presidency."

If Harriman and Symington should clash, the party would be ravaged by the fight. Hence the increasing importance of Adlai Stevenson to the party and the country.

RALPH McGILL

Seeing Around The World---

They talked of the future. . . . Both were in Atlanta for the dedication of WSB's new television and radio studios.

High on a green and tree-crowned hill, the structure first is viewed as some cloud-like castle of pillared dreams blown by vagrant winds from some romantic vision of the old South, as one sees them on the slopes where Peachtree Street makes its great curve to the northwest.

The studios themselves inspire one to look toward the unknown bound up in the future. Outside and in was beauty of architectural line and furnishings. And, cheek-by-jowl with them were the things of magic . . . the mystery of many panels of multi-colored wires; of gadget-filled cabinets more potent than the wands of fairy queens; of huge lights and red-eyed cameras; of insulators and wires and voices that speak, and life itself caught on a screen.

General David Sarnoff, the genius of the Radio Corporation of America from whose mind has come much that has made both radio and television possible, is so sound a prophet none thinks to dispute him.

It is difficult to startle the 20th Century man. He forgets his awe and delight of but a few years ago when he held a crystal-set receiver to his ear and heard voices plucked from air.

World Look

General Sarnoff believes that before 1980—which is but 24 years ahead, man will be able to "see" around the world by television as he now "hears" from all the earth by radio. We will then "look" clear around the globe . . . "before 1980."

Certainly, we know that both radio and television help shape our culture, politics, knowledge and our spiritual and material beings. And television, because it may be both seen and heard, is the more important.

"The physical closeness engendered by science," said General Sarnoff, "is promoting ever closer social and intellectual relations between peoples. Generations ago essential isolation of countries was taken for granted; it was a function of distance and difference. Today a dictatorship that would isolate its subjects must erect Iron Curtains and walls of electronic jamming. With world-wide television, which I regard as a certainty before 1980, the sense of our common humanity will deepen. It is the strange, the unknown, that frightens—but the strangeness will be removed by visual contact, to reveal the familiar physiognomy of our neighbors."

Both television and radio are integral parts of a sort of gobbledy-gook phrase which the psychologists employ—"mass-media problems of an accelerating plural society."

So are printed words.

Men's Minds

As our population burgeons, as we crowd more and more into urban communities, the problem of reaching the ears, eyes and the mind of man becomes of vital importance.

For us—in a free society of men of free will—it is the more complexly necessary.

The South has an important place in the battle for men's minds.

George H. Mead, who with his company, The Mead Corporation, pioneered in the production of paper from wood pulp, sees the Southeast and its quick-growing pines as a key asset to this free nation's problems of communication with printed words. Here, where a pine matures to pulp size in 12 years, the paper companies already are planting more than they can cut. They will assure increases in newsprint, now so critically short in supply.

Mr. Mead said that most of the better timber lands in the Southeast now have been purchased or leased. The future will see even more careful conservation practices and an increase in the planting of trees so as to assure a plentiful supply for the future.

Research continues into the use of other materials for the making of paper, such as bagasse from sugar cane. . . . The South's progress, like the nation's, is keyed to the laboratory.

The dedication was made . . . the pledge of ever being conscious of the communication obligation, "to God and man" was spoken . . . and all eyes looked toward the future.

RALPH McGILL

The Votes Lie North, West

If the Democratic Party emulates an atom of uranium and violently and foolishly splits, as it apparently intends to do, then indeed will the political fat be in the flames.

Not until the great divisive issue of our time is ameloirated and eroded by the passage of years and the efforts of those who put their country and Christian principles first, will the Democrats again be able to muster a truly national party.

All of which is obvious preamble to certain facts of life which the more extreme among Southern Democrats cannot see—they being too busy with plans politically to disembowel themselves and their states.

The basic elemental fact is that President Eisenhower's decision to run again means his party will be able to make itself over "in his image."

Considerable progress has been made in this direction.

It involves a complete shift in organizational emphasis on the part of that party. The first move in that direction was made in 1952. Efforts to recapture the Negro vote in the northern states largely were successful. This vote had been on the GOP rolls until the Roosevelt era.

In 1937, for example, Alfred Landon, the defeated candidate of November, 1936, told me in an interview that the corrupt condition of the average GOP delegation from the South was one of the shames of the party. He was most heartily damned for it, but he was right.

Plan

From the time Mark Hanna planned the McKinley election from Thomasville, Ga., to which city he brought the southern GOP leaders (most of whom he held in proper contempt), the Republican Party had been oriented like its rival—North and South.

Until the day Dwight D. Eisenhower was nominated in Chicago, the Republican Party had been controlled by the spiritual and political heirs of Mark Hanna.

In 1952 its leader was Senator Robert Taft.

There was, at the time, much talk about building a real two-party South. Senator Taft, and others of his party before him, had been content to maintain a skeleton, patronage organization in the South. There had never been any idea of building a solid party.

The South

Senator Taft, as had his predecessors, managed it much more cheaply and efficiently. They simply maintained a close working relationship with Southern Conservative Democrats in the Congress. They usually got the votes where they counted . . . without having to elect Republicans from the South. (To be sure, this was a two-way street and there was considerable traffic on it into the present year.)

After the inauguration in 1953 it soon became obvious the GOP still was not going to sink money and years into a Southern building program.

Instead, the Republicans launched an intelligently planned schedule of legislation and executive decrees which further accelerated the Roosevelt-Truman reduction of the Negro's second class citizenship status.

The South was by no means written off. But the Republican strategy was directed north and west, with special emphasis on the Negro vote in the booming, population-increasing cities.

Here we come to the dilemma of Adlai Stevenson and the Democratic Party. Stevenson did not duck the issue. He declared the Supreme Court decision of 1954 was law and must be obeyed. But he pointed out, truthfully, the court itself had indicated its knowledge of the fact that time would be required and, further, that the problem varied from state to state. Stevenson hoped he could keep his party united and persuade the Democrats themselves to do the job.

Senator Estes Kefauver, with more realism, took the Republican line of going for the votes north and west in the states with electoral totals large enough to elect, no matter what the South does.

If the Southern Democrats fail to see what is happening they will reduce themselves and the national party to political impotence for perhaps a generation.

RALPH McGILL

Hari-Kari in South Carolina

South Carolina's approach to national politics historically has had about it the reckless irresponsibility of a narrow, local approach.

The Palmetto state sought to force the issue of secession when Andrew Jackson was president, but backed down under Old Hickory's uncompromising "no." It chiefly was South Carolina's extreme leadership, opposing the equally fanatic Abolitionist extremists in the North, which made impossible any moderate approach to preventing the Civil War Between the States. The great body of opinion, North and South, did not want war. But, there was no Andrew Jackson in the White House. There was an indecisive, timorous Pennsylvanian, James Buchanan. He sought to be all things to all men. He declared, for example, there was no right of secession, yet he also said there was nothing the federal government could do about it.

A firm president might have held his party and the union together without war. But the Democrats split and Lincoln was elected. By then the extremists had either deceived or intimidated most of those who wanted to avoid war. Even in South Carolina there was much opposition to secession, but she almost hysterically declared herself out of the Union.

In 1948, the Dixiecrat plan failed in its attempt to defeat the Democratic nominee, Harry S. Truman. In 1952 the same elements joined to swell the Republican triumph.

Now, 1956

Today there is no third party talk save in South Carolina.

On Monday even Mississippi's implacable Senator Eastland said he could, and would, go along with the 1952 Democratic platform plank on civil rights.

Yet, on the same day South Carolina announced a national committee, composed entirely of South Carolina Democrats, which proposes to write a civil rights plank for introduction in the National Convention.

The gentlemen concerned know full well, before they put pen to paper, or mind to consideration of phrases, that their extreme ideas will not be acceptable to the convention.

Even Senator Eastland of Mississippi, who is regarded by many as a very immoderate and extreme man, apparently is calm compared with the South Carolina Democrats.

The South Carolina plans call for publication of the plank a day before the convention convenes.

This can do only one thing—split the convention.

There is no slight chance of an extreme South Carolina plank being written into the platform. The gentlemen who propose to write it are aware of this. There remains a chance to retain the 1952 plank, which Senator Eastland publicly says he will accept, and thereby hold to some slight chance of keeping the Democratic Party as a national force. But, not if South Carolina is successful in coercing other Southern states to support her own state interests against the national party.

It is at once apparent this is the vehicle on which the South Carolinians mean to ride out of Chicago into a third party convention.

Warning

The compulsive determination of some Southern Democrats to disembowel themselves politically, in the manner of a defeated Japanese general committing hari-kari, is an almost incredible spectacle.

Congress has 531 members of which 121 are Southern Democrats. This is 22 per cent. Yet, between them Southerners hold 60 per cent of the committee chairmanships . . . including the Senate and House leadership.

Even if President Eisenhower is presently a favorite, a united Democratic party can win and continue control of the Congress.

But it cannot if South Carolina is allowed to coerce other states into political suicide. If the South Carolina Democrats wish to disembowel themselves, by all means let them. But there is no logical reason for other states to applaud—or join in a mass orgy of political self-destruction.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 5-12-56

As Ike Goes So Goes—

On the day the news broke that the President of the United States was entering a hospital for a routine, quarterly checkup, the stock market "sold off" a few points.

There was no alarm about the Eisenhower health. No rumors cavorted about, whispering he had suffered a relapse. Every three months he plans a thorough examination, with emphasis on the heart's condition and performance.

Yet, the market sold off.

There was just as much wealth in the nation as before. The corporations whose stocks declined were fully as strong as the day before. Their assets were no less. Their backlog of orders was intact. The business prospects were good.

The day before the note about the routine hospital survey of the President's condition, the Departments of Labor and Commerce had announced that some 63,000,000 Americans had jobs. This was in spite of unemployment in the automobile industry.

The American economy showed no sign of ill health.

Yet, the market broke a few points.

Why?

Last fall, when the President had his heart attack, prices of stocks dropped precipitately. Later, when it seemed he would be unable to offer for renomination, there was a really disturbing break. When he made his television show statement of intent to offer his name, the market boomed upward to new records.

Again, there was no more wealth. The corporations whose stocks were affected were doing well and the future outlook was good—but no better than the day before.

It is a somewhat ridiculous situation. It is this fact of being absurd which prevents it from being disturbing.

If this great and powerful nation, and its tremendous potential for production and sales, hangs on the state of one man's health, then indeed is the Republic weaker than its worst enemies believe.

If the Republican Party, and the American investors, with all their professed belief in the free enterprise system, have instead substituted the "indispensable man" for enterprise and faith in their country, then let them not be surprised at what happens in the future.

What a large segment of the American economy and many investors are saying is that if Dwight D. Eisenhower is not in office they will have no faith in their government or the country's future. We see an admission that certain men representing concentrations of economic power raised a great sum of money to help Sen. Estes Kefauver in his primary contests against Adlai Stevenson. Sen. Kefauver was not a party to it.

The fact that the ad men of Madison avenue were reluctant to represent the Democratic National Committee in its 1956 campaign because to do so would cause them to lose accounts is a frightening and unhealthy malignancy in our national body politic.

Checks and balances have been the saving assets of this country. If they are to be overwhelmed by concentrated economic power, the pendulum will swing all the further the other way when it does so swing.

Wrath

It never makes much sense to trample out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored. "Public relations" cannot be substituted for morality, though to a considerable degree that substitution has been made.

If the trend toward the indispensable man continues, with such preposterous incidents as stocks falling or rising in value because one man has a routine physical examination, then be assured that more and more demagogues will arise to nurture the flowers of discontent, and to cry that everything is rigged for the privileged in our economy.

The American economy is either sound or it isn't. If it is, it will be sound under a Democratic or a Republican administration. Certainly under Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman the profits after taxes in American business reached all-time heights.

Why, then, does the market fall or rise with Ike's blood pressure?

RALPH McGILL

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Mon. 5-7-56

Education By Lockstep?

What about our "lockstep" system of education anyhow?

Quite obviously, it is not meeting the needs of a burgeoning industrial and urban society—or of nationa security.

The newspapers are filled with ads from engineering and scientific operations seeking, with a sort of desperation, scientists and engineers. Some companies are setting up their own training schools to teach a person who has a little such knowledge quickly to have more.

There is the almost universal cry, "Give us more engineers and scientists."

It is having an effect.

More young men and women are entering those fields.

But this will, unhappily, not solve the problem.

In time it will worsen it.

The undenied, and undeniable, fact is that we now do not have enough teachers. The lack is most acute in the fields of science. A shocking number of high schools no longer offer high school physics or chemistry. A dismaying number do not provide algebra courses.

Every year graduates of college science and engineering schools take jobs which pay beginners more than is made by most of the men who taught them. The result is a slow erosion of the number of teachers. More and more answer the call of industrial wages.

With more young students entering those courses, and with the number of teachers declining, only simple arithmetic is needed to demonstrate the problem will worsen, not improve.

Encouragement

The real need of the nation is to provide encouragement to all talented people — not merely those with scientific skills.

Writing in Life Magazine, the distinguished president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology makes public a point previously presented in some detail to congressional committee hearings by Philip Coombs, of the Fund for the Advancement of Education. Said both:

"We must not allow the pressure to match Russia's increasing output of engineers and scientists to obscure the need for first-rate talent in other professional fields. We must not throw standards out the window in order to handle numbers. Our shortage is of quality, properly educated, even more than it is of numbers."

This brings us squarely to the problem of the more talented—in all fields. When public education first came to be accepted as a duty of the republic, we decided that since it was to be for all children, it should be given to each exactly the same. . . .

We now are departing from this concept. But it is a slow departure.

The fault would seem to be with what we call the "lockstep" system of educaton. A child enters the first grade with a lot of other children. And then, lockstep fashion, they move on, grade by grade, the talented, the average, the slow—all together—all at the same rate.

Opportunity

Obviously, it is even more unfair to the less talented who need more personal attention. If they had opportunity for special instruction they, too, might have their talents discovered and inspired.

A few days ago the more than 300 winners in the National Merit Scholarship Corporation contest was announced. These are selected from the very talented high school graduates. Of the boys, 227 went into research and engineering as did 24 of the girls. Only 36 boys and 45 girls chose teaching. Religion attracted but six boys and one girl. There were no boys at all and only two girls declaring for art. Music was chosen by two from each classification. Government service was the goal of but six young men.

Are the other vital areas of service to be starved . . . of students and teachers?

We are, for example, on the verge of discoveries in biology which may prove as astounding as was the splitting of the atom in physics. Yet, there are fewer teachers and students.

Will it not be necessary—and fairer to all—to get our children out of the lockstep system so that the nation may begin to bring an end to the waste of talent and the talented?

RALPH McGILL

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Television Classrooms

Mon. 2-13-56

P. 1

The place—Pittsburgh, Pa.

The time—mid-morning of a school day.

The scene—the fifth grade classrooms in some 30-odd schools.

The shades are down in each room. Before each class is a 24-inch television set. As pupils are settled in their seats a teacher, or aide, in each room checks her watch, turns on the set. The light glows. A sentence on the screen reads: "30 seconds." Each child takes a last look . . . arithmetic book, paper and pencil are ready.

On the screen a teacher appears. She begins by telling them what the problem will be. She explains it. Then she turns to the studio blackboard and writes the example on it.

At the same instant in the many schools, miles apart, the children begin to work at the problem. The teacher waits the proper time—exactly as do teachers in the classrooms—and then turns to the board. "Now, follow me as I work it," she requests. The children watch. When she has done and the answer is there, she asks: "How many had it right?"

"Good," she says, knowing, from experience, most did.

Also, she knew that if any of the children needed help the supervising aide, or classroom teacher was there to supply it.

Subjects

The same scene is re-enacted each day. French, reading and arithmetic are taught by three really expert teachers, carefully chosen not merely for ability but personality as well.

Astonishing developments have been noted. In the first place, the teaching is not at all impersonal, as originally feared. Secondly, the children actually pay closer attention. Perhaps it is because the shades are drawn and each room is in semi-darkness. The lighted face of the screen psychologically holds attention. But whatever the reasons, results are good.

There are by-products. In addition to the 16 schools in the project, some 20 additional schools are using the television instruction. Many housewives who had studied French in college tune in at home for "refresher" courses. Mothers are "taking" French with their children and practicing the phrases with them.

It is the same with "reading." Once a Pittsburgh baseball player was brought to the screen. A baseball story was the lesson of the day. Interest aroused in the reading was tremendously enhanced by seeing and hearing the "real" player on the screen. Any visiting celebrity in the field of poetry or literature is asked to appear—and likes doing it. It makes the subject come alive and takes it out of the rather dismal stuff that has been put into some fifth grade readers.

Experiment

It is, of course, a bold, new experiment. But as broadcast by WQED, the Educational Television Station of the Pittsburgh schools, certain Allegheny County schools and several independent systems in the area have been using it with increasing eagerness and appreciation. The Board now plans an additional subject for next year.

The Board also proposes to offer a high school physics course over television. There is a shortage of all teachers, but it is especially acute in the field of science. One master teacher, with classroom aides, could instruct daily in as many schoools as wished to prepare the necessary equipment. Financed by the Mellon Trust, which provided the equipment, and the Fund for the Advancement of Education, which supports the teaching, the results so far have indicated that with more experience television instruction can be widely incorporated as a regular feature of many school programs.

Indeed, there is no longer any doubt but that television will have a prominent place in education of the future. It is proving to be more and more a versatile instrument. Without question, it can be used to teach "lessons" and to create a concept of values. The Pittsburgh pilot experiment, bold and productive, will provide a national blueprint for what we so glibly refer to as "the know how."

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

Thurs. 2-9-56
P. 1

Stevenson's Great Honesty

Atlanta, Ga.

Adlai Stevenson's never-compromised intellectual honesty and adherence to principle continue to make political news.

Not since Woodrow Wilson in 1912-1916, and James M. Cox in 1920, has either of our two political parties produced a man who so meticulously adheres to principle.

Stevenson's honesty at times is acutely painful to some of his more pragmatic supporters. It causes "organization" politicians to shiver and to feel butterflies of apprehension.

Stevenson, who began the 1952 campaign with the determination to "talk sense to the American people," continues to do only that.

In Los Angeles, where reports have it Sen. Estes Kefauver made private commitments which caused two or three of the more extreme Negro leaders to take off their Stevenson buttons, the great Democrat kept talking sense.

He said, answering a question, that it would be a mistake to call out the Army or Navy to enforce the Supreme Court decree on schools. He told them one could not make such changes with bayonets or troops, but with the creation of the necessary spirit of acceptance. To occupy states with troops, he said, would be to "Balkanize America."

Education

Answering another question, he told his audience he did not believe in putting any riders on the proposed federal aid to education legislation which would withhold funds from states not fully accepting the Supreme Court decision. His reason was entirely sound. Indeed, the clearer thinkers in the nation have already offered similar reasoning. He said that to do so would be cutting off a nose to spite the face since the greatest force for better racial relations and unity was to strengthen the education of all the people. Here was honesty where it hurt.

But in no slight degree did he avoid revealing exactly what he believed to be truth.

Then, because he operates in such a high octave of ethics that many people in this time of compromise and evasion cannot really believe he means it, he proceeded to harm himself with the other side in the controversy.

In 1952, he declared he was against segregated schools. In Illinois they had been desegregated in his administration. His opponent in 1952 never made a positive statement. South Carolinians today angrily charge, for example, that on the occasion of Mr. Eisenhower's visit to Columbia during that campaign, he privately told them he was for segregation. His campaign speeches vaguely referred to permitting states to settle as many problems as possible.

Adlai Stevenson went on inexorably and honestly answering every sensible question put to him. He told his audience he didn't understand interposition, but that he didn't think it had any merit. And, as for the Southern plans for private schools, he believes if a state gives money to pupils to attend so-called private schools that makes them public, in that they are supported by public tax funds. That, he believes, would cause them to be legally unworkable. The former governor of Illinois made it clear he favors equal rights for all Americans—and always has. But he also favors an America which is not "Balkanized."

Integrity

So here we have a man giving honest answers, out of a great and always insistent integrity.

He has always been that way. His background is one of family discipline, education, travel, experience, study and of religious teachings accepted but never paraded.

For example, in 1952 he could have had the state of Texas. All he had to do was to say privately to Gov. Shivers that he would "go along" on the issue of tidelands oil. He was asked and refused. Not only that, but he went into Texas and spoke against it.

It is an authenticated fact that two months before the election he had told a number of persons that if nominated he planned to go to Korea and see the situation first-hand. He would not, however, say so publicly because he declared to do so would be to make unethical political use of the Korean issue.

In an era of "appeasement," and political expediency of the most cynical kind, Adlai Stevenson stands out like a great rock in a very weary land.

McGILL

Atlanta, Ga.

The 48 States? No Generalities.

Wed. 3-14-56

"One nation, indivisible . . ."

Once Franklin D. Roosevelt said that when a national tariff or tax bill reached his desk,

as amended by the Congress, it more resembled an economic trade treaty between six nations than a measure applying to one country.

P. 1

The amend-[redacted] ments reflected the great diversity of the country's financial and economic interests . . . the cotton-tobacco-peanut South; the cattle-cotton Southwest; the mining and irrigation-farming West; the lumber and shipping Northwest; the corn-wheat-pig Midwest; the banking-investment and industrial East.

The story of the 48 states is one of even greater diversity. Slowly, usually painfully, America is learning about herself. We have indeed been a melting pot, though to be sure some of the human ores have been slow to become a part of the magnificent, almost mysterious, alloy of "an American." There IS something mystic about America . . . "one nation, indivisible, under God. . ."

The States

There are 48 states.

Each has its own history, legends, variances in culture, speech, idiom, mixtures of European bloods; family names Americanized from the French, German, Dutch, and others.

All this we know.

But, we have just begun to study and to know ourselves and our states in the great changes being wrought by the industrial urbanization of America.

Some things we have in common. But, even this is rare.

The Mississippi river flows through Minnesota, Illinois and Mississippi . . . the river itself is about all they have in common.

There are even more radical differences.

Half of all the American people live in ten of the 48 states. Most of these are heavily industrialized. But, in each, important agricultural areas persist.

In perhaps eight states the major industry is the entertainment, housing and feeding of tourists.

Politically, a third of the 48 are one-party states.

But that half of all our 160,000,000 and more people now live in 10 states startles us.

The South, in general, and a few other states across the nation, continue to lose many of

their best educated, well-trained persons. The trend greatly is slowed down. But, it persists.

People

One little-noted aspect of the South's racial problem is that its young, best-educated and trained Negro citizens are going to the states where their education and skills will enable them to use these qualifications in gainful employment. To the thoughtful Southerner this, too, will be a matter of grave concern as he weighs the ultimate conclusion.

This research from an important study by the American Assembly, of Columbia University, reveals what each citizen —who has stayed "put" knows; namely, that his state has "changed." They all have.

The population of the nation has doubled in the past fifty years. Some states have virtually stood still. Some have lost numerical ground. Florida, Arizona and California have multiplied several times over.

Interstate migration has had, in some states, almost the effect of a complete—change in population composition. Good roads, automobiles, employment advantage in the industrialized, urbanized states inspire and maintain a tremendous migration.

This has one effect worth noting in passing. It slowly, dangerously waters down interest in state government and state affairs generally. There is less provincialism, less state "loyalty."

Size and population totals are not a measure of income.

Texas is more than 100 times larger than Delaware. New York has about 50 times the population. But Delaware leads all the 48 states in individual income per capita.

Education offers even more variations, which also forbid generalities about "America."

We must keep on studying self, state and nation.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution
Thurs. 3-22-56

The Democrats--Quo Vadis?

P. 1
Atlanta, Ga.

One swallow doesn't make a spring, nor does one primary produce the nominee. Therefore, while none would deny that Adlai Stevenson's defeat in the Minnesota preferential test was a body blow to his campaign, the Democrats have not yet selected their nominee for 1956.

In fact, the Minnesota primary could easily be interpreted as evidence of a Republican resurgence in that one-time near-one-party state. Overlooked in the stunning news of Sen. Estes Kefauver's substantial triumph, was the fact that in St. Paul a Democratic mayor had been defeated. The GOP voted heavily in local elections and then crossed over the line to support Sen. Kefauver. The peculiar primary laws of Minnesota permit this. Their intent was to discredit Democratic Governor Freeman, U.S. Senator Hubert Humphrey, and the state organization which had endorsed the gentleman from Illinois.

The fact they were able to discredit them and to elect local officials may in time turn out to be the most significant feature of the primary.

Quo Vadis?

What does remain is "Where do the Democrats go from here?"

Adlai Stevenson was the one hope of holding the national party together. Even this was not too strong a possibility. But it was there. If in subsequent primaries additional defeats should remove him as a possibility, then we frankly would have to face the fact that there would be no national party in the autumn campaign.

Neither Sen. Kefauver nor New York's Gov. Averell Harriman can hope to have a united effort behind them. Ohio's Gov. Frank Lausche, who has announced for the U.S. Senate seat of Republican Sen. Bricker, is not likely to seek or accept the role of carrying the banner with a large segment of the party in revolt. There is no other dark horse visible on a murky horizon.

It may be the Democrats will yet nominate Adlai Stevenson. But if they do not, we may well be entering a historic phase of change in the two-party system.

Historians, looking back at 1956, 50 or 100 years from now, may decide that Minnesota was the state which started the breakdown of the two-party system.

If the Southern wing of the party does pull out it cannot have any effect save to make the Republican administration more firm. It also would have the effect of causing the Northern wing to operate more strongly in the same direction.

Eisenhower

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's astutely professional advisers had him in the news right on top of the news from Minnesota. He captured the afternoon headlines with a typical Eisenhower statement. It said two things. It urged moderation in the emotional crisis provided by the segregation issue in the schools. But, it also called upon the South to make some progress toward integration and to cease extreme defiance. This follows the presidential statement of a week ago in which he also called for moderation, but said he would, of course, "uphold and support" the Constitution should anyone defy it.

Those in the South who go witlessly off chasing the rabbit of a third party will find they can make no protest and can accomplish nothing save a worsening of their own problem.

It is necessary to keep in mind that in the North and West there is a growing determination to support the Supreme Court at all costs as there is, in the South, a countermove to defy it.

It is here that the President seeks to have influence.

Told that tangible numbers of Negro voters were coming into the Republican fold, he said they would be welcome, as, of course, they will. Adlai Stevenson's moderation cost him considerable support.

What the thoughtful American must see is that the nation's future is at stake—not merely that of two political parties. If the two-party system is broken down into a multiplicity of parties our form of government will be changed. The nation is greater than the GOP or Democrats. If it isn't too late, we must think of that.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution
Fri. 3-2-56

The President Was Candid

P. 1
Atlanta, Ga.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's candor was in keeping with his character.

Boiled down to its essence, what he said was essentially this:

"I have determined to offer for the presidency. But I must honestly tell you my doctors say I must not give full time to it. I also must carry out a program of recreation and must rest for a period of time each day. I will not make, because of the physical strain and also because I do not think a President should, a national swing, or "whistle-stop" campaign. While I feel as well as ever, and my doctors say I may expect to be able to go ahead on their terms, which restrict my activity, the question of my health will, of course, remain. I wish the party to know that if they nominate me I will campaign only by television appearances and speeches on national and international conditions and the issues thereby posed. If the party does not want a candidate who will conduct such a campaign and, if elected, a President who cannot give full time to the office, then they should feel free to select another candidate. If they do, such a candidate will have my full support."

This, condensed, is what the President said.

He dealt honestly and thoroughly with the subject. He will not be able to give full time to the job.

Question

Since he, himself, hung the question mark on his health, it will remain there. His own obvious concern makes it the legitimate concern of all.

One wonders by what steps he arrived at this decision. And yet, even as one wonders, one knows the answer. The President was, and is, involved in a choice which was bigger than himself. The party pressures were heavy "not to desert the team." He had been reassured, over and over again, that the "staff" would take the load off him and allow him to go away for golf, hunting and other rest and recreation.

And, inescapably, he has come to like being President. This, assuredly, is an understandably human reaction. All other Presidents have liked it, too. Some have enjoyed it more than others . . . but all have come to like the power and position of the office. Being human, they all come to feel that since their policies are at issue only they can deal effectively with them. In this, President Eisenhower is no different from the others.

The steps to that decision provide an absolutely fascinating study in how man, when he can, rationalizes a program to make it come out as he wishes. The President is too honest a man to remain in political contention if he did not believe his health was good enough. He has rationalized because he wished to, and now believes it is.

Rationalization

How far, and how changed, this rationalization is may be found in the record. In his book "Crusade in Europe" he wrote of a four-day illness, and said: "I learned a lesson I did not thereafter violate: A full measure of health is basic to successful command."

In January he said, in a press conference, it would be folly to think he would ever be as well or as physically strong as before the attack.

Now, on the last day of a Leap-Year February, he could say he accepted his doctors' word he was strong enough, and maybe "better than ever."

A man reaches such conclusions because he is human—and wants to reach them.

His silence on Nixon, which has become the major news, since few anticipated a "no" from Mr. Eisenhower, doesn't necessarily mean the VP is to be "dumped."

The President could be employing a very shrewd bit of strategy. If he does want Mr. Nixon then he would be most wise not to say so until just before the convention.

He and his advisers, headed by Gov. Tom Dewey, will at any rate await public reaction. To many the President's appearance was productive of a feeling of sadness and regret at the choice he had made—and the one he posed for the people. To put a part-time man in charge of the nation in these critical times is an almost incredible suggestion.

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TELL IT NOT IN GATH, PUBLISH IT NOT IN THE STREETS OF ASKELON—XXVIII.

Advertiser Jun. 7-15-56 P2-F

Montgomery, Ala.

NORTHERN newspapers don't seem to know quite what to do about printing pictures of Negro brides in their society sections, as *The Advertiser* has hitherto brought out, especially in the case of *The New York Times* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. It is not a thing of surpassing importance in itself, but it tells a lot about the sensibilities of Northern citizens and the wobbles of their press.

McCONAGHA

The Northern newspapers have been known, once or twice, to comment that there should be no second class rights and privileges for Negro citizens anywhere, particularly in Dixie. But those professions and pretensions of altruism seem particularly cockeyed when you consider newspaper chains like Scripps-Howard which publish in both the North and the South. The double standard prevails in Scripps-Howard society sections. See below.

A selection of five Southern newspapers and five Northern newspapers in this 20-paper chain reveals a clash of policy. As a matter of fact, even among Scripps-Howard papers in the same state (Texas) the policy varies.

At Scripps-Howard's New York organ, the *World Telegram & Sun*, Charles Ventura handles society news in his column. There is definitely no discrimination against the Negro in Vetura's jottings, he told us, although he couldn't remember Negro news being so used.

"No one has told me not to use Negro social news," he said. "But there is simply no social news in Harlem. I can't find enough space for real social news. Nobody has ever told me I should not print Negro news."

Would he object to printing Negro social news or pictures if they met the usual news standards?

"No, I wouldn't object. For instance, I read in another column that Eartha Kitt was linked with Christopher Columbus O'Donald, the A&P heir. If they should have a romance or get married, I wouldn't hesitate to carry it if I could prove it."

More Equality In The South

VETURA added parenthetically that he had lived in Dixie for 30 years and "the Negro has less equality here than in the South."

By Alan McConagha

Warmed up, he went on to relate that actually Eleanor Roosevelt ("hatemonger," he called her) had never had a Negro stay in her home overnight, that she "wouldn't dream" of entertaining Negroes in her home except with other "hatemongers."

Lee B. Wood, executive editor of the *World Telegram & Sun*, said his organization had no reluctance to print Negro society news, if it was "news."

"We have no color limitation in the selection of our society news," he said. "We would print a picture of Hazel Scott, for instance, if she married."

'Can't Anticipate'

MILTON PIKE, assistant editor of the *Washington Daily News*, the Scripps-Howard tabloid in the nation's capital, remarked:

"We don't print Negro brides. It's not that we have any policy of that sort. We just haven't done it. We haven't had any occasion to. We don't have any color barrier to our news pages. If it's newsworthy we have no objection to using it."

Did he anticipate using Negro social news in the near future?

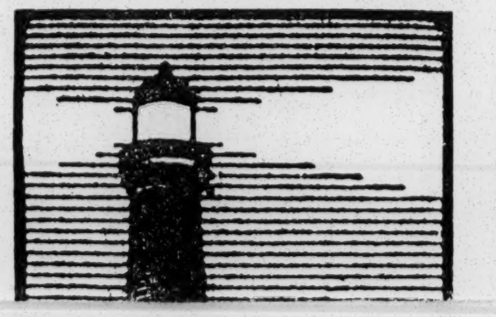
"I can't anticipate what will be newsworthy. But if Negro social items should be—there would be no reason here for not printing them."

At the *Pittsburgh Press*, C. E. Pierson, managing editor, said they did not print pictures of Negro brides: "In my time here we have never been presented a picture of a Negro bride for printing. If one was presented, I am positive we would publish it. If a person of prominence (we have a Negro judge on the bench here), if he were to bring us a picture we'd print the picture."

Again, he repeated: "We have no serious color line in our policy here."

In Indiana, Yes

WALTER LECKRONE, the affable editor of the *Indianapolis Times*, said he had followed the Askelon series and admired it. They do print Negro brides' pictures here, he said. He continued:



"Give Light And The People Will Find The Way."

"When a Negro throws a wedding with a lot of ceremony we print it. There are not as many proportionately—actually very few. The number of Negro families that can throw a real wingding are proportionately very few. But we print them. We try to judge them by the usual news values.

"We have no color barrier in our policy toward the social news here. We use the usual standard and when we fail it is not for lack of wanting to."

At the *Cincinnati Post*, Robert A. Linn, managing editor, reported "up to this moment we actually haven't printed pictures of Negro brides on our society pages. We have had no occasion to. It's not a matter of policy. There is no rule against it. We judge things by ordinary news values."

Richard Peters, editor of the editorial page of the *Cleveland Press*, observed that the *Press* had printed pictures of Negro brides for years "although not proportionately."

"Our ideal," he said, "is to judge Negro social news like any other—on the news value."

S-H Idealism Hits Plowed Ground

SO MUCH for Scripps-Howard in Askelon where some do and some do not print Negro social news, but where all insist that their policy toward the Negro is the same as towards whites.

But in the South—a different story. With perhaps one exception, the failure of the Negro to appear on the society pages is frankly and positively admitted to be a calculated part of the newspapers' approach to reporting the news.

George Carmack, editor of the *Houston Press*, presented the possible policy exception. We do not print Negro pictures or news on the society page, Carmack said. But he would not admit this was newspaper policy.

"We are very forward looking here," Carmack said. "All three Houston papers have been quite outspoken on this thing."

Will you print Negro social news and pictures in the near future?

"I wouldn't like to discuss this question," he replied. "We'll let that question arise to answer it. We have no set policy."

Of Course Not

HOWEVER, Walter R. Humphrey, editor of the *Fort Worth Press*, forthrightly stated the Southern point of view: "No, we don't print Negro social news. There has always been a policy against it . . . No, I don't think this policy will soon change."

At Memphis, too, the managing editor of the Scripps-Howard *Commercial Appeal* wasted no time in setting us straight.

Did he print pictures of Negro brides?

"No we don't even report Negro news on the society page," Gordon Hanna said.

Was this going to change soon?

"No, indeed."

Knoxville, Nix

JAMES E. MILLS, editor, the *Birmingham Post-Herald* went along with his Southern colleagues.

"No," he said, "we haven't printed any Negro pictures or news on the society page."

Would you expect a change soon?

"No, simply not enough space to print pictures we already have."

This too was plainly the sentiment of C. W. Orcutt, managing editor of the *Knoxville News Sentinel*.

Do you so print?

"No we do not."

Are you going to change?

"No, we are not."

Thus, upon the escutcheon of Scripps-Howard is graven a double standard of news evaluation. Whether this is simply a case of the left hand being unaware of what the right hand is doing or a premeditated ambivalence is not ours to say.

But the facts speak—Scripps-Howard, the largest and the best chain, tolerates two kinds of news judgments.

PUBLISH IT NOT IN THE STREETS OF ASKELON—XXVI.

Advertiser P.2-F Aug 7-1-56 Montgomery, Ala.

Dayton Editors Don't Think This Worth Printing—So They Never Have

By Alan McConagha
Of The Advertiser Staff

We only wanted this Negro baby sitter to stay one night, but the neighbors heard about it. They all came over together and said they couldn't permit a Negro in the neighborhood overnight. We had to let her go!

—Askelon Intelligence Report

THIS STORY, which reached us last week, was related by a Montgomery Air Force officer about his stay in Fairborn, in the State of Ohio, in the Land of Askelon.

Readers of this series will remember Ohio as that province enclosing Hillsboro, where 75 Negro children seeking to enroll in a white school set off a two-year ruckus, and Waynesburg (Canton Suburb), where a Negro boycott of a rigidly segregated theater stimulated the theater manager to seek employment elsewhere.

McCONAGHA

Fairborn is a town of 15,000 located smack up against Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. While it will tolerate a few Negroes under the sun, this mid-western town will not abide them after dark.

Armed with this intelligence, we began our investigation of the rejection of the Negro in Fairborn, Ohio with a telephone interview with C. R. Lukens, city manager of Fairborn.

Q. Are there Negroes living in Fairborn?

Lukens: No.

Q: Are there Negroes living in Dayton [seven miles away]?

Lukens: Yes, quite a few.

Q. Are there Negroes living in Springfield [14 miles north]?

Lukens: Yes, several thousand.

Q. Are there Negroes stationed at Wright-Patterson airfield, on the western boundary of Fairborn?

Lukens: A lot of them. You see 'em in any building there.

Q. Do Negroes work there in Fairborn?

Lukens: We have about 24 to 30 Negroes working in businesses here and many more domestics.

Q. Isn't it strange that Negroes work in your town and live around your town, but don't *live in* your town?

Lukens: I suppose it is strange. You might expect a certain number of them to live here, I suppose.

"No Houses"

LIKE HE SAID, the absence of Negroes in Fairborn did seem "strange."

We were surprised to find that Lukens had heard of *The Advertiser's* explorations in Askelon. Unfortunately, however, he asked that his comments on our series be kept confidential.

Not only do Negroes work in Fairborn, a handful of Negro children from beyond the city limits go to school there. Negroes also play on the town's softball teams.

Negroes may work, go to school, play ball, indeed, even spend money in Fairborn. But they cannot stay over night. Why?

"We wonder ourselves," Fairborn City Clerk John M. Stritch said. "There is nothing here to keep them out."

He had never heard anybody in Fairborn talk about Negro discrimination, Stritch said. He felt property values were so high there that no Negro could afford to live in Fairborn: "There are simply no houses for Negroes."

"I'd Tell Him To Go Elsewhere"

DAYTON Realtor R. E. Amand, our next interview, wasn't quite certain that no Negroes lived in Fairborn. But he supposed he "would have heard of them if they did."

Would you sell property to Negroes in Fairborn, we asked. "It would be quite a chore," he replied.

He felt Fairborn property owners would be "reluctant" to sell to Negroes, and Negro buyers would be "discouraged and told to try and find a place somewhere else."

If a Negro asked me for property, Amand said candidly, "I'd be honest with him and tell him to go elsewhere."

Why, we asked another Dayton realtor, Sidney Isenberger, did nobody sell Fairborn property to Negroes?

"Nobody is willing to stick their neck out," Isenberger replied.

Would he stick his neck out? Isenberger recited a story about one of his selesmen who wanted to sell a house in a white district in Dayton to a Negro: "I told him not to do it. I wouldn't want to start anything. I told the agent I would just give him the commission rather than get in any trouble."

Wouldn't Predict

M. CARL FINK, owner of Fink's Furniture in Fairborn and a former sports editor for all the Cox newspapers, said he could think of "no reason" to explain why Negroes didn't live in his town. He thought perhaps it was because Negroes just never made any effort to live there. They just don't want to.

But City Manager Lukens remembered a story: "I heard of someone who had some property to rent. But a colored man wanted to rent it, so the property owner hurriedly rented to another party."

"It's an individual thing," the city manager said. "I really believe there is no organized effort to keep the Negroes out. What did he think of our story of the baby sitter? Not possible—but you know — "peculiar things can happen."

Would there be organized resistance to Negroes if they made a determined effort to get into town? Lukens didn't think so, then wasn't sure and finally decided he "wouldn't care to make a prediction." "But," he insisted, "there is no problem at the moment."

Officer Gets News

WE PHONED Everett Milstad in the public relations ofifce of Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. How many Negro personnel did he have there? He couldn't give us the figures but he guessed it was between 10% and 20% of the 28,000 persons on the base.

Where did the Wright-Patterson personnel live?

"Why, all around this area," Milstad answered.

Do Negroes live in Fairborn?

Why, yes, he said. We told him they didn't.

He dropped the phone to check with his office. Yes, we were right.

Why didn't Negroes from his base live in Fairborn, smack next door? Milstad didn't know. He supposed the Negroes had never tried to live there.

Was there any trouble over this at the base? Absolutely none, he had never heard it mentioned. And anyway there were lots of places they could live: in the nearby federal housing developments at Page Manor, Skyway, or in Dayton, Springfield or on the base.

Surely The Newspapers Know

YES, THERE WERE lots of places a Negro could live around Fairborn.

What was the real reason for the failure of Negroes to migrate into Fairborn when they inhabited all around it? Our realtor, R. E. Amand, was perhaps closest to the answer.

"A colored person," he remarked, "tends to live where he is welcome."

Still, there was much to be learned about this filmy condition. Both by telegraph and telephone we set out to learn if the Dayton newspapers had ever told the tale, or if the space was reserved for student Lucy. Surely two great newspapers knew the truth and had candidly told it.

Papers See No Story

BUT WE FOUND Dayton editors a poor source of enlightenment. None had written about the absence of Negroes on the island of Fairborn. There was no problem, they said. It was the same experience we had with Owosso, Mich.

James E. Fain, executive editor of *The Dayton Daily News*, said there was nothing to illuminate in the Fairborn situation, there was no overt action.

"We have not been particularly aggressive," Fain said, "in our reporting of racial problems in either the South or the North."

"I feel that it is unfair to indict us by long distance on our coverage of Fairborn," he added, "when the grounds for it don't exist." (We weren't indicting, but merely asking for a deposition.")

John S. Moore, managing editor of *The Dayton Journal-Herald*, said he didn't recall any Fairborn racial news carried in his newspaper because there had never been "any trouble that I can recall."

"In fact, I'd never heard of any problem until you brought this up," he said. He said, however, he would not hesitate to carry news of racial difficulties in Fairborn if they occurred.

Editor Moore felt the situation in Fairborn, as we explained our findings, did not warrant suspicion.

"Why don't you send a reporter up here, since you're so interested," he asked.

Both Dayton papers are published by James M. Cox, who also publishes the two Atlanta papers.

James C. McMillan, publisher of *The Fairborn Herald*, said he never printed anything about Fairborn race relations in his paper because there had never been a problem.

"Don't All Officers Draw Same Pay?"

"WE HAVE no problem," Publisher McMillan said, "never have had one."

Why don't any problems live there?

Housing costs are too high, McMillan answered. He said the rapid growth of Wright-Patterson was responsible for the increase in housing prices.

But Whites from the base live there in town don't they, we asked.

"Yes," he said.

And the officers at the base have the same salary whether black or white, don't they?

"Yes."

Well, then, why don't Negro officers who can afford expensive property live in your town?

"They would rather live at Page Manor [Federal housing project] where the housing is cheaper and Negroes like to live together you know. Why should it worry you? It doesn't worry us."

Village Medway

AN AIR FORCE officer from this part of Ohio had told us that in Medway, Ohio they wouldn't even let Negroes pause.

Medway, a community of 400, hasn't a single Negro resident—yet families in Medway use Negro domestic and garden help. A telephone call to Medway elicited the fact there isn't a police department there but there is a fire station.

The telephone connection to the fire station was crackling with noises but a pleasant voiced woman answered it finally.

"This is Medway fire station," she declared.

The Montgomery Advertiser was calling? She said: "Just a minute, I want to tell my husband. He's the fire chief. But he is in bed. Just got home from the hospital." She hollored to her husband that Montgomery, Alabama was calling.

Returning to the phone, she asked: "What do you want?"

Q. "Are there any Negroes in Medway?"

A. "No. . . . not a one."

Q. "Why would you say there aren't any Negroes?"

A. "I don't know. They just never moved here."

Q. "Are there any Negroes in that region?"

A. "Oh, yes, there are some Negroes around here. They work here in Medway sometimes as domestics and as gardeners. But none live here."

They Pass Through

Q. "Is there a regulation in Medway, written or unwritten, to keep Negroes from settling there?"

A. "Just a minute and I'll ask my husband. [She left the phone and conversed with her husband for a minute.] My husband says there isn't any such regulation. They just don't live here."

Q. "Why doesn't Medway have a police department?"

A. "Just a minute and I'll ask my husband. . . . My husband says it's because we are not incorporated. We have a sheriff's department for law enforcement."

Q. "Have there been any acts of discrimination against Negroes up there?"

A. "Just a minute and I'll ask my husband." . . . My husband says no."

31a 1956

NEGRO (JOHN H. McCRAY)

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

By John H. McCray

Oct. 10-20-56

That Scholarship Scandal

Something should be done to break wide open what has been one of the biggest scandals in some of our colored colleges for many years. P.4

It has to do with the unwritten and undisclosed "strings" which are attached to scholarship aid granted students. Scholarships are usually gifts to the college, or they may be in the form of labor for a student, for which the college allows so much in credit, on services it would have to pay for anyway.

* * * *

WE DO NOT include here such scholarships as are rumored to be "pay-offs" to outstanding athletes, etc. Rather, we are concerned only with those won in competitive examination, or on the basis of scholastic attainment.

This subject comes to mind in reviewing what has been going on at S. C. State College, in Orangeburg, the past several months.

Last spring, students struck in protest against association between the administration and certain race-baiting merchants. One student was expelled just before his graduation. During the vacation period, 15 or 20 others were expelled.

* * *

A NUMBER of those kicked out were on scholarships they had won in competitive exams, or on the basis of scholastic records. At least one of them is out of school, hoping to earn enough with which to complete her studies elsewhere.

Several of these students say they were reminded they were in college through the grace of scholarships, that they were, in a sense, beggars and should have been grateful with anything that occurred, or occurs, at the college. Some others, not expelled, but also on scholarships, say they were reminded of their status.

* * *

THE IRONY in such situations as these lies in the fact that stupid, dom get scholarships. This aid, seldom get sholarships. This aid, seldom a cost to the college, goes to brilliant young men and women, under the guise of helping them develop traits and inner goals already in evidence.

Once enrolled, should these same students who back home had displayed an interest in democratic processes and

...ned leadership spots, so much as ...r protest against some of the ...nd rankest form of sup- ..."brain washing," they are ...nfluences," kicked out ...cowered into silence.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

It Happens In The Back Rooms

CHICAGO — When this piece appears in print, the tinsel will be coming down in the Windy City and the political panjandrums will be booming greetings to each other in San Francisco. However, I know as I write it that all of the important decisions have been made.

Delegates come to political conventions with healthy confidence in their own importance. Each has a vision of driving some bright and shiny nail into his party's platform. Many assume that their individual views are taken seriously in the selection of the Presidential candidate.

* * *

INSTEAD OF what some trusting souls may believe, a little group of men, and lately a smattering of women, spell out the objectives before the convention meets. They pick the candidate and at an appropriate time they lower the boom on all who oppose their choice. Usually the victims do not know what hit them.

When the candidate is selected, the group of strategists then decide what kind of trimmings will attract the most votes. How much must be given farmers? What will satisfy or at least pacify organized labor? What tax revisions will lure the greatest number of business contributions?

* * *

QUESTIONS LIKE the foregoing are the things that keep the top planners and fixers awake at night and give a generous boost to the sales of tobacco and alcohol. Convention bosses are not usually troubled by thoughts of bona fide revolts among the rank and file.

The delegates caucus and make heroic speeches. Television cameras grind away and writers who like to speculate pull numerous but fictitious stories out of thin air. Hotel and restaurant men thumb their bank books with voluptuous thoughts on what their accounts will look like when the last convention guest has paid his bill.

There are upper and lower limits within which delegates and visitors may maneuver. In the field of foreign policy, they may get the convention on record for aid to Bhutan or for cutting off aid to an obscure government project. But the question of whether there will be aid to anyone, anywhere is settled before the first arrival planks down his registration deposit.

ON DOMESTIC issues, the delegate may decide whether civil rights planks will include a jab at filibusters or a pat for the U.S. Supreme Court. Delegates do not decide whether the words used will carry meaning that honorable men will be compelled to follow after the election.

Conventions need not be a rubber stamp for political insiders. But they will always be that way until the folks at home pay more attention to the mayors, city councilmen, and ward bosses who furnish the power and sometimes become the board of national control.

Perhaps the best way to give delegates greater voice and authority at convention time is to vote in all elections. Even a dog catcher has a chance to help run the country from behind the scenes if he is elected by default.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Problems in Pasadena

PASADENA, Calif.—Standing in the shadow of her brooding mountains, this city is a well bred lady with bright geraniums on her well clipped lawns and manicured palm trees on her side walks. But there is an unpleasant whisper about her character.

Pasadena has a past that abounds with stories about the welcome mat being snatched in each time a colored person, who was not a domestic employee, sought to become a part of the community. Today, there are islands of colored, oriental and Latin-Americans living in what are otherwise all-white neighborhoods.

There is also a well defined section where even the palm trees and the well kept lawns cannot hide the fact that it is a ghetto. The latest whisper about Pasadena's reputation has to do with possible extension of the segregation pattern.

* * *

IN THE SOUTHWEST corner of the city there is a ten square block area of decaying housing and potential slums. There are also some solid dwellings occupied by older persons who have paid for their homes and want to live out the rest of their days without anticipating a mortgage foreclosure notice each time the door bell rings.

Next to this area there is a street on which a number of single family dwellings are nearing the brink of slum classification. Someone has gotten the bright idea that Pasadena should convert the southwest corner of the city into an area for light industry.

It is proposed that the single family dwellings in the adjacent area be converted into multiple family dwellings.

* * *

PASADENA IS too proud to accept a public housing project so this is her way of meeting the needs of the people who would be displaced from the southwest area. But even this plan would, at best, take care of only a third of the persons who would need new dwellings.

Nobody seems to know what would happen to the other two thirds—especially those who have spent a lifetime buying their homes.

The shift in population will also include a school maneuver. Already most of the colored children who attend high school are at the Muir School which is in the northwest section of the city. A few go to the class rooms that are located on a junior college site in the southeast section.

* * *

NOW THERE is a proposal to build a new high school in the extreme eastern section of the city. If this is done at the same time the colored population is deprived of the land space it now has in the southwest section, a neat and effective pattern of school segregation will be accomplished.

Pasadena is important because it is the kind of community that can be a breeding ground for a new type of school segregation more deadly than the kind that produces the type of trouble we have seen in Clinton, Tenn.

The practice of depriving colored people of land space through tricks of redevelopment is also a cruel virus in American life. It not only keeps new colored residents out, but also restricts those who already live in the community.

The experience of those who must wrestle with this community's problems is a reminder that not all of the civil rights battle is in Mississippi and Georgia.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

The President Is To Blame

SAN FRANCISCO—Even when there is no particular reason for doing so, some politicians like to hold late committe meetings that drag on until the early hours of morning. After midnight the possibility for mischief increases and that is what happened in San Francisco.

The platform committee of the Republican party was casting about for a reason, that would sound plausable, on why a weak civil rights plank was being adopted. This plank is stronger than the concoction of the Democrats but that is like saying skim milk is stronger than water.

The real truth is that the White House insisted on a watered down plank becauuse this is what the President wanted. Senators Everett Dirksen (Ill.), James Duff (Pa.), and Prescott Bush (Conn.), all wanted a strong plank because they are up for re-election this year in states where the civil rights issue is potent.

* * *

AFTER MANY fake hints that the South was making a strong fight for a mild plank, the key committee members admitted that the South did not have the votes to win. During the late hours a new explanation was offered.

This explanation said that a strong plank might hurt the chances of incumbent Republicans from the South to get re-elected to Congress. The story was also dropped in stage whispers that could be picked up a block away that John Sherman Cooper, candidate for the Senate from Kentucky, would be hurt by a strong civil rights plank.

Senator Cooper is one of the most able public figures on the national scene. He is a veteran of senate service and came back to run after serving with credit as ambassador to India. His views on civil rights are ahead of many other border state representatives. The statement that he would be helped by a weak plank did not reflect his own views and he publicly repudiated it.

* * *

IN KENTUCKY'S current Senate race there would be no advantage for a Republican to be known as an ultra-soft civil rights man because even Governor Happy Chandler of that state likes to brag about the progress that is being made on school integration.

Those who spread the story about Senator Cooper were exposing him to greater harm in that the pro-civil rights vote in Kentucky may be the deciding factor in at least one of the senatorial races this year.

Now that the President's approach as prevailed, so far as the platform is concrned, it is interesting to see the result. Candidates from the North who predicted that the party would produce a strong plank have been left out on a limb. Southern Republicans who are anti-civil rights can get no comfort from the platform, either.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

'Wonderful Story,' But..

A magazine writer once shook his head sadly after listening to some information I had given him upon his request. "It's a wonderful story," he said, "but I must confine my article to three thousand words and what you have said would require a full book."

I thought of him as I read the second installment of Life Magazine's story on colored people in the United States. The paragraphs about the Ku Klux Klan and the legislatures that were controlled by colored voters are like trying to write the Lord's Prayer on the head of a pin. You may succeed, but who wants to use a magnifying glass each time he says his prayers?

Inevitably, when the story is written as Life has done it the Klan takes on an aura of respectability and the colored lawmakers appear to be misplaced field hands. Actually, there is no known supply of whitewash that can cover up the evil of the Ku Kluxers from their beginning down to the present.

* * *

THE COLORED lawmakers of reconstruction were equal to and often superior to those we find in state legislatures today or even in the Congress of the United States.

Coming from the lowest rung on America's ladder, these men brought warm hearts and deep interest in public welfare to the state law making bodies. They wanted public schools that would give free education and they laid the foundation of some of the best laws in the South today.

Being a member of a legislature in the United States has always made one the target of racketeers and confidence men. Fist fights, vile oaths and stabbings have been so common in legislative halls that no state is without some colorful story on the men who made its laws.

* * *

MOST WRITERS who deal with the period of reconstruction seem to forget that although slaves were untrained they had common sense and intelligence. When they won their freedom they accepted their responsibilities in full. These responsibilities included the right to help govern if they could get elected.

In the first big opportunity to become citizens the colored people of the United States were crushed by force and violence. No explanation or combination of explanations can erase that fact from our country's history.

* * *

TODAY, THERE is a second opportunity for full citizenship and again the apologists are preparing the excuses. They seek to make extremists out of those who merely want compliance with the law. Klansmen and members of White Citizens Councils are pictured as defenders of a way of life.

Through the blessing of modern science the second opportunity for full citizenship is open for inspection by the nation and the world. Through television, the radio and fair newspapers, everyone can see that the colored people of the United States are merely seeking what they are entitled to have under law.

Through these same media, it may also be seen that the formenters of violence and the crackpots who prate about racial superiority are the same people whose only claim to being a part of modern civilization is the possession of a white skin.

From The Work Bench

Afro-American
Baltimore Md.

By Clarence Mitchell

Sat. 10-20-56

Afterthoughts On Davis Probe

John Bell Williams of Mississippi and James C. Davis of Georgia leave much to be desired as Congressmen, but the hearing they conducted on the Washington School system has kept me awake at nights. I have been trying to decide whether I should write this column about something the testimony revealed. That caused my insomnia.

I would like to avoid throwing any new coals on an already roaring fire, but the hearing showed that there should be some extensive firing.

The first candidate for release is the chairman of the school board. He revealed his unfitness when he said during testimony that he could tell a great deal about the buildings but seemed very fuzzy in his ideas on other matters.

* * * P. 4

SCHOOLS ARE more than buildings. It is wonderful if they are brightly lighted or even air conditioned, but if the children are not the central figures in the school program the public funds are being wasted.

The head of a board of education cannot be familiar with all details, but he should know a great deal more about the human side than the Washington school official semed to know in his statements.

Next in line on the separation list are those principals who seem so willing to spread ugly details about their children on the public record. Nobody put a gun to head of these principals to force them to appear before the sub-committee that staged the hearings.

* * *

SOME OF them gave testimony that sounded very much like anonymous remarks that turned up in some national publications the first year after integration. Evidently, these school people must get a kick out of showing their talent for exaggeration. I wonder how they can face the parents of their children the next time there is a PTA meeting.

Some of teachers who give unfavorable statements about integration to the press and other outlets are plainly neurotic and unfit to teach children of any kind' Parents of both races should shudder to think of entrusting their young ones to this brand of instructor.

At one or two points I had the strong conviction that some of the testimony by white school employees was definitely aimed at discrediting colored teachers.

* * *

AS I RUN down a mental list of the brilliant colored teachers I know in Washington, I believe that almost any one of them could do a better job of teaching children than most of the witnesses who came running when Williams and Davis blew the whistle.

In a sense teachers and school officials are like doctors. Much of what they know should be confidential matter between themselves and the parents of the children in school. Instead, some of the witnesses seemed to get a delight in relating destructive things that they knew would make headlines even though such things were not typical.

* * *

WHETHER ANYONE likes it or not, Washington is a showcase of democracy. In that showcase the schools can and should be the best item on display. At present there is a lot of dust in the form of bigoted teachers and school officials.

The sooner they accept John Bell Williams' blanket invitation to come to teach in Mississippi the better it will be for Washington. If they do accept, God help the children of Mississippi.

From The Work Bench

Afro-American
Sat. 11-16-56

By Clarence Mitchell

Baltimore, Md.

Tragic Reminder Of A Problem

ERIE, Pa.—The blackened shell of a Franklin Flats dwelling will be the source of much heat during the cold winter that soon will sweep in on this city from Canada. In that house a man was burned to death on October 26. P. 2

In some ways the tragedy is a grim reminder of the general housing problem in the Keystone State. Colored people are still relegated to slum areas and denied access to open land in dozens of communities all around the state.

City officials charged in March that property in the area was unfit for human occupancy. No doubt the good people of this community will try to salve their consciences by blaming the owners of such places or by insisting that the area be cleaned up.

ACTUALLY, the problem is deeper than the holdings of one landlord and certainly it cannot be corrected by plugging up rat holes, repairing the plumbing or building fire escapes on old dwellings.

Erie does not give its colored citizens adequate opportunities to build, buy or rent new housing on open land. Most of the housing available to colored residents is the hand-me-down variety.

People must live somewhere and if they cannot move into new areas congestion increases to the point where the overflow is forced into fire traps or dwellings "unfit for human occupancy."

* * *

PITTSBURGHERS are also in dire straits for some new place to go when they need a home. In one case a prominent citizen who tried to buy a house in a white neighborhood did not get the dwelling because of pressure exerted on the white seller.

The seller, who was also the occupant, was moving to another location. When he tried to get money for the purchase of the home to which he intended to move, the white man found that no lending institution would make the loan. Word had been passed that he could get the money if he would sell to a white family but not if he sold to colored.

In Johnstown, Dr. B. K. Johnson, outstanding civic leader, moved into what had been an all white residential area. He has been received with warmth and apparently has no problem.

However, another colored home seeker purchased some open land in a different area for the purpose of building a home. Friendly white people who helped him get the property have been the target of vicious personal abuse.

* * *

EVEN THE federal government, through public housing developments has been guilty. There are twenty-five segregated low rent housing projects in the state. Only two of these are now being desegregated.

A classic story comes from Reading, Pa., where colored and white residents have lived in the same neighborhoods for years. A government housing project in the city operates on a quota basis and the few colored families that are admitted must live in a segregated section.

AN AIR FORCE veteran who lived in one of the units objected. Before his objection could be "processed" he got a small raise in pay and it was required that he move. This incident occurred five years ago.

Early this month, a housing official who spoke at a public meeting was asked when the jim crow set up would be changed. When he became evasive, the veteran, who happened to be at the meeting, reminded him of the earlier request.

The official said the matter was under study but nobody "could rush the housing people into taking action."

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Warning On Powell Given

Threats to deprive Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of his seniority on the House Labor Committee must be met with a stern rebuke. If Adam is disciplined because he supported Ike, it will be a naked attempt to show colored people that only whites may be political mavericks.

Afro American

THE CONGRESS of the United States is big enough to include Senator William Langer, often a thorn in the side of his Republican colleagues. It is broad enough to hold Senator Wayne Morse, who defied Republicans and Democrats alike and formed his "Independent party" before formally declaring himself to be a Democrat.

Many of our country's most prominent leaders in Congress pride themselves on their ability to dissent. Sometimes they openly attack their own party leaders and sometimes they simply take a vacation during elections when they are displeased. So far, no one has successfully advanced a program for keeping them from enjoying all rights and benefits of seniority.

* * * Sat. 12-1-56

CONGRESSMAN POWELL is usually a dependable barometer on what the man in the street feels and thinks. It is of no importance to try to decide whether the Powell declaration for Eisenhower swung a sizable number of votes to the Republican column. The important thing is that the New York Congressman accurately foreshadowed what the trend would be.

Democrats should be grateful to him for giving them advance warning. Had they paid heed to his challenge, instead of trying to discredit him, they might have been able to salvage some of the votes that they lost.

It is small comfort for Stevenson to count the returns from Wayne County in Detroit or those from some of the Democratic fortresses in Chicago. The election shows that colored voters are tired of building the political fortunes of Jim Eastland each time they send a Democratic senator to Washington.

* * * Baltimore, M.D

THEY ARE weary of double talk and trick language in political platforms. They do not pretend that the Republicans are necessarily better than the Democrats, but it is apparent they are determined to show that the civil rights vote is the property of no man and no political party. P. 4

Should there be any reprisal against Congressman Powell there is no doubt that in 1958 Republicans would profit from it in close congressional districts and possibly in some Senate races.

In the eyes of thousands of voters Adam Powell is a man who talks like they think. When he is sent to the woodshed for saying what is on his mind, sympathetic hurt makes people all over the country eat their meals off the mantlepiece.

* * *

THE DEMOCRATIC party has made the tragic mistake of assuming that all of the colored people in the United States were willing to exchange their freedom for a social security check. The party failed to understand that voters would one day see that it was possible to have both by being flexible in party affiliations.

In the interest of building their party the Democrats had better forget about trying to strip Congressman Powell. Unless they execute some major internal reforms, they may find other prominent elected officials giving them the same treatment Mr. Powell gave them on November 6.

31a 1956 NEGRO (BILL NUNN,JR)

CHANGE of PACE

By Bill Nunn Jr.

Courier Sat. 1-28-56 P. 29

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Is Al Smith Altar-Bound

Those rumors concerning Cleveland's Al Smith are making the rounds again. He'll be making the trip down the aisle before the season begins if close friends are accurate . . . More than one track expert I've talked to insist that Pitt's great middle distance star, Arnie Sowell, may be doing too much running for an Olympic year. They insist that running 1,000 yards indoors and anchoring Pitt's two-mile relay team is too taxing a load this early in the season . . . The Pittsburgh Steelers feel they have a real sleeper in Central State halfback Lionel Reed. Tehy even had movies on him.

Marion Motley, one of the best fullbacks in professional football history, is now doing his running for Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) Auditor Frank Carney . . . Monte Irvin, now of the Chicago Cubs, feels it won't be long before his old boss, Leo Durocher, is back in baseball. Monte's guess is he'll pilot the New York Yankees . . . Nate Taylor, basketball coach of Maryland State's unbeaten five, credits Theophilus Lloyd with most of his team's success. Lloyd, a senior, is averaging 22 points a game. It's said he can't miss as a pro.

Len Ford and Horace Gillom who enjoy bowling over the opposition for the Cleveland Browns football team, are doing the same thing these days as members of the Browns basketball team. The group has a series of games listed with the Harlem Magicians, the team owned by Goose Tatum and Marques Haynes . . . There are "at least" four Negroes who could capably handle coaching assignments for the United States track team that will be going to Australia this year. Only drawback is the holier-than-thou Olympic committee, composed mostly of AAU officials, who keep looking in another direction.

Two of the biggest banquets in Cleveland will honor Negroes this year. On Jan. 31 the Cleveland Baseball Writers Association will pay tribute to Al Smith as Cleveland's "Man of the Year." Later, Harrison Dillard, the great track star, will be saluted at a testimonial fete.

Jackie Robinson reveals in the current issue of Baseball Annual that he regards last year's world's championship team as inferior to the Dodger clubs of 1947, 1949 and 1953 . . . Don't be surprised if the announcement naming Ray Kemp as athletic director at Tennessee State University is forthcoming some time in March. He'll replace the late Henry A. Kean.

Bob Thurman, .348, and Vic Power, .343, are the leading hitters in the Puerto Rican League . . . When Stan Hack, manager of the Chicago Cubs, asserted at a recent luncheon that Ernie Banks might be moved to the outfield this season, one interviewer asked, "What chance do you think there is of finding such a man?"

"About as good a chance as there is of breaking into Fort Knox," another in the audience said before Hack could reply.

The News in Review

By WILLIAM G. NUNN Sr.

THE ELECTION AFTERMATH has developed more and more interesting situations. For one thing . . . the support of Negro voters to the Eisenhower banner has been attributed to several things, namely:

(1) Cleaning up of Washington, D. C.

(2) Protest against Eastland of Mississippi as chairman of powerful Senate Judiciary Committee and his bottling up of civil rights legislation.

(3) "Sell-out" of Negroes at Democratic National Convention on issue of civil rights, in effort to appease South.

(4) Eisenhower's sincerity on civil rights, as demonstrated by his actions, as against promises of predecessors in White House.

(5) Defection of Negro leaders . . . including Adam Powell, Senator Cora Brown, Detroit; the Rev. J. C. Austin, Chicago; Dr. T. R. M. Howard and others.

(6) Yeoman work done by Republican Negro leaders, who . . . at long last . . . had something positive to talk about.

■

LOOMING BRIGHTLY on the new political horizon is Lieut. George W. Lee, astute Memphis political wheelhorse, whom The Memphis News-Scimitar credited with the Eisenhower victory in Tennessee. In a glowing report this white daily told how Lee accomplished the change from 1952 (Stevenson 19,592 votes; Ike 9,309) to 1956 (Ike 16,802 to Adlai 14,131).

Mr. Lee

Lee called out 225 door-bell ringers; had 101 Negro clergymen come out with a "Minister's Manifesto"; sent 89 telegrams to ministers which were read from their pulpits; distributed 89,000 pieces of literature; held 37 rallies.

It was a masterly demonstration of how a successful campaign is run.

■

NOW THEY'RE TALKING about "axing" Adam Clayton Powell as a Democratic member of the House, when Congress convenes in January. Leading the fight is Representative Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.) and he's said to have the blessing of Sam Rayburn of Texas. Powell, by virtue of his seniority (he's a seven-termer) is scheduled for two major committees—House Education and Labor Committee, with jurisdiction over civil rights legislation and the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

Mr. Powell

He's third-ranking member on first committee; fifth-ranking on second. Powell's crime is that he supported Eisenhower and Javits, GOP winner for the Senate from New York.

Powell has done more than have many other Democratic Senators and Congressmen, including John Bell Williams of Mississippi.

His greatest crime . . . according to political pundits . . . is that as a Negro he must not assert his political independence.

We predict . . . that if the Democrats are dumb enough to read Powell out of their party . . . the exodus of Negroes from the Democratic party will accelerate.

■

Despite the fact that Negro votes are said to have swung the electoral vote of Louisiana, Tennessee and Kentucky into the Republican column . . : the Southern Regional Council says that the 1,259,500 Negro voters in the South (11 states) represents only ONE out of FIVE eligibles.

Next big fight is to increase registration of Negroes . . . and FBI, under Warren Olney, has promised action on this front.

■

WE KNOW A MAN, who knows another man . . . who insists that those Ohio Turnpike motels which insist on always being "filled up" when Negro motorists ask for reservations, are conjuring up PLENTY of trouble for themselves. THEY WILL BE CAUGHT!

■

CONFIRMATION . . . By Ralph McGill, widely read editor of The Atlanta Constitution: "In the South the Negro vote went solidly Republican in most cities. In others it was two to one for the President . . . In Tennessee and Louisiana this shift was enough to place those states in the Eisenhower column . . ."

■

U. S. SUPREME COURT'S DECISION which virtually ended bus segregation in Dixie, might be fought by die-hards . . . but the last legal bastion standing against integration has been smashed.

Schools . . . recreation . . . parks . . . golfing . . . and now TRANSPORTATION both inter-and intrastate. And all this in less than THREE YEARS!

While Dixie gripes . . . civilized world applauds.

OTTLEY TELLS HOW NEGROES SEE ELECTION

Says G. O. P. Fails in Big Chance

[Roi Ottley, distinguished Negro writer on social subjects, has completed a two month political sampling among Chicago's Negroes — from slum dweller to business leader. This article, the first in a series, tells of his findings.]

BY ROI OTTLEY

The Democrats probably will win the Negro vote in November — but only by default. For Republicans failed to conduct a vigorous and meaningful campaign in the Negro districts, and apparently have written off Negroes as irrevocably committed to the Democrats.

Ottley

Nevertheless, barring a spectacular or dramatic civil rights development inspired by the Democrats, Negroes will increase by 10 per cent the Republican vote in Cook county—and these unsolicited votes will represent a sheer gratuity to the Republican party.

This conclusion springs from a two month sampling in the Negro districts, which involved interviews with clergymen, political leaders, doctors, lawyers, labor leaders, intellectuals, political precinct workers and businessmen, and door-to-door canvassing in the slums as well as the well-upholstered areas.

Concede Possibility

Everywhere the opinion offered was nearly identical—"If the Republicans go all out, they can win!" Even Democratic precinct workers conceded the possibility, tho none wished to be quoted as saying so.

Until now, the Negroes in Chicago have formed a bastion of Democratic strength in Cook county. But Negroes today are ready for a radical shift in political allegiance. One south side Republican ward committeeman reports 10 precinct captains belonging to William L. Dawson's organization have joined the G. O. P. ranks.

But the Republican organization seemingly is prepared not only to throw away the majority of some 300,000 votes, which the Negro vote represents in Cook county, but it probably is throwing away the electoral votes of Illinois.

Hold Fate of State

For Negroes are capable of swinging the city and state; and, moreover, political observers regard Cook generally as a "break-even" county, party-wise. Today the Democrats are not campaigning primarily for the election of Adlai Stevenson, but to stay in power at the county level.

Harry Truman discovered the vital meaning of Negro votes in 1948, when he received 76 per cent of their votes and carried Illinois by 33,612 votes to defeat Thomas E. Dewey—indeed, the Negro vote usually runs Democratic by margins of 4 to 1, and, in some cases, even 10 to 1.

The lesson of 1948 clearly demonstrated to Democratic politicians that the Negro vote is one of the vital margins by which the Presidency can be won. This vote is indispensable to the Democratic strategists, not only in Chicago but in the biggest cities of four big electoral-bloc states—New York, California, Pennsylvania, and Michigan.

Need Negro Votes

Northern Democrats generally believe that the Presidency cannot be won without the Negro vote—even former Gov. James P. Byrnes, of South Carolina, who observed recently Negroes "hold the balance of power in 10 or 12 northern states," reassured his fellow Democrats that the Republicans "don't have a Chinaman's chance" of corraling Negro votes.

Northern Democrats are not as confident as Byrnes, for defections like that of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Negro Democratic congressman representing New York's Harlem who announced his support of President Eisenhower, can have widespread chain reactions.

The Negro's vote and the Negro's attitude today cramps each speech and maneuver by northern Democrats, especially with the southern firebrands constantly breathing down their necks. The Democratic dilemma is almost without resolution.

Could Alienate South

For a civil rights stand calculated to win Negroes could drive away the white southerners away or neutralize them. The fatuous civil rights resolution adopted as the party plank thus has become an albatross about the necks of northern Democrats, white and Negro.

If the G. O. P. chose to make a spectacular but concrete appeal to Negroes, nothing would protect the Democrats' vulnerable position.

In the last two years there has been a flare-up of Negro emotions, unprecedented since the days of Reconstruction and the bloody race riots of 1919. This flare-up was ignited at the moment the Supreme court rendered the decision desegregating the public schools. The flare-up was met by such reactions in the white south as the murders in Mississippi, the anti-Negro harangues of the White Citizens councils, the mob violence attending Negro attempts to enter white schools, and the congressional Manifesto signed by nearly every southern Democratic congressman and senator.

Church Abandons Caution

In reaction the Negro church, abandoning its posture of caution, inflamed politics with religion; the Negro press amplified and magnified the indignation and angers; political leaders exhorted their people to resistance; and finally the echoes were heard in the slums, at bars, in poolrooms, beauty parlors, and on street corners.

In one day's doorbell ringing, I talked with 17 persons. Everyone had civil rights uppermost in mind: "I'm a Democrat, but we got to do something about Sen. Eastland [D., Miss.] and that Gov. Talmadge [Ga.]. Maybe I'll vote for Ike nationally." Subsequent interviews and sampling showed this to be the preponderant feeling.

As a consequence, Negroes are reëxamining the Democratic party. For the first time in his career as Democratic leader, William L. Dawson's record, in Congress and locally, has come under scrutiny. There is widespread dissatisfaction toward his role in the civil rights conflict.

Develop Middle Class

Years of prosperity have brought about the growth of a Negro middle and upper class, the members of which have become an audience for "Republicanism." Most Negroes now are deaf to exhortations to remember the depression and Roosevelt. What they fear is a Democratic victory which would bring such men as Sen. Eastland to power.

Negroes could abide a Democratic victory if they had confidence in Stevenson. But they believe he lately has been wishy-washy on civil rights, and that he has compromised with the white south.

President Eisenhower has the affection of Negroes. They consider him humane and tolerant, deft and firm in the area of civil rights. But they are not convinced the Republican party holds any promise for them, especially since the Republican convention adopted a nobly mild but innocuous civil rights plank, which Negroes interpret as a lack of sympathy with their surge to full equality.

Urban League Told Negro's Main Problem Is Housing

BY ROI OTTLEY

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Cincinnati, Sept. 4 — The principal problem facing Negro families is the restriction to segregated and substandard housing, Clark W. Blackburn, director of the Family Service Association of America, said today. He based his conclusion on a recent sampling he took in 10 cities in the north and south.

Blackburn spoke at the National Urban league's annual conference which is considering the problems of the Negro family in the modern urban community.

Blackburn asserted that "whites are relinquishing in an accelerated fashion their prejudice against working alongside Negroes, but are slow to give up their prejudice about living alongside them."

Public housing, he said, has improved living conditions, but often "continues the pattern of segregation." He predicted that the problem of housing segregation would persist for a long time.

Cities "Look Enticing"

Mass migration, he said, has intensified the problems of the Negro. "With current economic prosperity, life in urban centers looks enticing even tho inadequate housing, crowded schools and the like, do not offer as warm and receptive an atmosphere as the migrant dreamed of in the hope for a better life," he added.

"Such changes often cause trauma and frustration. The peasant folkways which these newscomers bring to the more sophisticated communities are often the cause of tension. Behavior patterns which are acceptable in the previous life situations do not meet the standards which the middle classes of the urban centers expect.

"Tends to Withdraw"

"It seems only natural for the newscomer, unaccustomed to the middle class standards, to feel wary of using middle class institutions. He tends to withdraw and seek solace in his relatives or close associates, and to carry on in the accustomed ways."

His sampling showed, he said, that employment opportunities were improving but "are still subnormal" for Negroes. "The schooling of Negroes in the southern communities studied has been on a substandard, segregated basis."

In the northern group, he said, there is no segregation in the

school system, but segregated housing produces schools, attended primarily by Negro children. Educational results of such segregation, he said, are "not clear."

Public recreation facilities and voluntary agencies in the more progressive northern cities "ignore the color line," he said, while in the south "segregation still exists to a large extent."

Medical care in the north is readily available to Negroes, he said.

Negroes, he said, "come to family agencies for material help." But "family counseling services seem, in general, to be too sophisticated a program for many of the less well educated Negroes to seek," he said.

"Low wages, substandard employment, and economic insecurity," he added, "cause many Negroes to have to seek public assistance and public medical care. Their very numbers create problems in some communities."

Lists Cities Sampled

The 10 cities examined by Blackburn were: Minneapolis St. Paul, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, St. Louis, Fort Worth, and Miami.

He said that while the Family Service association and the Urban league were moving toward "common goals," he though that the league had "not given enough attention to the importance of sound family life as a prerequisite to change."

He called for more "joint discussions of mutual interests and problems" between the Urban league and family agency executives in each city. "There is ample room for improvement in communication and understanding between the two groups," he said.

Tells Cost to Nation

"America can no longer afford the luxury of first and second class citizenship."

Maxwell Abbell, chairman of President Eisenhower's committee on employment policy, told the conference that he estimated that racial discrimination costs the nation over 12 billion dollars a year "because the skills of members of discriminated groups are not fully utilized in the national economy."

The committee was set up by the President a year and a half ago to root out discriminatory employment practices in federal agencies.

Rights Issue Held Factor in Bid for Negro Vote

BY ROI OTTLEY

If the Republicans can make a solid break-thru in the Negro vote in Chicago this November, which they have not been able to do in 16 years, this could well overbalance the prospective return of the white South to its one party tradition.

Ottley

The Rev. Archibald J. Carey, prominent Negro Republican leader and former U. N. delegate, believes the party has the tools to accomplish this if the Republican civil rights story is brought home to Negro voters.

Would Save Gains

"President Eisenhower," he declares, "has done more to widen the borders of freedom for Negroes in America than any President since Lincoln, and his election will serve to safeguard and consolidate the tremendous gains in the field of human rights."

According to him, the Republicans set forth a platform at San Francisco which goes beyond the Democratic civil rights plank in three important areas:

1. Proclaiming that it "concurs" in the decision of the Supreme Court which ruled that public school desegregation must be ended;

2. Pledging itself to "support" this decision and help carry it out "by all branches of the federal government;"

3. Committing the party to a six point civil rights legislative program designed to help guarantee Negroes against being denied their rights by the states — a program which many Democrats fought in the last session of Congress.

Hits Discrimination

The Rev. Mr. Carey reports also that under Eisenhower "segregation has actually been abolished in army schools, naval installations, veterans hospitals, and a real attack has been mounted against discrimination thruout federal agencies."

It is generally agreed by Negroes that overnight Washington, D. C. has been changed from a segregated pattern to a city where Negroes move like other Americans. Discrimination has been eliminated in the schools, playgrounds, restaurants, theaters, and hotels and every area over which the federal government exerts influence.

A Republican attorney general directed his solicitor general to argue the case in behalf of the Supreme court decision requiring public schools' desegregation "with all deliberate speed." The Eisenhower administration therefore established itself as an active ally of the decision.

Given Recognition

In addition, says the Rev. Mr. Carey, "Recognition has been given in appointments that, in some instances, had not even been urged by Negroes, much less expected." He lists some "250 major appointments" of Negroes to high administration positions since Eisenhower has been in office.

These include chairman of the federal parole board, chairman of the public utilities commission in the District of Columbia, the assistant secretary of labor, as well as positions on the White House staff.

The Republican civil rights record is impressive, but it is essentially President Eisenhower's record, not the record of the Republicans Negroes believe. And for this reason they distrust the party itself.

Elected Big Minorities

They are too well aware of the frequent alliances between southerners and Republicans. For example, the Republican platform in 1952 contained planks pledging several civil rights laws. Yet neither the Republicans nor Democrats seriously attempted the passage of any laws which would extend civil rights.

More serious, say Negro political observers, is the Democratic situation relating to the South—one which the Republicans could exploit. To begin with, southern senators and representatives are elected by a minority of the population—since, for all practical purposes, Negroes, who form nearly half the South's population, are disfranchised.

In the event the Democrats win Congress, eight of the most important senate committees will be chaired by men who signed the southern manifesto. Consequently men such as Eastland of Mississippi, upon a seniority basis will control vital committees like the judiciary, which must handle passage of any civil rights legistion.

The Negro vote in the North, including Chicago, has for nearly a generation gone Democratic. Yet the Democratic leadership in Congress is composed almost entirely of southerners. Twenty-one of the 31 standing committees are headed by southerners. Both the speaker of the house and the majority leader of the senate are from Texas.

Stress Party Unity

The Democratic Presidential candidate, Adlai Stevenson, has demonstrated to the alarm of the Negroes that he believes the southern Democrats must be concilated—a fact incidentally which caused the defection of Democratic Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, pastor of Harlem's Abyssinian Church in New York City, and the Rev. J. C. Austin, 20 years a Democrat, and pastor of Chicago's Pilgrim Baptist Church.

The policy stressed by the Democrats, under Stevenson's leadership, is that of party unity. The price which the southern Democrats are exacting for such conciliation and unity is a party policy of mutting and subordinating the issues of desegregation and civil rights.

A new Negro voter has emerged as a result of educational, economic, cultural, and social progress. These are the school teachers, doctors, lawyers, civil servants, and others in the steady income brackets.

Rights Big Issue

But whatever a Negro's economic status, he assumes the extension of civil rights to be his cardinal objective. Lester A. Granger, executive director of the National Urban league, declares, "It is absolutely essential that some solid body of voters stand four-square and steady on the basic issue of civil liberties."

31a 1956 NEGRO (ROI OTTLEY)

Negro Move to North Brings Big Gain in Power at Polls

Sunday Tribune

Chicago Ill

(This is the eighth article in a series by a noted Negro scholar.)

Aug. 5-6-56

[© 1956: By The Chicago Tribune]

BY ROI OTTLEY

One by-product of Negro mass migration to the north, involving nearly 5 million persons, has been the creation of great racial voting blocs, which today exert considerable political influence in northern cities.

Ottley

The reason is that every Negro may vote in the north. Negroes are eager to avail themselves of this privilege because they have considerable confidence in the ballot as an instrument of social improvement.

The overcongested Negro areas in New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Kansas City form the vanguard of Negro political progress.

War Enlarges Influence

Negro political activities and influence, once confined to the great industrial cities in the east and the north, was expanded and extended by war time migration into the Pacific coast and into many of the smaller midwest and northeastern cities.

Today, with between 3 and 4 million registered Negro voters in the north and the west, politicians are acutely aware of the Negro voting strength in cities of such states as New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Missouri, and California.

The Negro vote can be decisive in several northern states and in many congressional districts. In 16 states with a total of 281 votes in the electoral college, the Negro, in a close election, could hold the balance of power, students of the situation say.

Result of Limitation

This development, some say, is the outgrowth of migrants funneling into the limited Negro areas. Yet, at the turn of the century, Negroes did not constitute a majority in a single ward in any major city in the north.

Philadelphia had the largest Negro population in those days, but the Negro vote never exceeded four per cent of the total registration. Chicago, with a Negro population ranking third among northern cities, had only about 3,000 Negro voters.

Today, with nearly 300,000 registered Negro voters, Chicago has four wards in which Negroes form the overwhelming majority, and five wards where they are swiftly moving toward control.

Politicians Educate Them

This development involved a steady process of political education—for, to all practical purposes, the south's Negroes are disfranchised. The migrant, therefore, is ignorant, often merely innocent, of the political processes and his duties as a citizen.

It was the ward politician who assumed the monumental task of education, and indeed assisted in adjusting migrants to urban life. Today these people look to the politicians for advice, help in extricating them from snarls with the law, help in getting public assistance without red tape, and help in obtaining jobs.

Organized on a ward and precinct basis, the migrants responded to the exhortations of their political leaders, who made emotional appeals to "race loyalty."

As a result, after the first great migratory wave in 1920, 77 per cent of the potential Negro vote in Chicago was registered as compared with 68 per cent for the city as a whole. And they pretty much voted as a bloc.

Ralph J. Bunche, United Nations official and Nobel prize winner, who made an extensive study of Negro suffrage, has observed that "the Negro voter in the mass, like the white voter in the mass, tends to follow the guidance of his leadership.

"In some instances this Negro leadership is independent and honestly devoted to the welfare of the group. In other instances it is machine controlled, venal, and selfishly opportunistic."

Negroes unquestionably have received tangible benefits from politics. For instance, nowadays they get justice in the courts; police protection; jobs thru civil service, and a fair share in such public facilities as schools, hospitals, public housing, playgrounds, and libraries.

Aug. 5-6-56

Many Lawmakers

This perhaps is a reflection, too, of the fact that Negroes send representatives to at least 20 state legislatures and about 30 municipal councils. More than two dozen Negro judges preside over courts, and Negro officials administer the business of many cities.

President Eisenhower recently has contributed to Negro standing by ending racial discrimination in public facilities in the nation's capitol, and in integration of the public schools. The President's committee on government contracts also has made heartening progress in integrating Negroes in industry.

"Crumbs of Patronage"

But Negroes seldom get the really big political plums. Many Negro politicians complain that the race "merely gets the crumbs that fall from the patronage table." Besides, gerrymandering is used to emasculate the Negro's voting strength. If the political corruption in northern cities were cleaned up, Negroes would have very little to lose.

Negroes, when they think politically, usually think first in terms of their own group and secondly in terms of the community and the nation.

They are passionately concerned with a candidate's relation to the Negro problem. No Negro politician can expect to remain popular if he supports a white man who is reputed to be anti-Negro.

Before 1933, Negroes voted the Republican ticket in overwhelming proportion. Negroes were strongly attached to the Republican party in gratitude to the symbol of Lincoln. In the last two decades, they have pulled towards the Democratic party's bread and butter appeal.

Model Employer

No small reason for this is the fact that between 1933 and 1940, plus the works progress administration [WPA] and national youth administration [NYA], 103 prominent Negroes were appointed by President Roosevelt to prestige positions in the federal government.

As a consequence, the government has become the model employer as far as Negroes are concerned. Today nearly 200,000 Negroes are employed by federal departments.

The movement to the Democratic party was accelerated when local Democratic machines proved grateful for the Negro vote. For example, the proportion of south side Negroes voting for Roosevelt was 23 per cent in 1932, 49 per cent in 1936, and 52 per cent in 1940. In 1948, 76 per cent voted for Truman.

Shift Is Possible

But recently Negroes seem on the verge of another historic shift, for they are by no means wedded to the Democratic party. To illustrate, in New York Negroes supported the Democratic party nationally after 1932, but independents locally. They voted 10 to 10 for Fiorella La Guardia, a Republican candidate for mayor.

They even have been sufficiently adventurous to elect to New York's city council a Negro Communist, Ben Davis, whose father, incidentally, was a Republican committeeman from Georgia. Yet Communism has virtually no following among Negroes, and what inflence it did exert vanished with the beginning of World War II.

Perhaps Negroes, a minority seeking governmental protection, are instinctively aware that they cannot afford to be out of touch with the major parties. Whatever the reason, only .5 per cent voted for third party candidates in 1940.

Some Are Named

Today Negroes are represented in Congress by three Negroes: William L. Dawson [Chicago], Adam Clayton Powell Jr. [New York], and Charles C. Diggs [Detroit]. Moreover, Negroes have been appointed to positions of prestige and responsibility, such as ambassadors, federal judges, undersecretary of labor, and Virgin Island governors.

Chicago illustrates the developments on the local level. Here the Negro's voting strength is organized and unified, under the leadership of the former Republican, William L. Dawson, now vice chairman of the national Democratic committee and a political figure of unquestioned power.

No Negro in the country holds a comparable position. The key to his unique role is, of course, that he gets out the vote, a fact which gives him considerable bargaining power.

Other Offices Held

Thus today in Chicago there are four Negro aldermen, one state senator, five state representatives, plus three Negro judges, two state's corporation counsellors, six elementary and high school principals, and Negro members of the school and library boards. And there are several Negro commissioners; principally, in santitation, county, commerce, and civil service.

Beyond these showcase positions, Negroes by the thousands are employed in jobs ranging from skilled professional, and administrative to charwomen, bailiffs, and laborers. They also include firemen, policemen, bus drivers, conductors, and motormen in the city's transit system. Nearly 10 per cent of the Negro population holds city and state jobs, and one-third of all postal employees are Negro.

The Republican side has had the young and aggressive Archibald Carey, who has been an alderman and UN delegate, appointed by President Eisenhower. The late Charles J. Jenkins was chairman of the state legislature's appropriations committee. Today Joseph D. Bibb, as director of public safety for Illinois, holds one of the biggest political jobs a Negro has ever held in Illinois.

But the trend of political climate in the north is suggested by New York City, where recently a Negro, Hulan E. Jack, was elected borough president of Manhattan—and of necessity, by both whites and Ne-

groes.

Moreover, New York boasts nine Negro judges, and Negroes hold such appointive offices as commissioner of rent control, housing, water, gas and electricity, assistant superintendents of education, commissioner of correction, and deputy commissioner of police.

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(Another article in this series will appear tomorrow.)

Negro Migration to North Poses Big Housing Problem

Daily Tribune P. 1

(Seventh article in a series by a noted Negro scholar.)

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BY ROI OTTLEY

Negro mass migration has produced acute problems of living space in the north. This situation, in turn, has created multiple aggravations for each city in which the migrants have settled —and indeed for themselves.

Ottley

There are two reasons principally: Sat. 5-5-56

To begin with, there literally are no houses to accomodate them, for the erection of new dwellings has not kept pace with the influx. The migrants have gravitated to sections where rents are cheapest and housing poorest, and piled in until the areas are bursting at the seams.

Chicago Ill.

Case of Chicago Cited

This inexorable expansion is illustrated by Chicago, where Negroes are arriving in tidal wave proportion: in 1920, Negroes formed four per cent of the total population; today they are pushing towards 1 million and constitute nearly 20 per cent of the city's population.

Similarly, New York's Harlem has more than a half million Negroes crammed into two square miles. Until recently, one block—described as the "lung block"—contained 4,000 persons and had a death rate from pulmonary tuberculosis twice that of white Manhattan.

Detroit Housing Cited

A result of the increased Negro population has been a rapid change in the racial composition of some sections, a turn over from white to Negro occupancy in many neighborhoods. But accompanying this have been congestion, decay and blight, and in some places horrendous squalor.

Not too long ago the Real Property Inventories revealed that in Detroit 34 per cent of the Negro-occupied dwellings were considered either unfit for use or in need of major repairs. A corresponding situation obtained in Harrisburg, Pa., where the figure reached 73 per cent.

The pattern is pretty much identical in every northern city in the country. For hand-to-mouth living is generally the rule, a fact that keeps the migrants in the already crowded hovels of the tenement sections; and this confinement is reinforced by the limited number of dwellings available to them.

Nowadays the bell, which once summoned the occupants of one apartment, now rings for anyone of nine families. One toilet often serves four or five families. Few have private bathrooms. Without exception, the houses are filthy and vermin-infested. Gaping holes in the skylight allow the winter's cold air to sweep down the staircases, sometimes freezing the toilet flushes for weeks.

Many Building Violations

These people usually pay exorbitant rents, for the properties they occupy are frequently speculative ventures for a number of transient owners. Consequently, absentee landlords relax supervision and flagrantly ignore the city building and sanitary codes. One year Chicago had 10,000 unattended building violations mostly on the south side.

White families generally pay from 20 to 25 per cent of their incomes for rent, but Negro tenants are compelled to pay from 30 to 50 per cent even when size and quality are equal. To meet high rentals, families frequently "double up," pool their incomes and live in one room, briefly the "kitchenette" type living which draws its tenants from the recent migrants.

These congested areas have the highest tubercular rate, greatest incidence of crime and prostitution, more venereal disease, the highest maternal-infant mortality figures, a higher insanity curve and, in hard times, a relief load which is often staggering.

Points to Problem Children

The great Negro concentrations in the northern cities have not only made for segregated education, but in some places for inferior education. The Ashmore project found the schools in the Negro neighborhoods are the oldest, and provide the least adequate physical facilities; and they produce a high proportion of juvenile delinquents and problem children.

Segregated education is not absolute in the north—but 85 to 90 per cent of the Negro children go to schools where the student body is completely or predominately Negro. This is for the simply reason that a child attends the school nearest his home, and if he lives in an all-Negro neighborhood he is likely to attend an all-Negro school.

The four principal high schools on Chicago's south side break down this way: Dunbar with 2,000 pupils has only one white student, Phillips with 2,000 has one white child; Du Sable with 2,000 has none, and Englewood with 2,200 has 75 white pupils

Similar in Other Cities

Chicago is not unlike Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia or New York City. However, this has been a constantly shifting pattern: in 1900, when Chicago's Negro population was less than 30,000, there was practically no segregation.

But the great waves of migration changed the pattern. Nowadays the best qualified teachers often tend to flee as soon as opportunities open up elsewhere. Thus the quality of instruction sags to the low level of the physical facilities and the depressed atmosphere surrounding the school.

No one is actually protected from slums. Wherever they exist the indirect costs to the community at large are prohibitive. For instance, in 1941 San Francisco's slum formed 20 per cent of the city's area and contained 33 per cent of the city's population, including the bulk of its Negroes.

Nearly 60 per cent of the tuberculosis, 55 of the juvenile delinquency, 50 of the arrests, 45 of the city service costs, 35 of the fires, were in this slum—yet the area brought in only six per cent of the tax revenues.

Not all Negroes in the northern cities live in the slums, which is a measure of the progress of absorption. In Chicago, to illustrate, only one-fourth of the Negro population is concentrated in the blighted areas. Largely unnoticed are the many Negroes who live in congenial tree-dotted, well-kept neighborhoods.

The areas are usually on the periphery of the slum sections. But the Negro residents do manage to maintain removed and sheltered communities which are characterized by atmospheres of small-town neighborly cooperativeness. For political purposes, tho, they are integrated with the south side.

Near Washington Park

These people need only walk a few blocks to bask in the sunshine and bathe in the cooling waters of Lake Michigan. The carefully-landscaped Washington park, in the center of the south side, provides 350 acres of green meadows and trim parkways. In addition there are such public features as baseball fields, tennis courts, free band concerts, lagoons, a botanical garden, and a well-kept bridle path for horseback riding.

Nearly 22 per cent of Chicago's Negroes own the houses in which they live—in such areas as Kenwood, Hyde Park, Morgan Park, and Westchesterfield. Negroes bought 3,000 residential units valued at 7 million dollars during 1955—a fact indicative of the mass trend toward home ownership.

Beyond widespread prosperity, the primary reason is that Negroes can buy with only small down payments—aided today by the federal housing administration which extends credit to low-income people who wish to buy or build houses. But the break thru followed the Supreme court's ruling in 1948 outlawing residential covenants.

However, the existence today of 15 Negro financial institutions has been a significant development in the realty field. One institution alone, the Illinois Federal Saving and Loan Association, directed by Robert R. Taylor, formerly chairman of the Chicago housing authority, has loaned Negroes in excess of 12 million dollars.

Moreover, there has been a tremedous expansion of public housing by the city, with aid from state and federal agencies. Even private companies are erecting first-class developments like the New York Life Insurance company's Lake Meadows for the Negro middle class, and, in the process, helping to wipe out the slums.

Many Leaving Harlem

Within the last five years, some 185,000 Negroes have moved away from Harlem to other sections of New York City. Thousands have built or purchased homes in Long Island, Westchester, Suffolk and neighboring counties the number of those buying property went up from 24 per cent to 34 per cent in 10 years.

The face of Harlem itself is changing daily. Giant skyscraper public housing projects have replaced acres of slums. Private developments like Convent Gardens, Ivy Terrance, and the Metropolitan Life Insurance company's Riverton, furnish new and better apartments for the middle class.

Today in hundreds of northern cities Negroes and whites are beginning to live side by side without untoward incident. In New York Negroes now occupy 26 per cent of all the public housing units in city, state and federally financed projects in the metropolitan area. Considerably less than half of New York City's Negroes live in Harlem.

Hyde Park is illustrative of the trend in Chicago. Nearly 55,000 persons comprise the area's population, most of them moderately well to do. One out of every five is in the professional field—four times the city's average—living in an area of about 1,000 acres adjacent to the University of Chicago.

Today the section is clearly moving towards an integrated cast—with such groups as the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community conference helping to ease the transition from an all-white to a bi-racial community.

This planned and orderly change seemingly suggests a method of approaching the problem in the north. The conference receives an average of 60 requests monthly from various parts of the country for advice on how to conduct conferences which have integrated communities as the objective.

[Another article in this series will appear tomorrow.]

OTTLEY CITES BIG POTENTIAL OF NEGRO VOTE

Daily Tribune Wed. 10-17-56

Finds Swing to G. O. P. Could Be Decisive

[Roi Ottley, distinguished Negro writer on social subjects, has completed a two month political sampling among Chicago's Negroes — from slum dweller to business leader. This article, the third in a series, tells of his findings.] 31a

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Negroes account for one in every six votes in Chicago and any shift to the Republican party could be decisive in the November elections. But the G. O. P. will make only a dent in this traditional Democratic bastion, because the Republican organization has handed over the Negro voter to the Democrats, lock, stock, and barrel.

Ottley

Chicago, Ill

The Democratic party of Cook county is one of the most effective political organizations in the nation. Much of its effectiveness rests on a Republican opposition which largely ignores the Negro electorate. As a consequence, it never has its finger on the pulse of the Negro community, and thus lacks persuasive communication. P. 10

Cites Indifference

Moreover, the G. O. P. has been largely indifferent to the social realities, or bread-and-butter needs of the Negro community, despite the fact Negroes essentially are economically a marginal class.

Thus one hears such comments as: "I suppose I would be a Republican, if I were rich," or, "I'm always scared to death that if I lose my job under the Republicans, me and my family will starve."

The Republican party in Cook county not only has failed to attract the Negro rank and file, but it has attracted few talented young men and women who could articulate their race's aspirations.

Voices Are Influential

It is no mere accident that the only three Negroes who represent the race in Congress are all Democrats—Dawson [Chicago], Powell [New York], and Diggs [Detroit]. Not only were they designated by the Democrats and elected with the organization's support, but their voices are often influential in the party councils.

Arthur J. Wilson, Negro certified accountant and 6th ward Republican committeeman, whose south side ward comprises 75 precincts mostly occupied by Negroes, pointed out the chief faults in Republican strategy.

"There is no organization support for the Republican candidates," he said. "Money has been raised, but none has been allocated to us. If I could run a strong, well financed campaign, we would increase the Republican vote in my ward from 15 to 20 per cent.

Money Is Factor

"Today there is a trend back to the Republican party. With the way Negroes feel now, even Congressman Dawson could be beaten. But without money and organization, you just can't win elections."

Chicago, with more than 300,000 registered Negro voters, has five wards in which Negroes form the overwhelming majority and five wards where they are swiftly moving towards predominance. The rapid swell is due to the mass migration to the city.

Specifically, the wards which contain Negroes today are: 2d, 3d, 4th, 6th, and 20th [south side]; 8th, 16, 17th, and 19th [far south side]; 24th, 27th, 28th, and 29th [west side]; and 42d [near north side.]

Of these people, 65 per cent are southern born, brought north by the hope of social improvement, with many having less than five years of village education.

The political tutelage of these people is assumed by the precinct captains, which ostensibly involves assisting them in adjusting to urban life. Consequently, the newcomers soon develop the habit of looking to the politicians for advice, help in extricating them from scrapes with the police, help in getting public assistance, and help in obtaining jobs.

To grasp the unique effectiveness of the Democratic organization, we must understand the day-to-day concern the party's workers show for distressed people—and a few statictics will illustrate where the party places emphasis:

Of all the women in Chicago's county jail, 69 per cent are Negro; of all the men, 62 per cent; of all the forlorn on relief, 72 per cent Negro; of all the clients of public housing in Chicago, seeking shelter of the government, 70 per cent Negro. And some 35,000 Negro children in Cook county now receive dependency grants.

Create Problems

These grim figures produce an amazing variety of requests, pleas, and problems which traditionally are dumped in the lap of the ward committeeman, who, in turn, hands the chores over to precinct captains to carry out the legwork involved.

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What is apparently forgotten by Republican politicians is the fact that not until 1940 did the Negro majority begin to vote the Democratic ticket in Chicago.

The loyalties which prevent a mass movement away from the Democratic party are based on concrete reasons. Negroes unquestionably have received tangible benefits. For instance, nowadays they get justice in the courts and police protection.

Nowadays, too, rank and file Negroes are able to obtain civil service jobs, join the police force, and receive a fair share in such public facilities as schools, public housing, playgrounds, and libraries. Today, under Mayor Daley, there is an increase in redevelopment and conservation of rundown areas, and a friendly concern about south side problems.

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Even with its elaborate political machinery, the Democratic organization never reaches the vast majority of the Negro community. Most Negroes are sufficiently sophisticated to manage their own personal affairs, know the public resources of the city and state, and often are independent minded enough to make their own judgments without nudging from precinct captains.

The Republicans have a tremendous opportunity to mobilize the Negro voting potential, and volunteers for Eisenhower are active. Basically and sociologically, however, the local Republican party organization does not seem inclined to go all out for the predominantly working class Negro. And the Democrats happily walk into the breach.

FINDS G.O.P. BID WOULD GARNER NEGRO SUPPORT

Daily Tribune Tues. 10-16-56

Vote Potential Great, Says Ottley

[Roi Ottley, distinguished Negro writer on social subjects, has completed a two month political sampling among Chicago's Negroes — from slum dweller to business leader. This article, the second in a series, tells of his findings.]

BY ROI OTTLEY

What gives urgency to winning the Negro vote in 1956 is the mass migration to the north which has created phenomenal concentrations in the major cities of five of the biggest voting states in the country—New York, California, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Illinois.

Ottley

Chicago, Ill

These states cast 156 electoral votes, 110 short of a Presidential majority. Negroes in the great cities of these states form between 11 and 25 per cent of the populations. Thus, in a close election, Negroes represent the potential balance of power—or, at the very least, a frustrating force to both parties. P. 6

Between 1940 and 1950, the Negro population of Chicago jumped by an extraordinary 66 per cent, while the white population actually declined. The movement, rather than slowing, has speeded. Today, the Negro population, having jumped an unbelievable 32 per cent in the last half decade, is now pushing hard towards a million.

Gain Voting Strength

These represent numbers with which political strategists must reckon. Yet, at the turn of the century, Negroes did not constitute a majority in a single ward in the city. Chicago, with a Negro population ranking third among northern cities, had only some 3,000 Negro voters.

Today, with more than 300,000 registered Negro voters, Chicago has five wards in which Negroes form the overwhelming majority, and five wards where they are rapidly moving toward control. But more important is the fact these people have become a formidable voting bloc within Cook county, perhaps the key to the electoral votes of Illinois.

For almost 20 years this vote has been solid Democratic property. This fact is perhaps the reason the Republicans are making no effort to corral the Negro vote in Chicago. The plain fact is, today the Negro is reluctantly being hauled into the Democratic camp because of Republican default when a vigorous and imaginative campaign could decrease the Democratic hold appreciably.

Reappraise Democrats

The deep emotion provoked by the civil rights conflict and the melancholy events in the south following the Supreme court's decision desegregating the public schools, has caused

Negroes to reappraise the Democrats, including those in Cook county. In process now is a Negro reappraisal of the extent of civil rights in Chicago.

The Democrats, Negro and white, have been unable to quite placate Negroes, for they received a blow-by-blow account of the convention's 17 man platform committee's deliberations, including the blatantly anti-Negro and anti-Democratic statements from the voluble Dixiecrats, which met no vigorous disavowal by northern Democrats.

Loyalty Unrewarded

Today, even Democrats are beginnig to ask if the Negro in Chicago has made adequate progress under Democratic rule for nearly 20 years of loyalty.

The fact is they are disappointed by what they regard as the failure of the Democrats to reward them in terms equivalent to the imposing majorities rolled up for the party's candidates. Indeed, they say, Negroes receive less proportionately, now than they did 20 years ago.

Negroes seldom get the really big political plums such as city and county contracts, bankruptcy proceedings, estates in litigation or built-in appointments, which permit free use of government jobs as patronage. So today Negro politicians complain bitterly that the race "only receives the crumbs that fall from the patronage table."

Cite New York

As a yardstick, they point to the superior developments in New York, where Negroes lead the nation in public acceptance, political participation and recognition, and indeed patronage. This is true even tho Harlem has no political vehicle comparable to the Dawson machine, and has displayed no such unwavering loyalty to the Democratic party as Negroes have in Chicago.

Negroes fare equally well under the Republican administrations in New York. To illustrate, former Gov. Thomas E. Dewey systematically appointed Negroes to positions of responsibility and prestige, and in the process developed a loyal and considerable following among Negroes.

The Republicans are equally remiss in their neglect, indifference and lack of recognition of the Negro voter—indeed, shockingly so. Gov. Stratton has made only one Negro appointment the Republicans can boast about. He is Joseph D. Bibb, who as director of public safety, holds the biggest political job ever given a Negro in Illinois.

Inspires Hostility

The fact that Gov. Stratton, and indeed the subordinates of his administration, has made only one worthwhile Negro appointment would seem to suggest the Republicans have no idea of making a bid for the Negro vote.

Not only does this give Negroes a feeling of being ignored, but, worse, it inspires a lingering hostility to Republicanism, because Negroes interpret it as depreciating their capabilities and personal worth.

Today there are precious few Negro leaders articulating the Republican view—or, to use the language of the Democratic precinct captains, the Republicans have few people to "dry clean" the issues and prepare them for public presentation.

Even so, there does exist a great Republican potential among Negroes, plus a residual Negro Republican vote. For one thing, the Negro clergy, which senses the Negro distemper about the civil rights conflict, is largely supporting the Republican ticket. Already 60 have pledged support. This is a significant development, because many Negroes respond to the exhortations of their preachers.

Tightening Grip

The Rev. J. C. Austin, pastor of the Pilgrim Baptist church and 20 years a Democrat, corraled the Evangelical commission, a group embracing most of the south side churches, in to supporting the Republicans.

He told his church membership of 12,000 the reason: "The south, the solid south," he said, "has a strangling hold on the neck of the black man and is tightening its grip each day. This can only be broken by the right use of suffrage."

The fact is, the Republicans are receiving spontaneous support from Negroes, which with encouragement, could develop into a pronounced trend.

Favored by Women

President Eisenhower has an especially strong hold on the Negro women voters. A clergyman's tribute to the firm marital relationship existing between the President and his wife at a recent political mass meeting brought rousing amens from women in the audience.

Make Distinction

The Negro community unquestionably contains a reservoir of Republican goodwill. But it is chiefly inspired by the affection held for President Eisenhower, for Negroes uniformly make a sharp distinction between the motives of the President and the Republican party. They generally subscribed to the view of Stevenson that some Republicans "cynically covet Mr. Eisenhower as a candidate, but ignore him as a leader."

Mrs. Edna Gayle, an art dealer of 7323 Rhodes av., said, "There's nothing wrong about Mr. Eisenhower, except the Republicans in his party. Personally he is a wonderful man."

OTTLEY CITES BIG POTENTIAL OF NEGRO VOTE

Daily Tribune Wed. 10-17-56 Chicago, Ill.

Finds Swing to G. O. P. Could Be Decisive

P. 10

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NEGROES DOUBT G. O. P. FAVORS WORKING MAN

Daily Tribune Thurs. 10-18-56

Republicans Must Fight 'Belly Philosophy'

[Roi Ottley, distinguished Negro writer on social subjects, has completed a two month political sampling among Chicago's Negroes — from slum dweller to business leader. This article, the fourth in a series, tells of his findings.] 31a

BY ROI OTTLEY

Beyond passionate concern about civil rights, full employment and extended social welfare are the issues which stir Negroes most today. What the Republicans can do to counter the Democratic party's commitment to a "belly philosophy" will determine the final direction of Negro voting.

Ottley

Chicago, Ill

The average Negro believes the Democratic party is "the party of the working man" and the Republicans represent the rich. A typical observation came from a Negro who declared: "I'm voting for the Democrats, because they are the people who put a little bread in my mouth and a little money in my pocket."

P. 7

L. H. Green, a Pullman porter of 113 E. 58th st., said: "I am voting for the Democrats. They always do something for the working man. Why, for 70 years the Republicans kept Negroes behind the eight ball. Then the Democrats introduced social legislation and started reforms for labor."

Favor "Big Business"

George W. Miller, an artist of 6637 Kimbark av., asserted he was a Democrat "because there is more advancement for Negroes under a Democratic administration than under the Republicans—after all, the Republicans are only for big business."

When confronted with the fact of the Dixiecrats within the Democratic party, Conrad Foster, a photographer of 6108 Eberhart av., declared: "I'm not worried by the southern Democrats, because there are just as many anti-Negro people in the Republican party. So I'm voting for the Democrats, because Negroes as working people have made more progress under Democrats than Republicans."

Negroes have developed a class consciousness, and unmistakably identify themselves with the laboring masses. Robert Ming, a young attorney who served as a state assistant attorney during Gov. Stevenson's administration, explains that the situation could not be otherwise. Negroes are compelled to vote Democratic to serve their own class interests, in his view.

Believes in Regularity

Ming believes that only thru the regular party system will the Negro masses progress. He rejects the idea that the Republicans can effectively serve his people, because that party, he asserts, by disposition and philosophy, is incapable of serving the predominantly working class Negro.

Ming concludes that "there is no place for Negroes in the Republican party, because the party is not concerned with the basic issues of shelter, food, education, and opportunity for advancement, except as benefits filter down to the masses thru employment."

The Democrats are receiving a valuable assist from the labor unions, particularly the CIO wing, in helping Negroes to make up their minds politically. For not only are Negroes being propagandized in the shops, but the unions have trained a corps of Negroes who carry the message into Negro homes. Republican workers complain that there are more union men ringing door bells in some districts than Democrats.

Opposes Straight Ticket

Willoughby Abner, education and political action director in Chicago of Walter Reuther's Democratic United Auto Workers, also is president of the local chapter of the N. A. A. C. P. Abner opposes straight ticket voting because he is strongly opposed to Democratic Congressman William L. Dawson and is making every effort to defeat him.

Abner recently called upon Gov. Stratton and his Democratic opponent, Richard B. Austin, to declare themselves on FEPC.

Political Dynamite

FEPC, today emotionally tied to the civil rights conflict in the south, is political dynamite in the Negro community. The Negro's economic opportunities still are limited by racial discrimination, particularly in white collar employment. Rarely are Negroes in demand for jobs that require education above the elementary grade level.

Democrats have hit hard at the FEPC issue, an area in which Illinois Republicans are vulnerable. The Republicans have consistently opposed FEPC, when enlightened Republicans in New York and Pennsylvania, for example, already have helped enact FEPC into law.

But forgotten is the fact that the negro's sworn political allies in the Democratic party have not distinguished themselves in the Springfield fight for civil rights and equal job opportunities legislation. Many have been on the other side of the floor in genuflection to down state conservatism.

Stress Social Benefits

Local Democratic emphasis for years has been largely on concrete economic and social benefits — not political morality or civil rights. Consequently, the Democrats seemingly are free to follow a placating course insofar as civil rights are concerned in Chicago. For their loud adherence to the use of political power for bread and butter advantages receives sympathetic echoes in the Negro community.

The point is that the much advertised civil rights issue is not a compelling concern to the Negro in Cook county. For the Negro in the north, as compared with the Negro in the south, enjoys relative freedom and equality. Even so, a bold stroke from the White House, which would make Negro hopes soar, could easily turn the election tide.

OTTLEY TELLS HOW NEGROES SEE ELECTION

Daily Tribune
Mon. 10-15-56
Chicago, Ill.
P. 1

Says G. O. P. Fails in Big Chance

[Roi Ottley, distinguished Negro writer on social subjects, has completed a two month political sampling among Chicago's Negroes — from slum dweller to business leader. This article, the first in a series, tells of his findings.] 31a

BY ROI OTTLEY

The Democrats probably will win the Negro vote in November — but only by default. For Republicans failed to conduct a vigorous and meaningful campaign in the Negro districts, and apparently have written off Negroes as irrevocably committed to the Democrats.

Ottley

Nevertheless, barring a spectacular or dramatic civil rights development inspired by the Democrats, Negroes will increase by 10 per cent the Republican vote in Cook county—and these unsolicited votes will represent a sheer gratuity to the Republican party.

This conclusion springs from a two month sampling in the Negro districts, which involved interviews with clergymen, political leaders, doctors, lawyers, labor leaders, intellectuals, political precinct workers and businessmen, and door-to-door canvassing in the slums as well as the well-upholstered areas.

Concede Possibility

Everywhere the opinion offered was nearly identical—"If the Republicans go all out, they can win!" Even Democratic precinct workers conceded the possibility, tho none wished to be quoted as saying so.

Until now, the Negroes in Chicago have formed a bastion of Democratic strength in Cook county. But Negroes today are ready for a radical shift in political allegiance. One south side Republican ward committeeman reports 10 precinct captains belonging to William L. Dawson's organization have joined the G. O. P. ranks.

But the Republican organization seemingly is prepared not only to throw away the majority of some 300,000 votes, which the Negro vote represents in Cook county, but it probably is throwing away the electoral votes of Illinois.

Hold Fate of State

For Negroes are capable of swinging the city and state; and, moreover, political observers regard Cook generally as a "break-even" county, party-wise. Today the Democrats are not campaigning primarily for the election of Adlai Stevenson, but to stay in power at the county level.

Harry Truman discovered the vital meaning of Negro votes in 1948, when he received 76 per cent of their votes and carried Illinois by 33,612 votes to defeat Thomas E. Dewey—indeed, the Negro vote usually runs Democratic by margins of 4 to 1, and, in some cases, even 10 to 1.

The lesson of 1948 clearly demonstrated to Democratic politicians that the Negro vote is one of the vital margins by which the Presidency can be won. This vote is indispensable to the Democratic strategists, not only in Chicago but in the biggest cities of four big electoral-bloc states—New York, California, Pennsylvania, and Michigan.

Need Negro Votes

Northern Democrats generally believe that the Presidency cannot be won without the Negro vote—even former Gov. James P. Byrnes, of South Carolina, who observed recently Negroes "hold the balance of power in 10 or 12 northern states," reassured his fellow Democrats that the Republicans "don't have a Chinaman's chance" of corraling Negro votes.

Northern Democrats are not as confident as Byrnes, for defections like that of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Negro Democratic congressman representing New York's Harlem who announced his support of President Eisenhower, can have widespread chain reactions.

The Negro's vote and the Negro's attitude today cramps each speech and maneuver by northern Democrats, especially with the southern firebrands constantly breathing down their necks. The Democratic dilemma is almost without resolution.

Could Alienate South

For a civil rights stand calculated to win Negroes could drive away the white southerners away or neutralize them. The fatuous civil rights resolution adopted as the party plank thus has become an albatross about the necks of northern Democrats, white and Negro.

If the G. O. P. chose to make a spectacular but concrete appeal to Negroes, nothing would protect the Democrats' vulnerable position.

In the last two years there has been a flare-up of Negro emotions, unprecedented since the days of Reconstruction and the bloody race riots of 1919. This flare-up was ignited at the moment the Supreme court rendered the decision desegregating the public schools. The flare-up was met by such reactions in the white south as the murders in Mississippi, the anti-Negro harangues of the White Citizens councils, the mob violence attending Negro attempts to enter white schools, and the congressional Manifesto signed by nearly every southern Democratic congressman and senator.

Church Abandons Caution

In reaction the Negro church, abandoning its posture of caution, inflamed politics with religion; the Negro press amplified and magnified the indignation and angers; political leaders exhorted their people to resistance; and finally the echoes were heard in the slums, at bars, in poolrooms, beauty parlors, and on street corners.

In one day's doorbell ringing, I talked with 17 persons. Everyone had civil rights uppermost in mind: "I'm a Democrat, but we got to do something about Sen. Eastland [D., Miss.] and that Gov. Talmadge [Ga.]. Maybe I'll vote for Ike nationally." Subsequent interviews and sampling showed this to be the preponderant feeling.

As a consequence, Negroes are reëxamining the Democratic party. For the first time in his career as Democratic leader, William L. Dawson's record, in Congress and locally, has come under scrutiny. There is widespread dissatisfaction toward his role in the civil rights conflict.

Develop Middle Class

Years of prosperity have brought about the growth of a Negro middle and upper class, the members of which have become an audience for "Republicanism." Most Negroes now are deaf to exhortations to remember the depression and Roosevelt. What they fear is a Democratic victory which would bring such men as Sen. Eastland to power.

Negroes could abide a Democratic victory if they had confidence in Stevenson. But they believe he lately has been wishy-washy on civil rights, and that he has compromised with the white south.

President Eisenhower has the affection of Negroes. They consider him humane and tolerant, deft and firm in the area of civil rights. But they are not convinced the Republican party holds any promise for them, especially since the Republican convention adopted a nobly mild but innocuous civil rights plank, which Negroes interpret as a lack of sympathy with their surge to full equality.

[Second article tomorrow]

FINDS G. O. P. BID WOULD GARNER NEGRO SUPPORT

Daily Tribune
Tues. 10-16-56
Chicago, Ill.
P. 2

Vote Potential Great, Says Ottley

[Roi Ottley, distinguished Negro writer on social subjects, has completed a two month political sampling among Chicago's Negroes — from slum dweller to business leader. This article, the second in a series, tells of his findings.]

BY ROI OTTLEY

What gives urgency to winning the Negro vote in 1956 is the mass migration to the north which has created phenomenal concentrations in the major cities of five of the biggest voting states in the country —New York, California, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Illinois.

Ottley

These states cast 156 electoral votes, 110 short of a Presidential majority. Negroes in the great cities of these states form between 11 and 25 per cent of the populations. Thus, in a close election, Negroes represent the potential balance of power—or, at the very least, a frustrating force to both parties.

Between 1940 and 1950, the Negro population of Chicago jumped by an extraordinary 66 per cent, while the white population actually declined. The movement, rather than slowing, has speeded. Today, the Negro population, having jumped an unbelievable 32 per cent in the last half decade, is now pushing hard towards a million.

Gain Voting Strength

These represent numbers with which political strategists must reckon. Yet, at the turn of the century, Negroes did not constitute a majority in a single ward in the city. Chicago, with a Negro population ranking third among northern cities, had only some 3,000 Negro voters.

Today, with more than 300,000 registered Negro voters, Chicago has five wards in which Negroes form the overwhelming majority, and five wards where they are rapidly moving toward control. But more important is the fact these people have become a formidable voting bloc within Cook county, perhaps the key to the electoral votes of Illinois.

For almost 20 years this vote has been solid Democratic property. This fact is perhaps the reason the Republicans are making no effort to corral the Negro vote in Chicago. The plain fact is, today the Negro is reluctantly being hauled into the Democratic camp because of Republican default when a vigorous and imaginative campaign could decrease the Democratic hold appreciably.

Reappraise Democrats

The deep emotion provoked by the civil rights conflict and the melancholy events in the south following the Supreme court's decision desegregating the public schools, has caused Negroes to reappraise the Democrats, including those in Cook county. In process now is a Negro reappraisal of the extent of civil rights in Chicago.

The Democrats, Negro and white, have been unable to quite placate Negroes, for they received a blow-by-blow account of the convention's 17 man platform committee's deliberations, including the blatantly anti-Negro and anti-Democratic statements from the voluble Dixiecrats, which met no vigorous disavowal by northern Democrats.

Loyalty Unrewarded

Today, even Democrats are beginnig to ask if the Negro in Chicago has made adequate progress under Democratic rule for nearly 20 years of loyalty.

The fact is they are disappointed by what they regard as the failure of the Democrats to reward them in terms equivalent to the imposing majorities rolled up for the party's candidates. Indeed, they say, Negroes receive less proportionately, now than they did 20 years ago.

Negroes seldom get the really big political plums such as city and county contracts, bankruptcy proceedings, estates in litigation or built-in appointments, which permit free use of government jobs as patronage. So today Negro politicians complain bitterly that the race "only receives the crumbs that fall from the patronage table."

Cite New York

As a yardstick, they point to the superior developments in New York, where Negroes lead the nation in public acceptance, political participation and recognition, and indeed patronage. This is true even tho Harlem has no political vehicle comparable to the Dawson machine, and has displayed no such unwavering loyalty to the Democratic party as Negroes have in Chicago.

Negroes fare equally well under the Republican administrations in New York. To illustrate, former Gov. Thomas E. Dewey systematically appointed Negroes to positions of responsibility and prestige, and in the process developed a loyal and considerable following among Negroes.

The Republicans are equally remiss in their neglect, indifference and lack of recognition of the Negro voter—indeed, shockingly so. Gov. Stratton has made only one Negro appointment the Republicans can boast about. He is Joseph D. Bibb, who as director of public safety, holds the biggest political job ever given a Negro in Illinois.

Inspires Hostility

The fact that Gov. Stratton and indeed the subordinates of his administration, has made only one worthwhile Negro appointment would seem to suggest the Republicans have no idea of making a bid for the Negro vote.

Not only does this give Negroes a feeling of being ignored, but, worse, it inspires a lingering hostility to Republicanism, because Negroes interpret it as depreciating their capabilities and personal worth.

Today there are precious few Negro leaders articulating the Republican view—or, to use the language of the Democratic precinct captains, the Republicans have few people to "dry clean" the issues and prepare them for public presentation.

Even so, there does exist a great Republican potential among Negroes, plus a residual Negro Republican vote. For one thing, the Negro clergy, which senses the Negro distemper about the civil rights conflict, is largely supporting the Republican ticket. Already 60 have pledged support. This is a significant development, because many Negroes respond to the exhortations of their preachers.

Tightening Grip

The Rev. J. C. Austin, pastor of the Pilgrim Baptist church and 20 years a Democrat, corraled the Evangelical commission, a group embracing most of the south side churches, in to supporting the Republicans.

He told his church membership of 12,000 the reason: "The south, the solid south," he said, "has a strangling hold on the neck of the black man and is tightening its grip each day. This can only be broken by the right use of suffrage."

The fact is, the Republicans are receiving spontaneous support from Negroes, which with encouragement, could develop into a pronounced trend.

Favored by Women

President Eisenhower has an especially strong hold on the Negro women voters, partly because they react negatively to Adlai Stevenson's divorce and interpret his failure to keep his marriage together as somehow immoral. A clergyman's tribute to the firm marital relationship existing between the President and his wife at a recent political mass meeting brought rousing amens from women in the audience.

Make Distinction

The Negro community unquestionably contains a reservoir of Republican goodwill. But it is chiefly inspired by the affection held for President Eisenhower, for Negroes uniformly make a sharp distinction between the motives of the President and the Republican party. They generally subscribed to the view of Stevenson that some Republicans "cynically covet Mr. Eisenhower as a candidate, but ignore him as a leader."

Mrs. Edna Gayle, an art dealer of 7323 Rhodes av., said, "There's nothing wrong about Mr. Eisenhower, except the Republicans in his party. Personally he is a wonderful man."

31a 1956 NEGRO (ROY OTTLEY)

Life in Northern Cities Upsets Some Negroes

Daily Tribune P. 1

Mon. 5-7-56

[This is the ninth article in a series by a noted Negro scholar.]

Chicago Ill.

BY ROI OTTLEY

[© 1956: By The Chicago Tribune]

Nearly one-third of the Negro population in the United States today in the big cities of the north has developed a distinct racial psychology. Consequently, the Negro's mental health has profound meanings for the nation.

Ottley

For the bulk, living in the crucibles of Negro slums, sometimes exhibit unhealthy personality traits, social attitudes, and behavior, which add up to a psychology different from the white community.

Not so apparent are the deeper, more elusive aspects. But to grasp the reasons, we must understand the many emotional shocks to which Negroes are heir, which afterward linger like a pall over the Negro community.

Cases Affect Negroes

For example, the unpunished murder of young Emmett Louis Till by two white men in Mississippi or the mob disorders provoked by Autherine Lucy's attempt to attend the University of Alabama have emotional acoustics in every Negro neighborhood.

Among the recent migrants particularly, such occurrences reawaken deep seated feelings of wrong and denial, and even memories of injustices in the south; alert them to dangers in the north, and sometimes provoke irrational fear and insecurity.

To be sure, the Negro's basic psychology is the same as a white person's, and his social goals are identical. But when to the problems of being a Negro are added problems of fear and insecurity, the manifestations are sharp, sometimes bizarre.

There are Negroes who exhibit pronounced but concealed aggressions. For instance, there is the unnecessary jostling in public transportation, the displays of offensive manners, loud profanity, cheeky attitudes toward employers, and a general hostility to white persons.

Extenuating Circumstances

As a rule, Negro crimes against white people are found to have extenuating circumstances in the Negro community, viewed as they are against the whole social and racial background.

What hostility Negro middle and upper class people may feel is not manifested crudely. For they severely censor fighting and squabbling and impoliteness. Moreover, prudence and respectability prevent them from publicly expressing their feelings in noisy scoldings or lamentations.

This fact probably explains why these people are more highly sensitive. But the bulk find outlets for their feelings in organizational activity for the Negro cause or sometimes in socially useful occupations.

Daily Tribune P. 14

Protest Is Muted

For the most part, Negro protest is muted. As a consequence, it often is introverted and self-consuming. How else explain the apparently happy, normal 14 year old boy, who suddenly became obsessed with the fact of being a Negro and tried to kill two Negro children so they would not grow up in a world of prejudice.

"I hate myself every time I say 'boss' or 'coat tail' anybody," confessed one Negro.

Such people may desperately want to play different roles, but seemingly are incapable or regard the effort as hopeless and thus become aimlessly ineffectual. From this group are perhaps drawn the bulk of the Negro community's dope addicts.

Had No Record

To illustrate the numbers and background, the Illinois department of registration and education has compiled a list of the names and addresses of 8,500 known Negro drug addicts living in the Negro slums of Chicago.

The average age of a card carrying drug addict is 23 years old and 90 per cent had no criminal records before addiction. Approximately 50 per cent of all Negro crime is attributable to drug addiction. Of the dope addicts in Stateville-Joliet, 93.6 per cent are Negroes, the majority from Chicago.

System of Controls

Segregation and discrimination, actually a system of controls, form the fundamental reason for the Negro's peculiar psychology and the often curious manifestations that follow. The Negro feels rejected from the mainstream of the American community and this depreciates his feelings of self-esteem.

The Negro is physically excluded. But he is not socially ignored—a fact demonstrated by the labyrinth of racial taboos which sometimes reject and discriminate. From the cradle to the grave, Negroes must observe a racial etiquet. Even everyday routines frequently are performed only with considerable annoyance, delay, opposition, and indignity. And in gingerly trying to avoid provoking hostility, they are kept in a constant state of anxiety.

Molds Personality

The Negro's uncertain social and economic status and attempts to function in environments filled with contradictons serve to frustrate him. This fact conditions the Negro's outlook, shapes his aspirations, tailors his social values, and ultimately molds his personality.

These feelings often are transmitted to the children, whose guileless behavior frequently illuminates Negro psychology. Doctors Kenneth and Mamie Clark, Negro psychologists, conducted a study to determine the attitudes of Negro children toward race and racial differences.

They found that nearly every child was aware of racial differences and that the formulation of these racial attitudes begin between 4 and 5 years old, and this is inextricably bound up with the meanings of social status.

Fears Passed On

When 8 years old, Negro children begin to stabilize racially and even begin to develop some anti-white feelings—essentially to protect themselves against self-negation. For by then the fears and insecurities of the parents have been passed on to them.

Dr. Clark and his wife, established practitioners in New York City, conducted the tests with dolls—identical in every respect except color: Two were brown with black hair, two were white with yellow hair.

When asked to indicate the dolls they preferred, two-thirds chose the white dolls; 53 per cent attributed negative characteristics to the colored dolls, and only 17 per cent had negative attitudes about the white dolls. Some cried and two children ran from the testing room, unconsolably convulsed in tears, when asked to identify themselves with the colored dolls.

Seek Emotional Cushions

The troubled and rudderless migrant often seeks emotional cushions to the racial tensions and economic stress by consulting cultists, "herb doctors," "spiritual advisers," "clairvoyants," and "jackleg" preachers.

To the accompaniment of much mumbo-jumbo, these characters "treat" and provide "solutions" to the migrant's many complex problems, and turn a neat profit from the sale of dream books, love potions, and incense to destroy evil spirits.

Seek Professional Care

But today the newspapers, radio, and TV are harping on the necessity of emotionally disturbed people visiting psychiatrists. Negro physicians, clergymen, and social workers are also urging Negroes to seek professional care.

So nowadays the need for a scientific approach to the acute behavior problems, especially those aggravated by racial difficulties, is trickling down to the rank and file, and they are beginning to visit psychiatric clinics.

Negroes pay a considerable emotional price for migration to the northern cities, says Dr. Clark, but "they should not be given a hothouse existence because they receive rebuffs. They can be helped to stabilize themselves."

[Another article will appear tomorrow.]

OTTLEY TO TELL OF NEGRO MOVE TO THE NORTH

Daily Tribune

Sat. 4-28-56

Chicago Ill.

The great migration of 5 million Negroes from the deep south to northern cities and what has happened to them in their new environments are the subjects of 10 articles by a scholarly member of the Negro race. The series, by Roi Ottley, a distinguished writer on social subjects, will appear daily in THE TRIBUNE, beginning with the first article in tomorrow's issue.

Ottley

Ottley has approached the whole subject of the Negro in the north with a frankly open mind. He neither condemns nor praises whites or Negroes for abuses or tolerance on the part of either, but tells a straight forward story of things as they are. Readers will have a better understanding of conditions as they are today after reading Ottley's articles.

Attracted to the north by the promise or at least the hope of higher wages and better opportunities, the southern Negro from the rural districts, he points out, has not found conditions quite as favorable as he had expected.

Often Is Disillusionment

Crowded into congested areas, forced to pay higher rents than whites of the corresponding income level, and in general not treated too kindly in many instances, the southern Negro as often as not has been disillusioned.

Ottley describes certain advantages that have fallen to members of his race who have migrated to the north. For example he tells, of the Negro's increasing acceptance by labor unions, of the large numbers of Negroes in professional fields, and of the relative independence of those who live well as middle class families or are part of the Negro social circles of the big cities.

He makes a point of the fact that an estimated 82 per cent of all Negroes in this country have white ancestry somewhere along their lines, and that several million Negroes, who are considerably more white than nonwhite, actually are passing as whites.

As for segregation in the reverse, in Chicago, he mentions that four big high schools here, with a total enrollment of 8,200 pupils, have only 77 white pupils, and that one of these schools is totally Negro.

Born in New York

Ottley is a resident of Chicago, altho he was born in New York City and went to public schools there. Later he attended St. Bonaventure's college in Olean, N. Y., the University of Michigan, and St. John's Law school in Brooklyn. In addition he studied playwriting at Columbia university, article writing at the City College of New York, and Negro folk literature at New York university.

He began a newspaper career on the New York Amsterdam News of Harlem, New York City's Negro community, serving in turn as reporter, columnist, and editor. His first book, "New World A Coming," a survey of race relations in the United States, was published in 1943 and afterward republished under different titles in Brazil and England. For this he won a number of literary awards.

He served as publicity director of the National CIO war relief committee, after which he went abroad as a newspaper and magazine correspondent, traveling 60,000 miles in Europe and Africa and visiting 22 countries.

Tells Travels Abroad

His history of the Negro in America, "Black Odyssey," was published in 1948, and later republished in England, West Germany, and Czechoslovakia. His journeys abroad are described in his "No Green Pastures."

In addition to his European and African travels, he has traveled and resided in the West Indies and South America. It is doubtful if any other man has such a profound understanding of the race question, both at home and abroad, as Ottley.

At present he conducts a column in THE TRIBUNE on Saturdays and Sundays, has a Sunday night radio show on W-G-N, and he recently has published a new book, "The Lonely Warrier," a biography of Robert S. Abbott, founder and editor of the Chicago Defender, Negro newspaper.

NEGROES FIND DOORS WIDER OPEN IN NORTH

Progress in Citizenship Is Found Swift

(This is the final article in a series by a noted Negro scholar.)

BY ROI OTTLEY
[Chicago Tribune Press Service]
[© 1956: By The Chicago Tribune]

The Negro's progress in citizenship in the north, beginning with his mass migration from the south in 1915, has been tremendous. This has given the race surging optimism.

Ottley

He is developing a new personal dignity, as humbling legends tumble; and manifesting ambition, as traditional outlooks collapse. Tho his scope is limited at present, he nevertheless is moving forward rapidly.

To be sure, there are Negroes who complain that the progress is slow. Some even drape themselves in crepe and wail. Actually, the pace is breakneck, sometimes even too swift for the people.

Gaps Are Narrower

The flagrant gaps between whites and Negroes are beginning to narrow. A feeling of liberalism is bringing refreshment into the corners of the northern cities to enable the Negro to use his vitality creatively in new fields of endeavor.

To begin with, 40 years ago a Negro boy baby at birth had a life expectancy of 32 years; today he has an expectancy of 58, a sign of improved health standards among Negroes.

There is virtually no Negro illiteracy in the north. Nearly 400 have received doctor of philosophy degrees. More than 200 are teaching in white institutions, 70 are listed in "American Men of Science," including Negro atomic scientists. "Who's Who in America" contains the names of 91 Negroes.

Doors Are Open

The doors are open to museums, concert halls, theaters, night clubs, hotels, and restaurants. New York, where the United Nations has had a salutary effect upon the city's social climate, has an array of civil rights laws to reinforce the Negro's citizenship.

In theory, at least, the Negro in the north is free to live as he chooses and marry whom he pleases. He has equal protection of the law, redress when victimized by public officials, and the right to run for public office. Nowhere in the north is there "Jim Crow" travel.

Today the north has 94 tax supported commissions and 364 semi-official agencies to improve race relations. Nearly one billion man hours are voluntarily expended yearly by white people in organized efforts to improve the Negro's condition.

Much Aid Given

These people, expressing themselves thru liberal organizations, unions, progressive employer groups, schools, and churches, are creating an atmosphere for fundamental social change. They have supported progressive legislation in the state legislatures and in Congress.

The Negro's ascent has brought the first tentative, often awkward, social relationships between whites and Negroes. This is particularly evident in the unions, government employment, cultural activities, and the schools—that is, in areas where whites meet Negroes as equals.

The Negro's ability to escape slums and to establish homes in congenial and well kept neighborhoods, has been largely a result of the recent prosperity. The movement was accelerated by the Supreme court's decision in 1948, outlawing racial convenants which prevent Negroes purchasing property in areas occupied by whites.

Action in Hartford

Hartford, Conn., which has had many problems with recent Negro migrants, has tried to meet the housing situation in a definitive way. The city's council, in a roll call vote, unanimously adopted a resolution opposing discrimination in any public or private housing development.

Those who have crossed the tracks, so to speak, have paid extraordinarily high prices to establish homes in the better neighborhoods. They also have improved the properties, which has contributed to the well being of their cities.

The removal of "For White Only" signs from many jobs is beginning to choke off the Negro's loudest quarrel. It also has increased the race's per capita income.

He has recently been swept into a variety of new occupations. This integration has often been accompanied by equal pay and gradual upgrading, even in many cases where Negro employes are not represented by unions.

Big Buying Power

Negroes have more money today than they ever had before, with a total buying power of 10 billion dollars. Negro "capitalists" have appeared, operating insurance and manufacturing companies principally.

The outlook of the Negro business man is as conservative, class conscious, and individualistic as his white brother's, but he serves as a leavening influence on the Negro community.

Much has been accomplished in the north without publicity. Most newspapers, however, have consistently supported the Negro's right to equal treatment, and have exposed discriminations. They have thus contributed to the climate for social change, and softened the ordeal of transition.

To be sure, the north is no racial paradise. Much is prejudice and bigotry; much is bleak and sterile; much is ugly, and much requires reform and rehabilitation, which are slow in coming.

Resist Integration

For example, Chicago, Detroit, and Cincinnati do not have the liberality characteristic of New York, Philadelphia, or San Francisco, and therefore resist racial integration more vigorously.

The reason, perhaps, is that Chicago, Detroit, and Cincinnati may have a bit of a southern orientation, because white migrants hold key positions in the main arteries of these communities.

Even so, the Negro has accelerated his drive for citizenship everywhere in the north, confident of public support. There is nothing mysterious about what the Negro seeks—essentially, he is struggling to bring his status into equal line with the mass of white Americans.

His organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban league, spearhead the pressure for equal rights and opportunities. His newspapers, with circulations approximating 2 million, are potent weapons. And the Negro church, tho more cautious, is no less useful in the effort.

Day to Day Life

Today the average Negro demands tangible gains from his leadership. He is concerned mainly with day to day conditions. What is done about these concerns, is the measure of a leader's effectiveness, and a measure of his stature in the Negro community.

The delicate task of negotiating further gains is in the hands of a Negro "Big Ten"—what W. E. B. Du Bois envisioned 40 years ago as architects of the Negro's future in America.

As a group, they seek for Negroes all the rights, privileges, and benefits enjoyed by whites.

They are aggressively for integration, and oppose all forms of race separatism. Not one is wedded to a political party—a fact which gives them freedom of action and an independence of viewpoint.

Leaders Are Named

Today the Negro's leaders in the north include W. E. B. Du Bois, scholar and elder statesman; A. Philip Randolph, labor organizer; Channing H. Tobias, philanthropic executive; F. D. Patterson, educator; Mordecai W. Johnson, educator; Roy Wilkins, N. A. A. C. P. executive secretary; Ralph J. Bunche, diplomat; Lester A. Granger, Urban League director, and William H. Hastie, federal judge.

These men have inspired their people. But the migrant's expectations in the north are simple and concrete. The bulk came expecting a better life than had been open to them in the south — more food, more comfort, a job, perhaps a career in law, medicine, dentistry, or teaching; and expecting, too, to be treated as human beings.

They also sought a stake in the society, a reasonable opportunity to develop according to their capacities, a chance to better themselves, a chance to give their children a still better chance. By and large, the migrants have gotten what they sought in the north.

31a 1956

Rural Negro Slow Adjusting in City

Daily Tribune p. 1
Chicago, Ill.

BY ROI OTTLEY

[Copyright 1956: By The Chicago Tribune]

Why 5 million Negroes happily exchange the south's delta cabins for the north's tenement dwellings has puzzled many observers — for, at least superficially, a slum tenement is a hundred delta cabins, plus disease, crime, and neglect.

Ottley

But the south's Negroes, despite economic and educational progress, have been moving north for 40 years—a migration representing the greatest mass movement in history. Today 2,500 Negroes arrive in Chicago monthly — one every 15 minutes.

5-1-56

At first glance, there appears no logical reason for this mass shift, which ever since 1915 has steadily swelled. But the reasons lie in the differences between the south's parochial racial system and the north's relatively liberal social climate.

Footloose and Dispossessed

By and large the migrants seek social improvement, which they believe is presently obtainable only in the north. But, to begin with, they mainly represented the restless, dissatisfied, adventurous, footloose, and dispossessed.

They often arrived in the north bringing goats, chickens, pigs, dogs, cats, and raggedy children, and wearing overalls and housedresses, a few walking barefoot bearing their worldly goods tied in bandanas.

Rags and hand-me-downs, the scuffed, unlaced shoes, the improvised hats—these and many other significant details marked the Negro migrant. Consequently, immediately apparent was the flagrant gaps between whites and Negroes in dress, health, education, and social attitudes.

The migrants came mainly from the rural areas—but often via a southern city, where they might pause one or two years in their migration north and learn the rudiments of urban living. Sometimes they stopped in three or four cities along the route north, until they made the final move. But today the bulk, untouched by any urban contact, come directly north.

Economic Compulsion

The business and professional classes were slow in migrating, because the majority already had established economic stakes in the south. But as the migration grew to mass movement proportions, economic compulsions eventually forced them to follow their patients, clients and parishioners.

If the Negro migrant today is a problem to the white man in the north, he is equally a problem to northern-bred Negroes and indeed migrants already well established in the north. For essentially the migrants were [and are] a peasant folk, marked by distinct habits, manners, customs, and traditions which frequently clash with urban ways.

Social Structure Changed

Chicago's south side illustrates the impact on a northern Negro community. Before the migrant's mass arrival in 1915, Negroes formed a small, almost insignificant part of the city.

But the sheer weight of the migrant masses profoundly altered the relationship between Negroes and whites, and changed, too, the basic economic and social structure of the Negro community.

The bulk had come to the city from the semi-folk culture of the rural south, where the daily round was timed by the "great clocks of the sky," and where the rhythm of life was set by the cultivation of tobacco, cotton, and cane.

Upon arrival in the strange, almost foreign land of the north, their first task was to adjust themselves to a modern industrial city. This life involved substitution of the clock for the sun and the discipline of the factory for the agricultural cycle.

Liberty, Not License

They had to make adjustments to a complex world with a wide variety of associations and churches, a multitude of recreational outlets, and new opportunities in industry and politics. And in the over-all sense, they had to learn not to mistake liberty for license.

These were difficult adjustments to make. "For migration," observes Edward C. Berry, Chicago Urban League director, "causes cultural shock, because it is an abrupt break with a familiar past, and movement into a big, new, anonymous society, where the rules and customs are entirely new and different."

For example, northern-bred Negroes often complain that they rarely see green grass in the areas where the southern migrants are concentrated, and wonder why this poverty of green surroundings which might help to soften otherwise dismal living conditions.

Grass a Mortal Enemy

"The reason may be found in the migrant Negro's inherited folkways," one observer explained. "For Negroes who come from the rural south can hardly be expected to make a bed for grass, plant and nurture it, when grass has always been their mortal enemy.

"They and their ancestors have been fighting grass in the cotton and corn rows for nearly two centuries. Moreover, the standards of good housekeeping down south meant a clean yard laced with white sand, and no grass."

The migrants were indeed without elementary knowledge of northern living. For instance, they were ignorant of such simple urban skills as finding directories in office buildings, asking and following directions, the etiquette involved in riding public transportation, and the proper disposal of garbage.

Obstacle to Integration

Nor did their jobs help the process of integration. For the bulk found work in the factories and plants of mass employment, where they daily rub shoulders with people like themselves. Thus, as James Weldon Johnson observed, "A thousand Negroes from Mississippi, living [and working together] in Chicago remain a thousand Negroes from Mississippi."

The migrant's inability to cope with urban ways eventually produces social disorder. "For," says Berry, "the social controls of their old society are no longer present. For instance, the church is the most important institution in a rural Negro community. It is not only a religious institution, but it exercises important community controls and sanctions which are absent in the north."

Outnumbered 1,000 to 1

Today the Negro community is dragged down to the level of the unadjusted migrant, who by now outnumbers the urbanized Negro 1,000 to 1. And in the competition for his patronage, political leaders, business people and social institutions are forced to shift their appeals, techniques and standards to attract the newcomer.

Yet the Negro dispersion often creates hostility toward the migrant among Negroes themselves, even tho the community profits by the expanding Negro market and Negro electorate, and indeed the migrant's robust vitality.

Tendency to Isolation

The feeling is particularly evidenced by the socially and economically established Negro elements. They frequently bar the recent migrant from their clubs and organizations, discourage his attendance at their churches, and look askance upon his entrance into their neighborhoods.

This manifestation is largely transient, spanning the newcomer's period of adjustment. But meantime the migrant's rejection, both psychologically and physically, tends to isolate him from the community's mainstream, retard his assimilation, delay his urbanization, and sometimes strangle him spiritually.

But the south's Negroes continue to migrate in droves, despite the formidable problems they must face and the lack of enthusiasm for their presence in the north, for they generally get what they seek.

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[Another article in this series will appear tomorrow.]

(This is the third article in a series by a noted Negro scholar.)

Negro Migrants Establish Cities Within Cities in North

Daily Tribune p. 1
Chicago, Ill.

(Fourth article in a series by a noted Negro scholar.)

Wed. 5-2-56

BY ROI OTTLEY

Negro mass migration, representing one of the most significant happenings since emancipation, has created the phenomenon in the north of the "city-within-a-city," where Negroes have established a separate but ebullient existence.

Ottley

The five millions who have left the south in 40 years now live in well-defined settlements where they have evolved patterns of life which make unique and distinctive communities.

Complete in Themselves

These racial "cities," a result of the Negro's extraordinary adaptability, have their own schools, newspapers, and magazines, labor unions, hotels, hospitals, theaters, restaurants, and societies like the Elks, Masons, and Odd Fellows.

At first glance these "cities" are no different from other areas. Walk the streets of Chicago's south side, for example, and you will find no discernible difference to mark its people—only the bewildering array of skin colors distinguishes them, and perhaps the area's ever pungent aroma of sizzling barbecue, boiling greens, and black eyed peas.

These Negro urban communities in the north came of age in the 1920s, ushering in an era of noisy vitality. Everywhere there seemed to be gayety, good feeling, and the sound of jazz. The rhythm of life seemed to beat to the clink of glasses and the thump of drums.

Daily Tribune

Music and Laughter

Honky-tonks prospered, and

money seemed to flow from everyone's pockets as easily as laughter from their lips. Urchins were happily tricking dance steps on the sidewalks as people listened to the syncopations of Fletcher Henderson's band and the moanin' low of Bessie Smith.

Wallace Thurman, Negro novelist described his people in this era as "infants of the spring." Much of what happened was stimulated by a spectacular economic boom, and the general belief there were easy pickings in the north. The outlanders heard that gravy ran in the gutters—and all one had to do was reach down and sop it up with biscuits.

National attention was focussed upon the Negro "cities" by newspapers and magazines, and soon new waves of migrants were heading north. To be sure Negroes were familiar with the general fact that prejudice against them is in part a reaction to their numbers, but they felt the increases would give them power and protection.

Warns Quality Counts

W. E. B. Du Bois, respected elder statesman of his race, criticized those Negroes who ". . . are quite led away by the fallacy of numbers. They are cheered by a census return of increasing numbers and a high rate of increase. They must learn that among human races and groups, as among vegetables, quality and not mere quantity really counts."

But while pundits like Du Bois talked of selectivity, Negro community boosters invited migrants of all descriptions to make their homes in the Negro "metropolis." Chicago's south side had become "Bronzeville," Detroit's Negro area "Paradise Valley," and New York's Harlem the "Black Metropolis," and each community had elected a Negro "mayor."

The Negro radicals complained that the boosters had merely "laid a carpet in the ghetto"—because the basic issues of civil rights and prejudice still remain unsolved.

Life Often Crude

The truth is, life in these "cities" was [and is] often crude and sinister, with hoodlums flashing switchblades in darkened corners. The streets are crowded with shabby loiterers, ragged urchins, and overdressed strollers.

Bosomy women often drape tenement windows, as the rising smell of cooking mingles with the mustiness of dark dank hallways. Fakers, charlatans, and cultists—those jackals of the city jungles—set up shop and flourish by exploiting credulous people caught in the racial and economic maelstrom.

Cultural Hubs for Negro

But these Negro "cities" were swiftly becoming the nerve centers of an advancing race, and the fountainheads of mass movements.

From them was flowing the progressive vitality of Negro life. For, as cross-sections of the Negro population—a little from here, there, and everywhere—they were becoming the cultural and intellectual hubs of the Negro.

Today the Negro truly feels a part of a distinct community. A walk thru the streets of Chicago's south side or Harlem, contrasted with a walk thru Alabama's Birmingham or Georgia's Athens or Mississippi's Jackson, will bring out sharply a quality of ease, belongingness, and poise, which is unknown to Negroes anywhere in the south.

More Than Collections

To grasp the significance of this development, one that cannot be accounted for purely by intellectual processes, we must understand that these Negro "cities" are more than simple collections of dark individuals in one place, more indeed than mere settlements.

They are, in fact, centers and strongholds of the Negro's independent existence, without which Negro progress would have come at a snail's pace. They offer the mass a congenial environment for self-expression and opportunities for self-realization.

One significant development in the growth of these racial "cities," has been the emergence of a Negro upper class, which moves smoothly and complacently within its own orbit, content to live upon the Negro market as doctors, lawyers, dentists, politicians, preachers, and merchants.

Roughly Three Classes

Chicago's south side illustrates the development of social stratifications among Negroes in the north. Here Negroes are divided roughly into three classes:

The upper class, or Negro society, made up of professional and business people, who represent some 10 per cent of the population; a middle class, which is formed by the civil employes, technical, and skilled workers, and at the bottom of the social ladder, the unskilled and domestic workers recruited mainly from the recent migrants.

The small exclusive unit known as Negro society sharply contrasts with the unpolished migrant. Wedded to middle-class standards, these people have all the conservatism inherent in this class, and struggle to realize the values which give status within their group.

Usually College Trained

Usually they are college trained, belong to the Methodist or Episcopal churches, generally vote the Republican [but lately the Democratic] ticket, and as property owners live sedately in the better-kept areas, own automobiles, and country places, and employ servants.

Home furnishings show taste and orderliness. The women's clothes bear the labels of fashionable specialty shops, and the men wear suits of conservative cut and colors. Their daughters make formal debuts into society, and make conventional marriages as well.

As a group they are stable, prosperous and often well rooted in the community, beyond the reach of certain racial pressures which plague the crude and unlettered rank and file. They provide the community with leadership, and constitute a leavening group in the Negro population.

Provide Social Cushions

The Negro's separation may limit his vision, handicap his social and economic progress, and stunt his intellectual and cultural growth, but these racial "cities" serve the important function of providing Negroes with social cushions, something which is absent in the social system of the south.

Note well: Negroes may seemingly have an inferior status to whites, socially and economically, but in the racial "cities" of the north they are certainly not downtrodden or despised, and enjoy a sheltered and relatively secure position as well as various forms of distinction.

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[Another article in this series will appear tomorrow.]

31a 1956 NEGRO (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)

Patterson censures Our Capitol Bulletin

Afro-American Bal. 12-15-56 P. 12

Baltimore, Md.

By WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

NEW YORK—"Our Capitol" is the title given by the U. S. Senate to Bulletin Number 13 of the 1st session of the 84th Congress.

31a

The title, re-enforced by an illuminating footnote on the front page gives one a mild patriotic thrill.

But the contents do not enhance the reputation of America for fair play; certainly we can not consider them as other than downgrading to colored citizens.

* * *

A FRONT page footnote tells us that on the inside will be found:

"Factual information pertai-ning to our Capitol and places of historic interest in the national capital."

"Our Capitol" deals only with the contributions of white men and women in the building of the Capitol, and in the affairs of State and of the capital, Washington, D. C.

The places of historic interest noted by "Our Capitol" are those in which some feat of a white man or woman were featured.

* * *

SEARCH THE bulletin from cover to cover. Not a single contribution of American colored people to the creation of that beautiful city on the Potomac or in the direction of state affairs is recorded.

The Senate of our legislative branch of government, with all of the research of the Congressional Library at its services, could not find an event in which colored people participated to their and our country's glory or a place of interest associated with the lives of colored people worthy of historical note.

How interesting!

* * *

WHAT DOES this omission mean? The filthy racist mongering of an Eastland or Ellender finds support in this misguiding government document.

The lying racist propaganda of the Klan or that of the degenerate White Citizens Councils find confirmation here.

Colored citizens are insulted and the national integrity of the country thus impeached by the omissions of which this document is guilty. The insult is a studied one.

* * *

THE BULLETIN will be sent to U. S. Embassies abroad. It will be used in civic classes and as reference material in our schools, colleges and universities.

This Senate document will be used by some racists as a moral justification for denying equality of opportunity to black citizens.

A jim-crow policy of government is indeed a fitting reward for those who have made no contributions to Washington or the Capitol.

* * *

BENJAMIN BANNEKER, a friend of Thomas Jefferson, was one of Washington's surveyors. He was a colored man. Frederick Douglass, a colored man of heroic mold, helped save the Union by his insistence that Abraham Lincoln draft and issue the Emancipation Proclamation.

The issuan.e greatly weakened the South. Douglass had greater responsibility than any other man for the executive order which marshalled tan soldiers to the colors of the North.

Those soldiers played a decisive part in the defeat of the slave holders. The home of the immortal Douglass, which long since ought to have been declared by Congress a national shrine, is on a hill in the Anacostia section of Washington.

* * *

THEN THERE is Howard University, a great American school originally created for the benefit of freedmen in the national capital.

Booker T. Washington made history there together with his friend President Theodore Roosevelt.

Two colored Senators and a host of colored Representatives walked the halls of Congress. They initiated and participated in debates seeking to wipe the stench of slavery from our shores.

History is replete with the magnificent contributions of colored patriots to the affairs of the Capitol and places of interest in the capital. But the Senate could not find any.

* * *

SENATE BULLETIN 13 should be withdrawn from circulation. A document correcting this vicious distortion of history should be issued.

This crime of omission is in my opinion a conscious smear upon the character and activities of colored people.

It is however consistent with the Senate's filibustering of anti-racist legislation, consistent with the failure of Congress to pass an anti-lynch law, consistent with the demoralizing anti-colored vaporings of an Eastland, but inconsistent with the Bill of Rights and our preachments of fair-play.

Let's issue an "Our Capitol" that sustains the pride of all Americans in the building of our great country.

Undoubtedly the system of miseducation and the distortions of history which are characteristic of the writing of capitalist ideologists where the achievements of colored are concerned has left about 95 per cent of the Congress ignorant of what American colored people have done.

Perhaps a colored organiza- should write "Our Capitol" with some such footnote on the front page as this:

"Factual information pertaining to the contributions of colored people in the affairs of the Capitol and places of interest in the Capital."

(On the inside cover that organization might add this note:)

"Published by
as a public service to the people of the United States in order to correct the distortions of history committed by the United States Senate in its "Our Capitol" — Senate Bulletin 13 of the 84th Congress, and out of respect for the national integrity of our country and its honor before the world."

Demos, GOP Woo Votes Of 2 Million Baptists

Defender Chicago, Ill p. 2

Sat. 9-8-56

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

"Moderation," a word that in recent months has come to have its own peculiar meaning in relation to American politics, was the restraining factor in the framing of the Civil Rights planks of both parties.

In Chicago, where the platform makers of the Democratic Party labored in smokefilled rooms until the wee hours of the morning, moderation overshadowed every other consideration, and in San Francisco, where the Republicans met, it invaded the campus rooms with whispering caution to those eager to make political hay over the shortcomings of the Democrats in Chicago.

Looking back now after the oratory of the convention has died away, a newsman commented to Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP in San Francisco, "Well, Roy, it looks as if the time has come now to act on what you said in Chicago in April. It's a choice between the known devil and the suspected witch."

THE BIG KEY

As Negro voters were pondering over the political situation, a churchman who may be the key to the answer of which way a large portion of that strategic vote may go, was packing his bags in Chicago to go to Denver for the 76th annual session of the National Baptist Convention, USA. Requests were coming in from both the Republicans and the Democrats for permission for their top candidates to address the meeting. In view of the fact that Dr. Joseph Harrison Jackson heads this organization of 4 1-2 million members, at least two million of whom are registered voters, the eagerness to receive such an invitation is understandable. Moreover, as the author of the famous "Declaration of Negro Intentions," issued on Chicago on April 3, and adopted as the blueprint of action by the "State of the Race" conference of Negro leaders at Washington, D. C., on May 18, Dr. Jackson has become the undisputed spokesman of millions of Americans.

Only a few days before, the Baptist leader had returned from his latest mission to Europe where he had attended the executive committee meeting of the World Council of Churches at Matrahazy, Hungary, and then went on a preaching tour of Yugoslavia and Roumania.

The importance of his position as an international religious figure was underscored when he made the motion which was passed to admit the Hungarian Baptist church into the World Counc of Churches. Thus was penetrated another opening in the Iron Curtain, and a giant step taken forward in the interest of world peace through Christianity. It has been more than 10 years since any Western clergyman was permitted to tour Yugoslavia and Roumania to carry a gospel message.

NEW IDEAS

In Denver, Dr. Jackson will give an account of his stewardship since he was elected president at Miami in September, 1953. In those three years time, many profound and historic events have taken place of which he was a part.

Significantly, this big religious body has emerged as a powerful force in the spiritual and material life of American Negroes. Its leadership is articulate and forceful. From it have come some refreshing new ideas, new youthful leaders and a wave of mass consciousness which has shaken the entire country.

Noted in attendance at the Denver meet will be Rev. Martin Luther King, jr., and Rev. Ralph Abernathy, leaders of the Montgomery resistance movement, as well as many of the other courageous Baptist ministers of that city who have been instrumental in carrying on the struggle down South.

Young King and his father, Rev. Martin Luther King, sr., of Atlanta, Ga., are two of the most stalwart supporters of Rev. Jackson, and were instrumental in his election to the presidency. Dr. Jackson got the convention to donate money to the bus boycott as well as his own Olivet Baptist church in Chicago, and the younger King has often sought the counsel of Rev. Jackson during the crisis.

AIMS AND PURPOSE

As Dr. Jackson explains in his Declaration of Negro Intentions in the preface, "some kind of expression of outlook, aims and purpose" was needed to establish the position of the Negro in the accelerated pace of events in America today, where he stands, what his innermost thoughts and desires are, how he feels about the profound sociological impact of the Supreme Court decision and what he has set his goal for.

Particularly was this necessary in the climate created by the brazen defiance of the South, as expressed in the manifesto signed by 96 senators and representatives in March of this year. When they went on record as defying and circumventing the Supreme Court, it became an imperative necessity for the Negro to declare where he stood. Thus was born the Declaration of Negro Intentions, in which a race of freed slaves, reaffirmed its faith in the American Constitution, pledged its renewed allegiance of loyalty and patriotism, and declared that while it was willing to shed blood for the preservation of free American, it was also willing to make the supreme sacrifice for its own freedom as guaranteed by the Constitution.

TO RECOGNIZE

This year, the visit of five Russion Baptist leaders to Chicago where they were the guests of Olivet Baptist church, was a highpoint in international goodwill. At Memphis, last year, during the convention, Dr. Jackson made some specific recommendations in regards to modernizing the bulky convention machinery within the framework of its Democratic concept. These are to be acted upon during the Denver sessions.

They include a review of the articles of incorporation of the convention with a clarification of the exact powers and function of the boards of the church with obedience to the rules. Under it, the secretaries of the boards would be required to turn over the profits of the boards for the fiscal year to the board of directors of the convention instead of continuing to operate autonomously as they have done in the past.

There is also the question of whether to lift the limitation on the tenure of office of the president (now four years). Dr. Jackson has insisted that this be left to the convention and that whatever the decision is that it be done by a two thirds majority.

The post of executive secretary of the convention has not yet been filled because of lack of clarification of his duties. This must be resolved. In addition, Dr. Jackson has recommended the creation of a Department of Missions to develop a unified coordinated missionary and educational program. Solicitation of funds from the various mission boards would thus be a joint program.

Dr. Jackson wants also more cooperation and exchange of literature between the National Baptist Convention, USA and the National Baptist Convention of America. He wants both bodies to share in the work of the Theological Seminary in Nashville, with the full right to send students and to share in the support and to occupy places on the trustee board.

The National Baptist Convention, USA, will join with other Baptists in a nation-wide crusade to win America For Christ — the year to be decided upon. Dr. Jackson has asked for the fuller participation in convention affairs of more laymen from the business and professional groups, in order to help the convention to become stronger as a business institute.

The convention has petitioned Congress to make May 17, a legal holiday in commemoration of the Supreme Court decision. Though it has not been acted upon, Dr. Jackson has spearheaded nationwide annual observances of prayer and fasting for this day.

It is expected that at Denver, he will outline a specific program of action as a follow up to the Declaration of Intentions. While he is by no means engaging in direct political activity, what will be done is bound to have great significance in a presidential election year when so many vital things are at stake.

The South's New Hero

Defender p. 8

Clergymen Spring Forward To Lead Freedom's Fight

Chicago, Ill. Feb. 2-25-56

31a

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

A new type of leader is emerging in the South. He is neither an NAACP worker, nor a CIO political action field director.

Instead, this gladiator going into battle wears a reverse collar, a flowing robe, and carries a Bible in his hand.

This new, vocal, fearless, and forthright Moses who is leading the people out of the wilderness into the promised land is the Negro preacher.

To the embattled defenders of white supremacy like Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, the potential danger to their position from the source is greater than the hated NAACP against which they so hysterically rant.

NO MORE EXPEDIENCY

In the scriptures, the prophet, Elijah, looking out at the mighty hosts of the Phillistines encircling the Israelites, cried out that they were hopelessly outnumbered, but he got a comforting answer when the Lord God said: "Fear not for they that are with us are more than they that are with them."

Yesterday, expediency was the formula by which an uneasy co-existence was maintained between whites and blacks in the South. It was humiliating and degrading, but one existed by it.

The preacher's job was to try and give spiritual comfort to his people and to exhort them to be patient with their burden down here while they were waiting for a better life in the hereafter.

To some, the minister was a symbol of handkerchief-head submission.

Today, the Negro preacher is praying but he is also fighting for his democratic way of life for his people that has so long been denied them.

SHOW COURAGE

Despite the fact that he walks in constant danger and is harassed by threats, this modern man of God is sure of one thing — the Lord is on his side. Some have even made the supreme sacrifice of laying down life for the freedom of their people.

In South Carolina, Rev. J. A. DeLaine, an AME minister, signed the original petition in the Clarendon County suit for integration of schools.

For four years, while the case was argued in the lower courts and finally moved up to victory in the Supreme Court, Rev. DeLaine remained, carrying out his pastoral duties. Twice he had his churches burned down and fiery crosses burned on the lawn of his home.

USES A GUN

One night last October, a carload of terrorists drove up to his house and fired a volley of shots. While his wife fled for her life to neighbors, the courageous minister returned the fire.

Said he, "I wanted to mark that car. I shot in the name of Jesus." He finally had to take refuge in the North.

In Belzoni, Miss., Rev. George Lee, a Baptist minister, signed his name to a voter's registration list. He not only voted, but he went about encouraging other Negroes to register and vote.

Like Rev. DeLaine and practically every other courageous man of the cloth, he was an active member of the NAACP. In May, 1955, he was slain by bullets as he sat in his car.

HOME BOMBED

In Montgomery, Ala., Rev. Martin Luther King, a 27-year-old Baptist minister, took the lead in organizing the boycott against the city bus lines which is now in the tenth week with no signs of letting up.

After his home was burned, narrowly missing injuring his wife and infant daughter, a fellow minister, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, got a phone call.

The voice said, "We got King. You're next on the list."

The young minister replied, "I tell you what. If you should come and I am not at home, you'll know that I'm out encouraging my people to stay off the buses, but just wait for me. I'll be back."

CHURCH RALLYING POINT

The outstanding thing about the Montgomery boycott is that every Negro minister in the city is actively participating. Denominational lines have been crossed and forgotten about in the single unity of purpose.

The churches are the meeting houses, just as in pre-civil war days, they were places to "Steal away to Jesus."

They are providing not only a gathering place, but a source of fund-raising to carry on the fight and a source of spiritual comfort to sustain the people.

Two years ago in Baton Rouge, La., Rev. T. H. Jemison, a Baptist clergyman, organized and led a boycott similar to the one in Montgomery. Though it did not last as long, it was called off only after the demands for more courteous treatment and equitable seating arrangement were met.

As a matter of fact, it was the forerunner of the Montgomery case, which has become the first test of intra-state laws on segregation in travel.

RECLASSIFIED

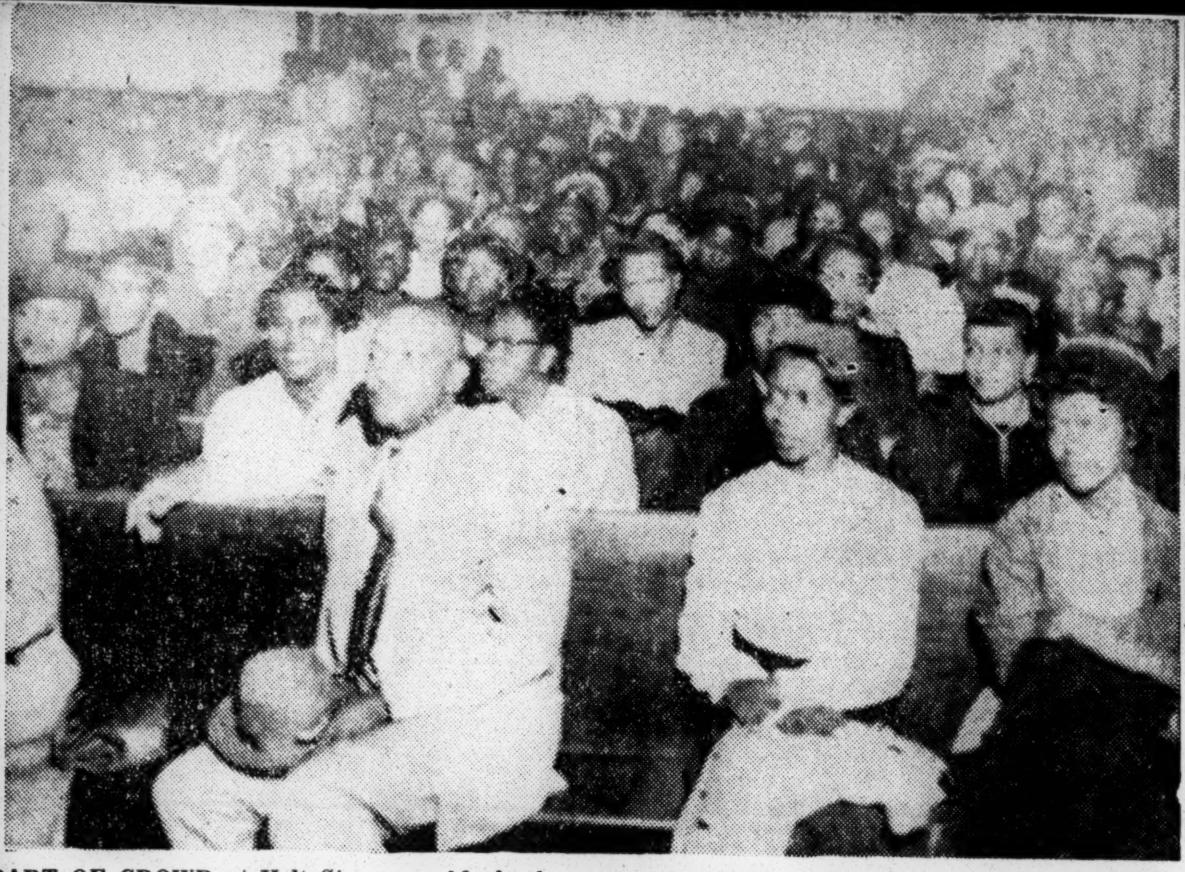
Even the lawyer, Fred D. Gray, who is handling the case for the Negro citizens of Montgomery is an ordained minister of the Church of Christ. He serves as a part time pastor of a church.

The day after he filed suit to change the state laws on segregation, his local draft board reclassified him from 4-D, the status of clergymen, to 1A, making him subject to call for immediate military duty.

So the church is leading the way in the painful transition to a new social order. It means that the foes of integration are at war with the Christian church, but History has recorded that in the long run, nobody yet has been able to lick those who are on the side of the Lord.

REV. J. A. DELAINE

REV. GEORGE LEE



PART OF CROWD at Holt St. Baptist church in Montgomery, one of six meetings held weekly in the current bus boycott. Here the pepole come to get reports, listen to testimony and raise money for financing the boycott. The bus boycott in Montgomery is being led by ministers.

Ethel Payne To Tell Of South

Ethel L. Payne whose eight-part series, "The South at the Crossroads," begins in this issue of the Defender on Page 5, writes from a store house of knowledge and understanding gained during far flung reporting assignments.

She was "right on top" of the explosive University of Alabama -- Autherine Lucy riot story and almost became a headline herself when she was firmly invited to leave the university campus "before you start another riot."

Prize winning Reporter Payne followed the Lucy case on-the-spot until she was expelled from the school. She has also been on the scene in Montgomery, Ala., studying and reporting the long standing boycott of bus transportation by Negro residents.

The writer has conducted spot interviews and depth interviews with high Southern governmental officials, with metropolitan and community newspaper editors, with members of White Citizens councils and with the principals in the South's struggle to come to grips with the rampaging race issue.

She has talked with Negro leaders, workers, housewives and she has spent laborious hours studying the Schomburg collection of literature by and about the Negroes.

Miss Payne has searched the pages of hundreds of Southern newspapers fitting together the crazy-quilt pattern of life in the South.

As a roving reporter, Miss Payne's Defender reports have carried datelines of Bandung, Indonesia, site of the 1955 Asian-African conference, as well as 10 other Asian and European countries.

She has reported the highly specialized news of the nation's capital and as the Defender's Washington correspondent has provoked many a news story by her searching questions at President Eisenhower's news conference.

Her brilliant reporting has won for her a string of awards topped by the Capital Press club's "Newsman's Newsman Award." She has been cited by Iota Phi Lambda and Phi Delta Kappa sororities and the Chicago Negro Chamber of Commerce.

In 1952, she received the Illinois Press association award for the year's "best feature story," a senior on the adoption of babies.

Democrats Fight To Preserve Unity

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

Not even the imminent threat of war over the Suez Canal could supercede the issue of civil rights at the Democratic Convention in Chicago last week.

It dominated the pre-convention platform hearings was discussed everywhere people stopped to talk in hotel corridors, on the convention floor and on radio and TV programs.

ETHEL PAYNE

Rights hogged the headlines of the newspapers and glowed like the burning bush of Moses' time.

The Democrats were caught in a dilemma peculiar to the complexion of their party. On one hand they had to write a civil rights plank strong enough to keep the Negro vote; on the other, they were leaning over backwards to keep from antagonizing Southerners who are dead set against civil rights.

The unhappy part was that Democrats believe that both the Negro vote and party unity are essential in the forthcoming campaign.

Efforts of party leaders to drench down the hot issue to avoid a spontaneous combustion and upset what was intended to be a calm and peaceful convention atmosphere had to be abandoned when the subject got out of control like an unruly rocket.

UPSET SOUTH

Adlai Stevenson's eleventh hour switch from his moderation position to the advocation of a strong rights plank, upset the South, but took some of the starch out of the support for a strong rights plank which had been the bulwark of N. Y. Gov. Averell Harriman.

Harry Truman arrived and gave a long testimony before the platform committee in which he urged the plank to be modeled after the 1948 and 1952 versions. He said he especially favored the '48 one because this is the one he ran on and won by.

He urged the platform writers to use his famous document "To Secure These Rights" as a guide.

Though he did not say that the Supreme Court decision should be spelled out, Truman's statement had the direct effect of slowing to a virtual halt all attempts to write a platform with a weak rights plank.

TRY TO SAVE FACE

Southerners trying to save face crowed loudly that the former President had used a moderate approach to the problem in order to preserve party unity.

The Southerners went into a caucus and by Friday before the convention opened, the word had spread that the South was willing to be "reasonable" and the major concession they wanted was an omission of the words, "Supreme Court."

The fine hand of Truman, the master politician, had set the tone for the Democrats to make at least some showing of firmness on the touchy rights question. He was the first of a long line of witnesses on civil rights.

MEANY POWERFUL

The most powerful voice raised in favor of direct and forthright language in the platform was that of George Meany, president of the 15-million member AFL-CIO.

Flanked by some of America's top labor chieftains, Walter Reuther of the UAW; James C. Petrillo of the Musicians union, and James B. Carey of the Electrical Workers, Meaney told the committee that failure of the convention to make any direct reference to the Supreme Court in the platform would be considered as avoiding the issue.

Labor, he said, would not accept any evasion of federal responsibility to protect the civil rights of all Americans.

When Rep. Emanuel Celler of New York, queried Meany about the necessity of mentioning the Supreme court, the blunt speaking union head retorted that the defiance of state officials, who for the most part were Democrats, made it necessary to talk in plain language.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, speaking for the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, testified that the issue was no longer one between Negro and certain white Americans, it was a matter of obeying law.

VERSUS STATES RIGHTS

States rights should not be permitted to take priority over states responsibility, Wilkins declared. "Negroes are United States citizens as well as Mississippi citizens and their constitutional rights are properly the concern of the U. S. government," the NAACP head said.

Rev. Martin Luther King, jr., famed leader of the Montgomery bus boycott, testified on behalf of the Montgomery Improvement Association. He called moderation a tragic voice which all men of good will must condemn.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, presented a statement on behalf of the State of the Race Conference held last May in Washington.

He asked that the seniority rule in Congress be abolished because it permitted perpetual domination of committee chairmanships by those hostile to the rights of minorities.

ASK COUNCIL PROBE

Rev. Owen D. Pelt, historian of the National Baptist Convention USA, read a resolution calling for Congressional investigation of the White Citizens' Councils.

His statement proposed that legislation be passed giving full protection to Negroes in the South. It asked that Negroes be allowed to join legally organized and constituted groups which would benefit them.

It also asked that oaths of office taken by all public officials include allegiance to obeying the Supreme Court decisions with penalty provisions for failure to do so.

Earlier, Belford Lawson, Washington attorney, and a member of the platform committee, denounced what he labeled as an attempt to "drag the Supreme Court into the civil rights controversy," but Rep. William L. Dawson, a member of the 15-member drafting committee said he favored a strong rights plank.

31a 1956

NEGRO (ETHEL L. PAYNE)

Defender p.10 Chicago, Ill p.10 Sat. 7-14-56

Chicago Getting Ready For Democratic 'Spectacular'

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

Along about 2 p.m., on Monday, August 13, Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, will bring down his gavel and solemnly announce: "The convention will be in order."

Thus, will be the official opening of the 1956 Democratic National Convention, in Chicago with Rayburn as permanent chairman and the opening salvo in the drama, produced once every four years with the title, "Politics, USA."

The 2744 delegates and alternates, (twice as many as in 1952) will sit down in their alloted places. The VIP's will crane from their boxes, and those John Q. Citizens who preferred to "see it live," rather than sit by their television sets will cramp themselves into a corner of the gallery, only to find that because of the low hanging ceiling, which blots out the floor, they'll be seeing from a neatly contrived monitor set into the ceiling.

GRIPES AND BEEFS

Down below, a battery of 4,000 correspondents from all over the country and a good many foreign representatives will bang out copy to be sent out over the wire services at the rate of a million or more words a minute and high up in the loft, the "birdmen" who preside over the TV and radio broadcast booths will begin their long vigil of keeping the watching public of an estimated 100 million viewers abreast of every development. Inevitably, there will be heard the gripes such as "lousy arrangements." "Wait'll I see my state chairman about this" or "the guy who dreamed up this confusion shoulda stood in bed."

The beefing will be even worse over hotel space and at the last minute, some blessed genii will have to step forth with some "undiscovered rooms" for Congressman Slocum's friend because he's the guy who has the key to a solid bloc of votes in his vest pocket.

Almost nobody will get more than a total of 16 hours sleep from Monday through Friday and nerves will be worn ragged, but somehow, a ticket will be nominated and everybody will leave determined to go out and win for the "peepul's choice."

QUALIFICATIONS NEEDED

Ironically, for the four or five days of a convention, few people, except those directly concerned with its operation, realize that more than a year of planning goes into the preparation for the actual sessions. And the most thankless job in the world is that of the convention manager.

He has to have the patience of Job, the skill of a top career diplomat, and a faculty for remembering everybody from precinct captains to the biggest wheels in the party. He needs a freight car of aspirins for the big headache of trying to please everybody and making good if he satisfies one third.

His blood pressure had better not be more than 40 over 100 if he wants to keep his head attached to his neck and he needs the sweet disposition of a saint with a hide six inches thick to withstand the barbs thrust at him. If he has all these ingredients plus a natural know-ow, he may actually find himself enjoying his job!

Sitting behind a table of blue prints in an air-conditioned suite of the Conrad Hilton hotel in Chicago this week was an earnest handsome man who was trying hard to fill the bill.

He is J. Leonard Reinsch, a director of the far-fling Cox radio network. Reinsch whose striking good looks and blonde wavy hair could make him a double for Actor, Van Johnson, started with a late handicap. He was drafted as a pinch-hitter when his predecessor, Neile Roach resigned a month ago as convention manager. Trying to catch up, Reinsch is putting in a 16 to 18 hour day. His staff of five, headed by amiable Texas - born Betty Forsling, is working seven days a week and as the swift pace increases, they may be putting in eight days a week!

Reinsch moves back and forth between his offices and the International Amphitheatre with the roll of blueprints tucked under his arm. Workmen are busy now building the soundproof studios which will house the television and radio control booths He has to go over and over the big auditorium so that he will have a photo flash vision of every nook and cranny, the idea being to manipulate space to the fullest advantage.

CONVENTION STORY

Briefly, this is the story of a national political convention. The chairman of the national committee is the pivot man or focal point of all operations. He has an executive committee selected from the national convention which discusses and approves action on behalf of the national committee.

The first step is the appointment of a site committee which entertains invitations from various cities. After the city has been selected, a host committee is set up to work with the convention committee. In the case of Chicago, the hosts include besides Mayor Richard J. Daley, James O'Keefe, chairman, Col. Jack Arvey, Congressman William L. Dawson and Mrs. Elizabeth Conkey.

The convention committee for legal purposes is a separate operation from the national committee because the money offered by the city to bring the convention to it cannot be used for campaign purposes.

The general manager of the convention, who is named by the national committee, is reponsible for the housing of everyone coming to the sessions, including delegates and alternates, VIP's, newspaper personnel, and all who are remotely concerned. As Reinsch puts it, everybody is a VIP.

LAST MINUTE DETAILS

Everybody wants an air-conditioned room and the manager must provide caucus rooms (smoke-filled) for strategy huddles. He's got to see to it that suites are provided for those top people who forgot until the last moment. There are luncheons to be arranged, reporting and secretarial services to be provided. Because of the proximity of the Blackstone to the Hilton which is the headquarters of the convention, there is a demand for preferred corner space here.

The manager has to see that the press is happy with its arrangements (woe betide him if he doesn't). The daily press will occupy the floor on either side of the platform and the weekly press will have a gallery section. All credentials and tickets go through the manager Parking space has to be arranged. There are a thousand details to be attended to.

This year, Reinsch is instituting some new innovations to make things a little easier and more enjoyable. For the first time, a "line of sight" blueprint is being employed as a scientific basis for smoother operation. An ingenious device by which the speaker at the rostrum steps on an elevator automatically raises or lowers him to the proper "line of vision" will enable the cameras to focus better.

Profiting from the long sessions of 1952 in which a lot of people went hungry because they didn't dare leave crucial sessions to bo out and eat, hot meals will be provided during any such emergencies that may arise this year. TV monitor sets at various intervals in the galleries will enable those in attendance to see without straining.

NEWS AXIS

For the days of the convention Chicago and the International Amphitheatre will be the news axis of the world with an estimated 100 million viewers at peak times. Reinsch and Paul Butler chairman of the Democratic National Committee will be as close as Ike and Mike during the proceedings. Since there are so many more delegates the alternates will have to be seated in the mezzanine and keep in touch with their units by telephone Reinsch's biggest problem now is trying to drum up 1800 "lost seats" which had to be forfeited to make room for the overflow of delegates and alternates.

About the 1st of August, there will be a feminine invasion when Katie Loucheim, who directs womens Activities for the Democratic Committee will move in with a task force and set up housekeeping. Among the bright plumage of feminine coterie will be Vernice T. Spraggs, the indefatigable assistant to Vice - Chairman Dawson of the committee and Mrs. Christine Ray Davis. the Congressman's alter ego and Girl Friday.

You would think that anyone with a job thrust upon him like Reinsch has had, would be happy o see August 19 come and go when he might be able to go into a Rip Van Winkle trance and catch up on some lost sleep. But is he looking forward to a vacation? No! As soon as he gets the national committee meeting out of the way, the day after the convention closes, Reinsch will pick up his bag and go not fishing, but campaigning.

J. LEONARD REINSETT, general manager of the Democratic National Convention, goes over some blue prints for handling the estimated 10,000 people he must find seats for in the International Amphitheatre. A "task force" of planning moved into Chicago last April to set up headquarters in the Conrad Hilton hotel, but Reinsett assumed an emergency assignment as convention manager June 1, after Neale Roach resigned.

Weak Rights Planks May Boom 3rd Party-Jackson

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 8-11-56 P. 1

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

Talk of a possible third party is not confined exclusively to rebellious Southerners who are using the threat of a bolt as a bludgeon to whip the Democratic Party in line on a negative position on civil rights.

Just before he sailed for Europe on July 19 to attend the executive committee meeting of the World Council of Churches at Matrahazy, Hungary, Dr. J. H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention, said it might become necessary for Negroes to leave both political parties and form an alliance with organized labor in a third party dedicated to fighting for the equal rights of all citizens.

The remarks of the spiritual leader of four and a half million Negroes, the largest such organization in the world, were made as he pondered the present dilemma in which the 16 million Negroes of this country have found it impossible to gain full cooperation in their struggle for full citizenship from either one of the major political parties.

REFLECTED VIEWS

Since an estimated two million members of the National Baptist Convention, USA are registered voters, the thoughts as expressed by Dr. Jackson take on more than usual significance. They are, in fact, a general reflection of the dissatisfaction of Negroes over the failure of the politicians to come through with nothing more than the same trite lip service which is served up with monotonous regularity in an important election year.

In the words of an influential Negro businessman and community leader he says, "Negroes are by far and large economic voters, because they are primarily wage earners and their livelihood depends on the state of the economic welfare of the country."

"But in 1956, the all-important thing to the vast majority of Negro voters is civil rights, no matter how much the professional politicians may try to under play this. The brother is not so much disturbed about foreign affairs and farm prices as he is about the fact that men like Sen. James O. Eastland head important committees in Congress such as the Senate Judiciary Committee and consistently block any attempt to vote out civil rights measures."

CENTER OF ATTENTION

On the eve of the two national conventions, therefore, the question of the candidate and the platform occupy a great deal of attention by the largest minority group in the country, the American Negro. As he goes to the bargaining tables with his demands, how does the outcome appear of what he shall receive?

Next week, the Democratic Platform Committee will meet in Chicago. The chairman of the committee is Representative John MacComack of Massachusetts, a man who was selected again as he as in 1952 because of his ability to work out compromises. It was MacCormack who toned down the language of the civil rights plank from the stronger tones of 1948 to make it as palatable as possible to a belligerent South and thus to prevent another repetition of the walkout of 1948 when President Truman in effect told the South to "git."

MacCormack who is the choice of Adlai Stevenson and the modrates of the Party, will have the job of hammering out a platform that is supposed to be acceptable o both the North and the South. Since, Governor George Bell Timmerman of South Carolina, leader of an insurgent group from 10 Southern states, has already declared that the 52 plank on civil rights will not be acceptable to them, it is hard to conceive how MacCormack can achieve an impossible feat of being all things to all men.

RIGHTS MEET

At a meeting in Chicago on July 21, some 55 Negro Democrats from all over the country met to draft up a strong resolution containing all the provisions on civil rights that are anathema to the South. Supposedly, this group is pledged to a no compromise position when they present their list of "musts" to the Committee.

The platform committee will include two Negro congressmen, William L. Dawson of Illinois and Charles Diggs of Michigan. Diggs in his maiden debut as a freshman Congressman has gone all out for civil rights and has made at least a dozen speeches on the floor of Congress, but the word has gone out that pressure will be applied to get him to go along with the moderates on the committee.

GOP MEET

On the Republican side, their platform committee headed by Sen. Prescott Bush of Connecticut will be holding hearings in San Francisco at the same time that the Democratic convention is well in session in Chicago. This will draw away much of the publicity which it might otherwise receive, but the report is that the civil rights plank this year will be considerably stronger than the very vague and skippy one of 1952. It is no secret that the GOP has set its sight on the Negro vote in a big gamble to win back a substantial slice in 1956.

Dr. Jackson prophesied that if the two parties fail to come up with platforms containing civil rights planks strong enough to be acceptable to Negro voters, this may well be the beginning of a wholesale breaking away from both parties. By 1960, with the coalition of labor, there could be a strong liberal third party in this country which might very well have enough strength to out vote both of the other parties, says Dr. Jackson. There has long been talk of a third party formed by labor.

PREPARES STATEMENT

Before sailing, the Baptist leader, prepared a statement to be delivered to the platform committees of both parties containing firm recommendations on civil rights for inclusion. The statement will include reprints of the "Declaration of Negro Intentions" which Dr. Jackson drew up on March 19 as an answer to the Southern Manifesto signed by 96 Southern Congressmen. At a national conference of 75 Negro leaders in Washington in May, the Declaration was unanimously adopted as voicing the demands of Negroes.

From Matrahazy, Hungary, Dr. Jackson said he may cancel his projected preaching mission to Yugoslavia and Roumania to fly back and appear before the platform committees in person if it can be arranged.

31a 1956 WHITE (DREW PEARSON)

Washington Merry-Go-Round

Advertiser P.3-6

By Drew Pearson

Sun. 4-8-56

WASHINGTON

ONE OF THE queerest political alliances in the U. S. A. is now operating between Dixiecrat Sen. James Eastland of Mississippi and the Eisenhower administration. It's an alliance by which Eastland ladles out most of the Eisenhower postmasterships and other jobs in Mississippi. Montgomery, Ala.

This unique alliance has caused considerable resentment among Republican Negroes, partly because of the extreme racial views of Senator Eastland, partly because it by-passes GOP Negro politicians. In past Republican administrations, Mississippi patronage was always handled by Perry Howard, long-time Republican national committeeman for Mississippi, and a Negro.

Mr. Howard, when questioned, confirmed the fact that Republican patronage was being handled by Senator Eastland with the assistance of E. O. Spencer of Jackson.

Spencer, a lifelong Democrat, shifted over to the Republican party only this year. He is the owner of the Walthall Hotel in Jackson which is headquarters for the White Citizens Council.

GOP Chairman Len Hall, disturbed by reports that Spencer was active in the White Citizens Council and fearful that the Republican party would get smeared as a result, wrote Spencer for the facts. Spencer replied that he was not a member, that the Council merely had its headquarters in his hotel.

"Everyone knows, of course," commented National Committeeman Howard. "that Spencer is a member. This is the largest White Citizens Council in the entire South, and Spencer is quite active.

"Spencer has come up here to visit at the White House and has been entertained by Attorney General Brownell," Howard added.

Note 1—Spencer's friendship with Brownell results from the fact that the attorney general, before entering the Justice Department, was attorney for the American Hotel Owners Association.

Note 2—Headquarters of the White Citizens Council have been in Room 203 of the Walthall Hotel which also has been the private office of E. O. Spencer.

Washington merry-go-round

News

Sat. 8-25-56

Truman will go 'fishing'

P.1

B'ham, Ala.

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON, Aug. 25 — Ex-President Truman is taking another trip abroad, and taking it right at the beginning of the election campaign. He has booked passage to Australia on Pan American Airways Sept. 18. Unless the politicos persuade him to change his mind, this will be his answer to the question of whether he will campaign for Adlai Stevenson.

DREW PEARSON

In brief, Mr. Truman, who was not entirely appreciated by Stevenson when he went whistle-stopping in 1952, has now decided to go fishing in Australia in 1956.

Only recently Truman returned from one trip abroad, the first he ever made as a private citizen. But now he will go to Australia and Asia to see a part of the world where his foreign aid policies played an important role in fighting communism.

Apparently Mr. Truman has reversed his Chicago statement

that what Adlai Stevenson needs is help "from an old man from Missouri."

Ike and Zhukov

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S big secret campaign weapon, to be sprung around October, is to be a visit from Marshal Zhukov of Russia.

Coming at a time when the American public is intensely interested in peace, White House advisers are convinced the visit will have the same bombshell effect on Ike's "I shall go to Korea" promise made during the 1952 campaign.

ZHUKOV

They believe that a visit from Eisenhower's old wartime buddy will arouse none of the criticism that might come from a visit by Bulganin and Khrushchev, but will receive almost unanimous approval. It will especially stamp the president as a leader who can head the United States and Russia toward permanent peace.

Convention aftermaths

LEN HALL SAYS the Republican motto is: "Stick With Ike." The Democrats say their motto will be: "Stick with Ike and get stuck with Dick." . . . Even Republicans are joking about the Nixon handshake. You feel the other fellow's pulse while you shake hands with him (the other fellow is supposed to be Ike). . . . Quoth ex-Mayor "Last Hurrah" Curley of Boston, apropos of Averell Harriman's hope to be president: "Any candidate who comes to the convention with 96 votes and $200 million has a chance." . . . Biggest scoop of the two conventions was scored by Bill Hearst — his quote from Harry Truman that Adlai couldn't win.

ROY COHN

Roy Cohn, one time featured in the Army-McCarthy hearings, pulled wires for Gov. Harriman at Chicago. He was especially influencing Nevada votes through J. Sourwine, former counsel for Sen. Eastland's witch-hunting committee. Cohn and Harriman don't agree on anything pollitical, but Harriman dropped the investigation of Cohn's well-known violation of New York National Guard's training rules. . . . Members of the Missouri delegation couldn't get their favorite son, Sen. Stuart Symington, on the telephone for two days. They wanted to switch to Adlai instead of sticking with Symington. . . . Harry Truman has given only one political contribution so far—to Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon.

The Washington merry-go-round—

News P.3 B

Senate bloc pulls a boycott of their own

B'ham, Ala.

Sun. 7-22-56

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON, July 21—The boycott, used so effectively by Negroes against segregated buses in Montgomery, Ala., has been turned the other way by white senators to block civil rights in the Senate judiciary committee.

A coalition of four Southern Democrats and four Republicans have teamed up to stay away from judiciary meetings if they know Sen. Hennings of Missouri, original author of the civil rights bills, is going to move for passage. All they have to do is stay away, and the committee cannot call quorum.

When Sen. Hennings is present, word trickles out over the Senate grapevine that the boycott is on. The eight boycotting senators stay away. But if Hennings is making a speech in Missouri, the full membership shows up.

PEARSON

The eight who have organized the boycott are McClellan of Arkansas, Daniel of Texas, Johnston of South Carolina, and Eastland of Mississippi, all Democrats; with Butler of Maryland, Jenner of Indiana, Dirksen of Illinois and Welker of Idaho, all Republicans.

There was one important exception when Hennings was present and the Republican-Southern coalition did not boycott. This was the meeting called to vote on Simon Sobeloff to be a judge on the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

In the case, Sen. O'Mahoney of Wyoming approached Hennings the night before to warn that the boycott bloc would stay away from the meetings unless he agreed not to bring up civil rights. In this case, O'Mahoney warned, Sobeloff, whose confirmation already was delayed one year, could not be voted out of the judiciary committee. So Hennings agreed he would not demand a vote on civil rights. Sobeloff finally got the committee's OK.

Secret deal

BUT WHAT the public didn't know, when the full Senate at long last voted to confirm Sobeloff, was that he was part of a very important deal. Probably Sobeloff didn't know it either.

The deal was between Sen. Butler of Maryland, Sobeloff's home state, and Sen. Eastland of Mississippi. Butler is a Republican, Eastland a Democrat; but they see eye-to-eye on a lot of things. Sobeloff was not one of them—at least not officially.

But they did agree that if Eastland would permit Sobeloff's name to get out of the judiciary committee so it could be voted on by the entire Senate, then Butler in turn would help bottle the civil rights bills inside the committee.

This is why the Republicans have been willing to risk alienation of Negro votes by boycotting the judiciary committee whenever Hennings is present. While Chairman Len Hall is ardently wooing Negro votes they are jeopardizing those votes—all because of a deal.

Officially Sen. Butler is for civil rights—very much so. He has to be. The big Negro population in Baltimore would literally tear him off the ballot next November if he wasn't for civil rights. However, the confirmation of Sobeloff was also important.

So Butler figured that by a secret deal to boycott civil rights meetings of the judiciary committee he could get his judge confirmed without Negro voters knowing what was up.

Washington merry-go-round—

News R. 11-A

Negro vote can tilt presidential election

B from Ala.

BY DREW PEARSON

CHICAGO, Aug. 11—Lurking in the wings at Chicago, watching the row over civil rights, is the silent shadow of the increasingly potent Negro vote. It can tip the balance in any national election. The party that wins this bloc may be the winner on election day.

Even before Chicago, the battle to woo this vote had begun. The Mrs. Jane Morrow Spaulding, voted the Negro Woman of the Year in 1952 and appointed to a key position in the Eisenhower administration, has deserted the Republicans and become ardent Democrat. Mrs. Spaulding worked for Ike in West Virginia in 1952, but when she expressed a view that Negro doctors be admitted to practice in Texas hospitals, Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby of Houston, Tex., then secretary of health, education, and welfare, fired her.

PEARSON

Mrs. Saulding now speaks with some feeling about the alleged pro-Negro policies of the Eisenhower administration. She is out to elect Democrats instead.

On the other hand, a noted Negro Democrat has gone over to the Republicans—Crystal Bird Fawcett of Philadelphia.

Ike worker now

MRS. FAWCETT, a close friend of Mrs. Roosevelt, claims that forebears were related to the Byrd family of Virginia; and she used to sit on the platform at Democratic conventions in New Deal days. But not today. Today she has become a rootin'-tootin' Republican and is working for Eisenhower.

Negro leaders claim, however, that Mrs. Fawcett has lost some of her influence over their race since she sued Roland Hayes, the Negro singer, for breach of promise. Most Negroes side with Hayes in his contention that he never proposed marriage to Mrs. Fawcett. Or if he did, they don't like Negro linen washed in public.

The Catholic question

ONE OF THE most important questions discussed among delegates in Chicago is whether a Catholic should be nominated as Adlai Stevenson's running-mate. Two Catholics are mentioned—Sen. Jack Kennedy of Massachusetts and Mayor Robert Wagner of New York City, both excellent men.

Some opposition is expressed to Kennedy, not on the basis of religion but because he voted against the midwest on the farm bill; also, Italian-Americans are down on him because he undercut ex-congressman Furcolo when Furcolo was running for the Senate against GOP Senator Saltonstall. As a result, Saltonstall won. Also another Irish Catholic, much loved Cong. John McCormack of Massachusetts, is engaged in an intra-party war with Kennedy.

Might oppose divorce

HOWEVER, THE main question discussed is the religious issue, particularly whether a Catholic vice presidential candidate would win over Catholic voters who might otherwise oppose Stevenson because of his divorce; or whether bigotry in some parts of the U. S. A. might alienate more voters than would be won.

John Bailey, leading Connecticut Democrat, is quite frank in urging a Catholic running-mate for Stevenson. He points out large blocs of Catholic voters deserted the Democrats in 1952. Many of them were pulled away by Sen. McCarthy.

On the other hand, various Catholics disagree with Bailey, himself a Catholic. They take strong issue with the idea that Catholics vote as a bloc.

The fact is that for many years the machinery of the Democratic party has been guided by a series of much loved Irish Catholic political stalwarts, ranging from Jim Farley to Frank Walker to the present Paul Butler. Most of them were liberal Democrats and devoted followers of FDR's humanitarian philosophy.

Plans for Harriman

CARMINE DE SAPIO, handsome, smooth-talking big wheel of Tammany Hall, went into action for Averell Harriman shortly after he arrived in Chicago. Holding a strategy meeting, he counseled Harriman workers to do four things:

1. Encourage every favorite son to stay in the race through the first ballot. Stevenson has claimed 630 delegates, and if he gets less than that it will be a big letdown. It will help to deflate the Stevenson boom.

"So tell the favorite sons that if they won't vote for Harriman," counseled Carmine, "keep on being favorite sons."

2. Spread the word that Harry Truman is for Harriman.

3. Appeal to the liberals. Remind them that the North is more important to the Democratic party than the South.

4. Remind delegates that Stevenson lost to Eisenhower in '52 and that he's done nothing to improve his stature since.

Note—Jake More, the astute Iowa leader of the Democrats, promised Harriman that two-thirds of the Midwest Democratic delegates would go for him. More has about 126 delegates co-operating with him, believes 80 will go for Harriman.

That's why this column will be vigorously denied.

In fact, it's already been denied. When Sen. Butler was queried, he laughed off any secret deal. He also pointed out that he was a co-sponsor of two civil rights bills. Asked about the nature of the bills, he replied: "What difference does it make so long as I'm co-sponsor of S.3604 and S.3605?"

Note—Sen. Eastland finally maneuvered so that the civil rights bills must have unanimous consent to be voted out of his judiciary committee. After that, the boycotting senators showed up. And when Hennings moved to vote on civil rights, he got immediate objections. That kills the bills for this session.

THOUGH IT wasn't announced until quiet recently, Congressman Charlie Halleck of Indiana has known for some time that he would make the San Francisco speech nominating Eisenhower.

About three months ago, President Eisenhower took Halleck aside at a White House leaders' meeting and asked:

"Charlie, how would you like to place my name in nomination at San Francisco?"

"You've got a deal, Mr. President," grinned Halleck. "That would make me the happiest man in the country."

Keynoter Halleck

The incident illustrates a well-known point around the White House—that Ike has a genuine affection for his assistant House leader.

As a result, Aug. 22 will be doubly eventful to Charlie Halleck. It is the day set for him to make the nominating speech; also the 56th birthday of the GOP congressman from Indiana.

Halleck has come a long way since his debating days at Indiana University, where he was known, rather prophetically, as the "boy orator of a few thousand words." His vocal chords have been getting a stiff workout ever since, as a county prosecutor in Indiana, a member of Congress, and assistant GOP leader of the House.

But Halleck is perhaps best known for the key roles he has played at GOP national conventions. Once before, in 1940, he made the nominating speech for Wendell Willkie in Philadelphia. The articular Hoosier also made the final seconding speech for Tom Dewey in Philadelphia in 1948.

Battle over badges

LESLIE BIFFLE, who comes from Arkansas and who has been helping steer the Democratic Party for years, is sergeant-at-arms of the coming Democratic convention at Chicago. Recently he left for Europe. Before he left, he sent letters to several hundred distinguished Democrats allocating them badges to the convention even though they are not delegates. Before doing so, he spent four hours with Chairman Paul Butler clearing the names.

By the time Biffle got to New York, however, and just before embarking for Europe, he got a phone call from his office that he could not issue these badges. Chairman Butler had changed his mind.

Biffle is used to having his way in high Democratic circles. He is a big wheel. But he instructed his office to write his friends that they did not have convention badges after all. Then he left for Europe.

Reason why Butler changed his mind was realization that with twice as many delegates this year, the extra 4300 non-delegate badges proposed by Biffle might create bedlam.

This year each delegate gets half a vote, which is why Chicago's convention hall on Aug. 13 will be so jam-packed that 1000 delegates will be crowded off the convention floor. They will have to sit in the gallery.

Hence the battle over badges.—(c.)

Text Of Post Editorial

Advertiser Tues. 4-17-56
Montgomery, Ala. P.2-A

The Negro In New York

The series on the status of New York's Negroes beginning in today's Post is essentially an outgrowth of our recent exchange with Grover C. Hall, editor-in-chief of The Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser. We are indebted to Mr. Hall for his suggestion and we trust he will find the product as stimulating as we do. We even venture the hope that he will now agree that Mr. Poston (ably assisted by six other staff members) was the man for the job.

While the Poston series will speak quite eloquently for itself, a few editorial footnotes are in order.

It has become fashionable for Southern politicos and journalists to justify (or minimize) the injustices of the segregation system by pointing to the survival of racial abuses in the North. What right, they ask, have we to cry out passionately against the murder of Emmett Till, the stoning of Autherine Lucy or the prosecution of Montgomery's bus boycotters so long as the Negro is still subjected to ostracism and humiliation in any way in the North?

The answer, we think, is both explicit and implicit in the Poston series.

Certainly we have no reason for smug complacency about the living conditions of Negroes in our town and other major northern metropolises. The Poston story will abundantly document the extent to which prejudice still resists progress here. But the struggle against intolerance goes on always; the principle of equality is accepted by every responsible public official, no matter how gravely the practice still falls short of the principle in certain realms.

No serious public figure, no journalist of any standing, no spokesman of any major group in our midst would seriously advance the proposition that a child born white has any inherent claim to supremacy over a child born black. And any man who did so would be overwhelmingly repudiated by the white community.

The matter may be stated another way. The Communists long asserted that Americans had no right to challenge the mass urges and total enslavement in Communist domains so long as Americans were subjected to the excesses of McCarthyism. The analogy, of course, was false. In the Communist nations suppression was the official order of the day; in the U.S.A., even in the bleakest days of the inquisition, the bill of rights remained the offical law of the land. And that document, battered though it often was, survived the ordeal.

In a way, this is the heart of our difference with the segregationist citadels of the South.

We recognize that the era of Southern transition will be complicated; the racial roblems that still plague our town are sufficient proof of that. Our dispute is not with those southerners who say (as the Supreme Court said) that the principal of desegregation cannot be uniformly realized within a specified period in every Southern town. Our quarrel is with those who still fundamentally reject and resist the goal of equal rights.

Our impatience is not with those who honestly plead for patience in solving the Southern crisis, but with those who view delay as a cynical tactic for preservation of the white supremacy myths.

But this is also true: The Southern challenge compels us all to confront with new candor the failure—as well as the successes—of our own battle against inequality. Each of us must look a little deeper into his own soul. America's voice is often muted or distorted in the world struggle for freedom by the indecencies of Southern segregation; the North's battle for equal rights is comparably hurt by the abuses that still shadow the landscape of our city.

If we may say so, this newspaper has been fighting on each of these fronts for a long time. Nevertheless, we welcome the interest currently exhibited by some Southern editors in the welfare of Northern Negroes.

Concretely, we hope Mr. Hall will deem the Poston articles worthy of republication in his paper. Then we hope he'll collaborate with Mr Poston in taking a new look at the life of Montgomery's Negroes—including those superb moderates who've asked for nothing more than the right to set up their own bus system if Montgomery finally refuses to grant them minimum dignity on its segregated lines.

New York Post Starts Series Inspired By The Advertiser

Advertiser Tues. 4-17-56
Montgomery, Ala. P.1

NEW YORK, April 16 (AP)—The New York Post launched a series of articles today exploring the status of Negroes in New York City.

Ted Poston, a Negro reporter, who heads a team of seven writers and researchers assigned to the project, summarized with the declaration:

"It is one of the glories of New York that here—more than anywhere else in America—a Negro can, at times forget that he is a Negro. It is one of the tragedies of New York—and America—that no Negro, at all times, can forget completely."

In an accompanying editorial, the Post said the series "is essentially an outgrowth of our recent exchange with Grover C. Hall, Editor-in-chief of the Montgomery Advertiser . . .

"Concretely we hope Mr. Hall will deem the Poston articles worthy of republication in his paper. Then we hope he'll collaborate with Mr. Poston in taking a new look at the life of Montgomery's Negroes."

Hall will address the 57th annual banquet of the Huckleberry Indians in New York at the New York Athletic Club Saturday night. He will speak on "The Southern Way Of Life Up Nawth."

The New York Athletic Club, composed of prominent business and professional men, has 8,000 members and within its membership several clubs, of which the Huckleberry Indians is one. The name is drawn from Huckleberry Island, an island in Long Island Sound owned by the club and maintained as a playground for members.

Hall will fly to Washington Tuesday for the annual convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, thence to New York. Hall will accompany Publisher R. F. Hudson Jr., Mrs. Hudson and Richard Hudson III to the editors' convention.

Advertiser

The initial Post article reviews Poston's life soon after he came to New York from Hopkinsville, Ky., in 1928 as a "gangling youth" of 19.

The editorial said: P.2-A

"We have no reason for smug complacency about the living conditions of Negroes in our town and other major Northern metropolises. The Poston story will abundantly document the extent to which prejudice still resists progress here. But the struggle against intolerance goes on always."

The Education Of A Negro Reporter

Advertiser Fri. 6-22-56

Ted Poston Of The New York Post Finds Cooperation But No Racial Tension In Montgomery While His Editor Fears For His Life

P.4-A Montgomery, Ala.

31a Negro

From Editor & Publisher Magazine

THE *New York Post* this week published a series of articles on "The Negroes of Montgomery" which its Negro staff member, Ted Poston, wrote as a postlude to his series on racial discrimination in New York City.

Post Editor James A. Wechsler again needled Grover C. Hall Jr., editor of *The Montgomery Advertiser*, to reprint the Poston series.

"After all, friend, you really started this," said a *Post* memo aimed at Mr. Hall.

In a casual, narrative style Mr. Poston related his experiences and observations on a visit to Montgomery.

At the outset he told of the cordial reception accorded him by Mr. Hall and Joe Azbell, city editor of *The Advertiser*. While visiting with Mr. Hall, he related, an elderly man dropped in. Mr. Hall introduced Poston and described the reason for his visit, whereupon (Poston reported) the elderly man offered a weak handclasp and said:

"Then I'm sure glad you came to the best friend that the Negro has in Montgomery. For that is exactly what Mr. Hall is."

Mr. Poston's narrative continued:

"You look rather quizzically at Grover Hall, but his Florida tan is so deep that you can't tell if he's blushing or not. And you cast an unworthy suspicion from your mind. For how could the old minister have known that you were coming to his office today? You hadn't known definitely yourself until you hailed the cab."

What was the attitude of Montgomery newsmen toward Mr. Poston's assignment? The following report is from an *Editor & Publisher* correspondent in that area:

Poston Arrives

POSTON was in Montgomery two weeks studying Negro conditions.

Poston came to stay a week, but found Montgomer yso pleasant, he revealed to Editor Hall that he was going to call Editor Wechsler and ask for two additional weeks in Alabama's capital city.

Meanwhile, to Wechsler's heckling, Hall says:

"I scent solipsism in his redundant prods that I reproduce the elaborate *Post* series on Yankee Jim Crow. Why the *Post's* in preference to those in the *New York Times, Newark Evening News, Chicago Daily News, Chicago Tribune* and others in the works? I have an embarrassment of riches from which to choose, which includes a Matterhorn stack of letters to the editor from Northern citizens."

At 11 a.m. May 13, reporter Poston made a jaunty and pleasant appearance in the office of Editor Hall, coming, like a hundred and more reporters before him, to do the story of Montgomery race relations.

Hall says: "We commenced at once an animated conference on his assignment. I opened my files to him, offered him the services of a staff photographer and promised to make appointments for him with local 'biggies.' City Editor Joe Azbell was assigned to him as guide and chauffeur, just as he had been to other reporters before Poston, and he was off to tour the town."

Place Next To City Desk

BY SUNDOWN, Poston had been offered and had taken his pick of all the typewriters in the newsroom. He chose one between two women reporters and adjoining the city editor's desk,

which, incidentally, was the same one used by Wayne Phillips of *The New York Times*.

Poston likes fun and laughter, so he hit it off fine with both editor and news staff.

After a few days he became bewildered at the absence of race tension in Montgomery, and revealed to the news staff a story on himself. Before leaving New York, he said, it had been prearranged that every day he would call Editor Wechsler and assure him he had not been harmed bodily or otherwise. Laminating the joke on himself, Poston further revealed that one night since his arrival in Montgomery, he had gotten lost on the streets, and was led three blocks to a telephone by two white children.

At this Editor Hall wondered out loud:

"Now what kind of reporting has been done on Montgomery that after five billion words by reporters from all over the world, a foremost New York editor is so grotesquely ignorant of Montgomery conditions that he wanted daily assurance that his reporter was among the living?"

Returning to the matter of printing Poston's series, Hall says:

"Wechsler is making a deficit levy on my newsprint. I reprinted every line he addressed to me in our editor-to-editor echanges, but he did not reprint all of mine. Again, *The Advertiser's* 'Askelon' series revealing the grotesqueries of Northern newspapers' suppression ran before Wechsler's attracted national comment, was unusually presented—why hasn't the *Post* reproduced it?

Critical Of Northern Press

"WHAT genuinely baffles me is why Wechsler supposes that I recoil from printing the truth about Northern race disharmony and the failure of its press to competently report it?

"I acknowledge that I did not offer Poston a job because (1) I have one Negro editor (E. P. Wallace) and a reporter and (2) I confess I am curious as hell to see what the *Post* is going to do with the facts that my staff is giving him, facts which were left waifs by the Northern stereotypers that preceded him here. Poston seems an unlikely one to write a sound and definitive report on Montgomery, but my city editor and I have agreed that he might just blaze the trail."

The Northern press, Mr. Hall insists, has failed to present a faithful, unsparing picture of Northern race disharmony. To the Northern editor, he says, race disharmony is something for Pg. 1 when it happens under a magnolia blossom.

"Newspaper readers of the North," Mr. Hall says, "are kept in ignorance of the race strife in their own cities and state through the widespread newspaper policy of not designating Negroes by race in crime and disorder stories. It is a high-minded policy; idealism begat it. But it is a gross denial of the People's Right To Know, a mockery of that majestic shibboleth."

Southern Hospitality

"Does the city desk know where to reach you at all times?" New York *Post* Editor James Wechsler asked nervously, as he sent his Reporter Ted Poston, a Negro, to Montgomery, Ala. for a series on the plight of the Negro there. But, as Poston's series made plain in the *Post* last week, there was no cause for alarm. Reporter Poston, 49, who was roughed up while covering the Scottsboro case in 1933, explored the city of the 6½-month-old Negro bus boycott for three weeks and found no danger, little tension—and plenty of help and hospitality from his white colleagues on the Montgomery *Advertiser*.

Chicago, Ill.

Advertiser Editor-in-Chief Grover C. Hall Jr. welcomed Poston to choose his own desk in the city room, opened the paper's files to him, set up appointments, offered him a staff photographer, and assigned City Editor Joe Azbell to act as guide and chauffeur. Poston hit it off so well with the staff that he told them a story on himself. He had instructions, he said, to phone Editor Wechsler every day with assurance that he had come to no harm. Poston added that he had got lost on Montgomery streets one night, and two white children had taken the trouble to lead him three blocks to a telephone.

Snorted Editor Hall: "Now what kind of reporting has been done on Montgomery that after 5 billion words by reporters from all over the world, a foremost New York editor is so grotesquely ignorant of Montgomery conditions that he wanted daily assurance that his reporter was among the living?"

Post Editor Responds To Hall On Segregation Story

Daily World Thurs. 3-15-56
Atlanta, Ga.

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(NNPA)—James A. Wechsler, editor of The New York Post, has responded to the request of Grover C. Hall, editor of The Montgomery Advertiser, by offering to make available a series on racial segregation in the New York public schools by Ted Poston, a colored reporter.

Hall said racial unrest in the North is prevalent and more significant than in the South because of relatively few colored people "and they start out with equality and theoretical acceptance."

Gloster B. Current of New York, who directs the activities of 1,600 NAACP branches throughout the country, said:

"In the North we struggle with the subtleties and hidden aspects of discrimination and segregation. In No community in this nation where there is a sizable Negro population can you say the problem of race relations has been completely solved."

Hall made his comment in a letter to Wechsler. Current's remarks were made in an address at a mass meeting of colored people who are boycotting Montgomery bus lines because of segregation and harsh treatment.

Noting that reporters from all over the world covered the Montgomery bus boycott story, Hall asked Wechler to assign Murray Kempton, a Post columnist, to him to help the story of segregation in New York schools for Alabamians.

Hall said Kempton had told him an official map exists showing how school districts in New York "are gerrymandered to achieve segregation."

"Since all the New York reporters are down here doing the Alabama story, I proposed to help fill their vaccum in New York," Hall wrote Wechsler.

In New York, Wechsler answered Hall's request by assigning Poston to do a series on "The New York Story" and offered to make it available to the Advertiser for "simultaneous publication."

Also in New York, City School Supt. William Jansen called Hall's "gerrymandering" information completely false.'

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier 4-8

Scouting the Enemy

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 7-14-56

AGAINST what forces in American life must American Negro citizens contend today in their fight for first-class citizenship? If we must admit that a core of leadership for segregation and against integration is provided by the white supremacist politicians of the South, is it safe to conclude that these white supremacists work alone, that they have no allies? I do not think so.

Mr. Prattis

It has become clear ever since the signing of the Southern manifesto that these Southerners do have a plan and that they do have allies. They simply did not sign the Manifesto and forget about it. They have gone actively to work to defeat the purpose of the Supreme Court decree. They are working on many fronts.

One clue as to their activities is legislation introduced into Congress to nullify the Supreme Court decree. That is a very obvious step.

But one step not quite so obvious is the dragooning of so-called anti-Communist forces, North and South, into the fight against integration.

PERHAPS THE outstanding anti-Communist, anti-Russia prestige publication in the United States is United States News and World Report. Week after week, this writer, a subscriber, is treated to the anti-Communist, has small com- cooked over in new style. This has been going on for years.

But United States News and World Report, which has big eyes for everything Russian and communist, has small compunction for the basic rights of America's 17,000,000 black citizens. It publishes many articles about Negroes and whites and about Negro-white relations, but the objective of United States News and World Report becomes clearer with publication of each issue. It is not concerned with the rights of Negroes, nor with justice for Negroes.

It is concerned only with the rights of white Americans and the problem which 17,000,000 black Americans create for white Americans. It is interested in finding and publishing excuses for the white man's behavior toward the Negro.

Thus it throws itself into the situation in the nation's capital, Washington. It presents a horrendous picture of middle-class whites running away, of the city being taken over by criminally inclined, diseased Negroes.

United States News and World Report gave the Manifesto signers their first important chance to speak through former Gov. James F. Byrnes. Now this publication adroitly, by loaded questions, builds the case against integration in Washington.

Negroes should be grateful that Commissioner Thomas E. McLaughlin of the District of Columbia Commission, recognized the kind of pitches his questioners hurled at him.

Why is it that these anti-Communists, white and colored, never bleat FOR us. Did you ever hear McCarthy, Fulton Lewis, Sokolsky, or any of the rest deplore, minus crocodile tears, what happens to us? Quit yer kiddin'!

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

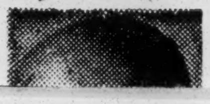
Courier 4-8

Integration

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 7-28-56

SO YOU'RE for integration! Or are you? What is integration anyhow? The right to circulate, operate, grow, among men without restrictions based on race, color, creed? Is integration always desirable? Does everybody want integration? Does how you view integration depend



on where you are standing (living), or whether you belong with the people who are "in" or the people who are "out"?

Mr. Prattis

American Negroes who know no other culture or civilization but this and must make their future in this country, regard integration as most desirable. By way of integration, they want to overcome the handicaps the white man put on them through slavery and segregation. Integration looks good to the American Negro.

BUT WHAT about to others? How about to the Bantus in the Union of South Africa? If they had their way, would they prefer to be integrated with the whites or would they rather have the whites get the hell out of their ancestral lands and leave them to live as they have from time immemorial? If you put integration to a vote among these people, the chances are that they would reject it. They have their own culture, their own way of life, a way of life with which they are satisfied. Even though we think their way of life is primitive and inferior to ours, they don't. They love their way of life and they wish the white man had stayed home.

How about the Arabs in North Africa? What do they think of integration? For 126 years, the French have been trying to integrate (assimilate) the Algerian Arabs, to make Frenchmen out of them. These Arabs don't want to be Frenchmen. They don't want integration. They have fought integration in every way they could. They want their own culture, their own religion, their own language.

It is ironic indeed that in the United States twelve million Negroes who live in the southern part of the United States should be fighting FOR integration, whereas eight million Arabs who live in the northern part of Africa are fighting (with their lives) AGAINST being integrated.

THE CHANCES are much depends on who is being integrated and who's doing the integrating.

American Indians never showed much disposition to integrate with the foreigners who had come here and robbed them of their lands. However, it is pertinent to ask: "Where are the American Indians now"?

Say what you will or may, the American Negro has been able to live by the side of this rough-hustling white man and survive. Other outgroups don't do it as successfully. Mexicans don't. Chinese don't.

Integration is a must with us if we are to continue to live successfully alongside this white man and help him in the time when the tide of war and civilization may change.

Fifty years ago, Great Britain was the greatest power on earth. She isn't any more.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier 4-8

Mr. Firearm

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 8-25-56

THERE are many things I do not like about Russia and the Communists. I much prefer the America I have helped to build because we are just about 100 years ahead of Russia in most things that make life livable. Furthermore, I would not like to be subjected to the rough treatment Soviet citizens must undergo in the mad race to catch up with the West. That is too much like the rough stuff of free enterprise a century ago.

Mr. Prattis

And, of course, as a practicing Christian, I would be extremely uncomfortable among practicing atheists.

The foregoing are just a few differences between the Reds and me. But I suspect my white fellow countrymen and other whites of the so-called Free World have another basic reason for their dislike of the Russians.

The MAIN DIFFERENCE between the Western world and most of the rest of the world during the modern era has been the firearm. The nations with the best weapons prevailed. The nations with the least effective weapons became the victims and wards of the nations with the most powerful weapons.

THE CHINESE, boasting a very old civilization, were made to salaam because, even though they invented gunpowder, they did not develop it for warlike purposes. As a consequence, their many millions became easy prey for the Westerner with his big guns. It seems difficult to believe that less than 30 years ago, a few "foreign devils" were running China.

Colonialism, as practiced by the West, was based upon force, the force of firearms. The trick was to keep the firearm and not to let the other fellow, who might out-number you, get hold of it. Two million whites in South Africa impose apartheid on eight million blacks because the whites have the firearms, the blacks don't.

Russia has broken the rules. She has not only given military aid to, shall we say, her satellites, but she has given military aid without strings attached. That means that she is giving hitherto handicapped people the firearm and teaching them how to use it. She sold Egypt submarines and tanks and other arms and then saw that the Egyptians were trained to use them. That was a dirty trick. Suppose Russia should sneak some Mau Maus out of Kenya, give them weapons and teach them how to use them? Would not that create a pretty how-to-do?

EGYPT HAS been handing over some of the weapons she bought to Algeria. The French are furiously angered by this.

Now, of course, the peoples who are obtaining the firearm from Russia do not know what they are in for if the Red way of life reaches to them, but neither do they care if they have the means of defending themselves.

Russia has betrayed the supreme white race by making Mr. Firearm available to "primitive" peoples in Asia and Africa. These lousy Communists are breaking all the rules of the game.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier 4-8

My Other Cheek

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 7-21-56

NO MATTER what the white man in this country (my country) does to me, I am supposed to be quite sweet about it. If he would lynch me, I must resort to sweet reasonableness from the limb of a tree or as flames consume me while being dragged through the streets to the jeers of the howling mob. I must not strike back in anger.

Mr. Prattis

I must be patient while my life is taken, my property destroyed. If I am choked, I must suffocate and expire in peace. It would be wrong to spit in the face of the man who chokes me, to strike back at him. That might increase his anger.

If I show active resentment against the manner in which I am cheated in the opportunity to get an education, in which I am deprived of a fair share of health and welfare services, in which fair work opportunities are denied me, I am told to go slow, to be careful and patient.

THE WHOLE IDEA, as I get it from the President, and many other whites, is that I must treat very carefully with

this beast of tradition and custom and law which has satisfied itself that I am a lower order of being and, on the basis of such assumption, creates a low place status for me that no other human being in the world would accept or be expected to accept.

I am told to turn the other cheek.

Even now as the nation is rent with the issue of segregation versus integration, I am cautioned. I am told to go slow, to be patient, to seek a way out of my troubles on a friendly basis.

I am supposed to negotiate on a friendly basis with men who have treated me either as slave or beast for the better part of four centuries. After that long experience, I am supposed to see wisdom in forebearance and to await a change in the heart and mind of the man who has made a modern profession of debasing me.

■

EVERY FULL-SIZED manly gesture I make is decried. Do I plead that the Federal constitution not be defiled by the appropriation of money to build more jim-crow schools? Then I am accused of depriving the children of schools. There is no blame for those who would trample the Constitution and perpetuate a segregated school system. They must have their way.

I am getting tired of turning the other cheek. But there is more than fatigue. Turning the cheek cannot win in the long run. In the long run, men, of whatever color, only win respect as they compel it.

Negroes must cherish and promote the highest ideals of their country. They must embrace the highest principles of democracy. They must be impatient with the enemies of these principles and ideals. They cannot be good Americans by turning the other cheek and truckling with white supremacists wherever they may be found.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 8-2-56

Adoptions Again

THE PROBLEM of adoption of homeless Negro babies is one of the most perplexing and urgent facing metropolitan centers with large Negro populations. The problem is to find home for these babies.

Some months ago, a Negro Adoption Project, financed by the Field Foundation, was set up in Chicago with Mrs. Thelma G. Thompson as director, and with the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago as sponsor.

Mr. Prattis

8-8

I had occasion to mention this project not long ago and I would like to share with you this week a letter from Mrs. Thompson. She writes:

"I am deeply grateful to you for the excellent coverage you gave the Negro Adoption Project in your column June 9.

"Your article was a source of information and stimulation to many Negro couples who reside in states where there is a dearth or a total absence of Negro adoption facilities for Negro families. Requests for more detailed information regarding the procedure for initiating an application to adopt a child have been received from couples residing in Florida, Louisiana and Texas.

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"Although the major focus of our program is directed toward the purpose of stimulating adoptions in Chicago, we do not limit our service to residents of metropolitan Chicago. For the past several years the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, one of the six agencies participating in our project, has accepted inquiries and application requests from prospective Negro adoptive parents who reside outside the State of Illinois.

"Many of these letters of inquiry come from couples who are eager to experience the gratification and satisfaction which come from being a parent to a child, but who live in areas where adoption service has not been developed for Negro children. Through a cooperative arrangement with the several State Departments of Welfare, many Negro children have been successfully and happily placed with families in other states. A referral service is given to an additional number of requests which are received from couples who are unaware of the adoption facilities which are available within their community of residence.

"It is our conviction that every effort should be made to utilize all available prospective Negro adoptive homes in which there is a desire for a child, evidence of good parent potential and the possibility for the development of happy family relationships. Each adoptive placement has been an aid in our endeavor to give a more comprehensive interpretation of adoption service and practice to members of the Negro community."

There you are. If your home is one without the sunshine a child can bring into it, no matter where you live, Mrs. Thompson may be able to help you. Why not write to her for details: Mrs. Thelma G. Thompson, Director, Negro Adoption Project, Room 1000, 123 West Madison St., Chicago, 2, Ill. Such a letter may bring you greater happiness than you have ever known.

Dixie Slayings Recalled

Courier 8-4
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 8-18-56

NAACP's Wilkin Says Demos Must Back High Court

By P. L. PRATTIS
(Executive Editor)

CHICAGO—Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of th National Association for the Advancement of Colore People, speaking on behalf of the Leadership Conferenc on Civil Rights told the Democratic Platform Committee

"There must be a plank in the Democratic platfor specifically endorsing the Supreme Court desegregatio decision because a hard core of eight states is in open r bellion against the Supreme Court's ruling.

"Those states are defying the court and the Constitu tion. They have passed legislation to circumvent th court's ruling. They have threatened to abolish the publ school system rather than comply with the Constitution.

Mr. Wilkins' views, and those of most witnesses at the civil rights hearing, were considerably in advance of those expressed by former President Truman Thursday. Mr. Truman did not mention the Supreme Court decision. He advised questioners to be guided by his 1948 platform.

WILKINS BROUGHT out that it is as ridiculous to base 1956 civil rights policy on 1948 as it would be to base 1956 foreign policy on the situation existing in 1948.

Mr. Wilkins

Much of Mr. Wilkins' somewhat measured presentation was given over to a detailed description of the intimidation and killing of Negroes in Southern States in order to prevent them from exercising their citizenship rights.

Like most of the speakers, Mr. Wilkins insisted that the platform should contain a plank calling for a strengthening of existing civil rights laws.

He also reiterated the demand which highlighted the speeches of at least 10 witnesses who want the party to change the cloture rule of the Senate, described as the "graveyard of all civil rights legislation."

OTHER POINTS covered by Mr. Wilkins included fair employment practices and the selection of responsible committee chairmen.

This was obviously aimed at Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi.

The method of selecting chairmen of Congressional committees on the basis of seniority was most forcibly attacked by James E. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers. He insisted that a better method of selecting committee chairmen could be found.

Both Congressman McCormack, committee chairman, and Congressman Emanuel Celler, New York, disagreed with him.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier 8-8
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 9-22-56

Brighter Side

PERHAPS the only reason the Negro in America, North or South, can endure the hostility and meanness of many whites and the sense of rejection he must feel, is the the fact that he knows that there are many, many whites fighting FOR him although their voices may not be as loud, nor their actions as dramatic, sometimes, as those who fight AGAINST him.

Mr. Prattis

During the tension surrounding integration of some schools in Kentucky and Tennessee, one small, but significant, story was missed. It concerned a white mother who would not send her children to the so-called white school, surrounded by National Guardsmen and a threatening mob. Rather, she took her two children to the so-called Negro school. White women like this mother give Negroes courage.

■

OH, YES, there is discrimination in Ohio—lots of it. But there are white men and women in the state who stand out staunchly against it.

One of these is James W. Shocknessy, chairman of the Ohio Turnpike Commission. When the Turnpike was opened, Mr. Shocknessy began hiring Negroes according to merit (for all jobs) and on the same terms as other workers.

Recently, he has had a hassle with the Ohio Hotels Association which wants to erect billboards on the Turnpike advertising hotels and motels. Mr. Shocknessy objects.

He objects because there are hotels and motels in Ohio which discriminate on the basis of race and color. To the executive secretary of the Ohio Hotels Association, Mr. Shocknessy wrote:

"The commission is resolute in its purpose . . . that travelers on the Ohio Turnpike seeking shelter shall not be directed off the Turnpike into the darkness of the night to places where, because of race or religion, they would not find a welcome and might instead find a figurative sign 'no room at the inn' as two famous sojourners, Mary and Joseph, found nearly two thousand years ago."

■

TRAVELERS ON the Ohio Turnpike will be pleased to know that the commission has compiled a lengthy list of hotels and motels which will welcome all travelers. These lists are available at all the toll gates.

Mr. Shocknessy and members of the Ohio Commission are setting an excellent example for the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission, now reeling from charges of alleged graft. The employment policies of this commission have been highly questionable. It would never have given a thought to seeing that all Turnpike users be welcomed at hotels and motels adjacent to the Pike. Even the New Jersey Commission has been more American in its policies and practices than Pennsylvania's.

It is to be hoped that Pennsylvania will catch on, as well as Indiana which is soon going into the Turnpike business.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

End of an Era?

I SERIOUSLY doubt whether, in terms of the special group served, there was any man or woman, who placed his stamp more significantly, though quietly, on the era of the past 35 years than Dr. Charles S. Johnson, whose sudden death last week was a shock and a loss to all who knew him—and these were were legion.

Mr. Prattis

As a contemporary of Dr. Johnson, I knew him, and his career of service, well. Now, as I think of the seven-leagued boots, not shoes, which he has left for somebody to fill, his distinguished career seems marked by three great plateaus of achievement.

THE FIRST plateau somewhat parallels that of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. In 1901, Dr. DuBois compiled and wrote the study of "The Philadelphia Negro." In 1921, Dr. Johnson made a concrete impact on American thinking with his exhaustive study of "The Chicago Negro." This study was an aftermath of the race riot which occurred in that city in 1919. Dr. Johnson's Chicago work stamped him, among his collaborators and the most concerned people in the land, as a thoughtful, hard-working and scholarly student. His study is still standard for that period.

THE SECOND plateau has to do with the impetus, stimulation and incentives he gave to prospective Negro writers in the middle twenties when he was editor of the Urban League's Opportunity magazine. The latter half of the period between 1920 and 1930 has come to be regarded as that of the Negro Renaissance or the New Negro.

In those days Negro writers were opening new doors and climbing to new heights with their pens and their typewriters. The focal point for expression was Opportunity magazine. The guiding, inspiring genius was Charles S. Johnson. He, more than any other person of those times, created status and standing for a Negro literati.

THE THIRD plateau of Dr. Johnson's remarkable career began at Fisk University in 1928 when he became director of the Department of Social Sciences. As such he wrote learned analyses of the Negroes' social condition which became part of his long list of published works. But his career as professor did not represent the top of the plateau.

That was reached when he was elevated to the presidency of Fisk University, the first Negro, in 1946. It was in this position that his extraordinary abilities as administrator and builder came to full fruition. He created a new golden era for Fisk.

One of the reasons he could do this was because he had the trust and confidence of the best people in our nation, North and South. They backed him because they believed in him and he justified their support.

He was scholarly, gentlemanly and dignified, dignified almost to the point of austerity which was often relieved by his pixieish sense of humor.

Shall his era end with him or shall there come another, greater than he, to fill his tremendous shoes?

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Whose Freedom?

ANY IMPARTIAL person must be confused by the incomprehensible concern shown by some Americans in high public office for freedom in far-off Poland and the utter indifference of these same people to freedom in the United States. This is especially true of Negroes when a Senator, like Eastland of Mississippi, opens

his motuh and shrilly bleats about "free elections" in Poland.

Mr. Prattis

Some Courier readers will recall that at the time of the Poznan riots, a bill was quickly introduced into Congress authorizing the expenditure of TWENTY-FIVE MILLION DOLLARS to help the Polish rioters. But no bills are introduced to help the bus boycotters.

■

OF COURSE, we are all aware that this zeal to help Poland ignites because we are AGAINST COMMUNISM and, particularly, COM MUNIST RUSSIA. We subscribe to the war on COMMUNISM. But we, Americans, are also supposed to be FOR FREEDOM.

And it would seem that just as we are AGAINST RUSSIAN COMMUNISM anywhere we find it (especially in the Americas), so ought we to be FOR FREEDOM, wherever it is denied, whether in KENYA, SOUTH AFRICA, ALGERIA, LOUISIANA or MISSISSIPPI.

It is an ill-concealed secret that hundreds of thousands of Negroes are denied the right to vote in MISSISSIPPI.

It has been spread upon the record by a representative of the Department of Justice that this year THREE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED NEGROES have been illegally deprived of their right to vote in one parish (county) in Louisiana.

This information was given in testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, chaired by Senator Gore of Tennessee.

"You ought to take your committee down into Louisiana and hold hearings to flush out this mess," Warren Olney of Attorney General Brownell's staff told Gore's committee.

■

SENATOR EASTLAND, who has the gargantuan effrontery to shed crocodile tears over "free elections" in Poland, heads the Senate Judiciary Committee. That committee is under legal compulsion to concern itself with laws designed to protect the rights of citizens under the Constitution.

But Eastland, the powerful Southern Democrat who will "call the tunes" in a Democratically controlled Congress, is NOT for "free elections" in Mississippi. If Eastland had his way, there would not be any "free elections" in any of our states.

He is a firm believer in Negro-oriented states' rights which, in the mind of this arrant, arrogant white supremacist, means giving to all states the right to create a "place" for Negroes which deprives them of their legal rights of citizenship and their God-given rights as equal human beings.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Vicious Rule

ONE OF my friends in the Senate was responsible for the present Rule 22 which permits endless debate, or filibusters. He was Kenneth Wherry, Nebraska Republican, a very friendly man. I recall how, when we used to walk through the long corridors of the Senate Office Building, Senator Wherry would place his arm around my shoulders. I suppose I recall this because this gesture of friendship was a bit embarrassing to me. Some wives don't like to be kissed in public, you know.

Mr. Prattis

When Senator Wherry acted with other Republicans to change the old cloture rule, I am sure he meant to do good. I was in Europe at the time and I wondered about it. I mused to myself that the Wherry change must be for the better. I was wrong.

SENATOR WHERRY is dead now. I have the feeling he would be at least nonplussed by the results of his change of the Senate rule. Filibusters, under Rule 22, requiring 64 votes, even on a motion to debate, are more a fixture in the United States Senate now than ever before in the 40 years since the Senate first created the cloture rule.

All Americans, regardless of color, must recognize the sinister nature of Rule 22. It defeats democracy and makes a majority of the representatives of the people helpless in the hands of a wind-jamming and time-wasting minority. Rule 22 establishes MINORITY, not MAJORITY, rule in the United States Senate. It puts the power in the hands of a MINORITY of American citizens to dictate to a MAJORITY of American citizens.

■

ATTEMPTS WILL be made Jan. 3 when the 85th Congress convenes to change Rule 22 and to control filibusters. This rule, the wicked tool of a minority of Southern Democrats, can be changed if Republican and liberal Democratic Senators of the North will vote for a change.

In the light of the Republican party platform, the leadership of the Republican party is challenged to work for a change of, or substitute for, Rule 22. If the Republican party leadership acts, resolutely and firmly the rule can and will be changed.

Some Democrats have already let it be known that they will work for a change. But they do not represent the leadership of their party—which is in the South.

Success in effecting a change of Rule 22 can only be achieved through Republican party leadership in the Senate. Liberal Democrats of the North will support such an effort.

Negro Republicans, and Democrats, between now and Jan. 3, should impress upon their Senators by all means at their command that they want Rule 22 changed so that democracy and majority rule may prevail in the Senate and the welfare of all Americans be promoted.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier Sat. 11-24-56

Aggression?

Pittsburgh Pa.

WHAT is aggression? Who are rebels? Who are patriots? Are the Hungarians who shed their blood to free themselves of Russian domination patriots, or are they rebels as called in most press stories? The Egyptians who fought against the English and the French, what were they? Patriots? Rebels? When Russia rushed troops into Hungary were the Russians aggressors? When the British and French rushed troops into Egypt were the British and French aggressors?

Mr. Prattis

This line of thinking, or questioning, was provoked by a small item in the news just before the British landed troops on Egyptian soil. According to item, the British were speeding soldiers from Kenya to Egypt.

■

WHY WOULDN'T such an article start one to thinking and raising questions? Kenya is actually the land of some six million natives although it is regarded as a British colony. There are 145,000 whites in this so-called colony.

The 145,000 whites have taken all the best land in Kenya from the natives by force. The violent protests of the natives during the last few years was caused by this robbery. Tom Mboya, general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labor, will tell the whole of this sordid story in a series of articles to start in this newspaper with the issue of Dec. 1.

When the Kenya natives sought the return of some of their land and some proper representation in the governing body of Kenya, the white settlers, the white colonial government and the British resisted.

HOW DID the British resist? Well, they sent soldiers and arms into Kenya. They sent airplanes into Kenya. From these planes they strafed and bombed bands of natives wherever they could find them. Thousands were killed and injured.

Other thonsands—some 72,000—were captured and placed in concentration camps. Even as of today, 44,000 of these natives are imprisoned in camps. You can imagine what kind of camps.

In the face of this, there has been no expression of outrage from the United States, from Russia, from Egypt, from Israel, from the United Nations. The slaughter in Kenya has been quite as sanguinary as any in the Middle East or Eastern Europe. And it has been mostly one-sided.

■

BUT THE conscience of the so-called civilized world does not pick up on the murder of these human beings fighting for THEIR FREEDOM and THEIR LAND.

One must presume that in the eyes of the civilized world they are only savage Mau Mau—fit to be shot down; not patriots, not fighters for freedom.

Or perhaps, in the elastic reasoning which sometimes prevails, the murder of African natives is an internal affair, not genocide.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P. 8

Spirit of South

Sat. 11-17-56

Pittsburgh Pa.

AS THE white South, through the Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan, increases the tempo and scope of its activities in defiance of the Supreme Court school segregation decision, it is important that Negroes, and all other Americans, should know exactly what is going on in the mind of this white South and, also, what "our way of life" means to the white South.

Mr. Prattis

First, as the Courier will expose in succeeding issues, the Ku Klux Klan organization is spreading like a brush fire throughout the region of defiance. The Klan is preparing by force of arms, if necessary, to keep the Negro in his "place." Second, the Citizens Council pursue the same objectives as the Klan, but insist that they employ only "respectable" or legal means.

■

SOMETHING OF the thinking of the people in these organizations is contained in direct quotations published in the October Commentary. For example, the notorious John Bell Williams, Congressman from Mississippi, is reported to have told a White Citizens Council in Greenville:

"I'd gladly trade all the Negroes in the country for my few good n---r friends."

As David Halberstam, author of the Commentary article comments, William, who flunked at college, has expertly epitomized the nature of the Citizens Council movement and disclosed what is behind the states' rights agitation. It is a desire, more than anything else, "to trade coat-and-tie Negroes for barefoot ones."

Mr. Halberstam quotes from statesments made at a Citizens Council meeting called in Clifford, Ala., to determine what steps to take to keep Negroes out of the public swimming pool. The essence of the thinking was that they (the whites) could handle the ordinary run of Negroes in Clifford if they could just keep "those brief case n---rs out of town."

One other speaker gave voice to the secret fears of the "respectable" citizens, including the Mayor, present at the meeting, when he asserted:

"If the n---r could just hold on to a dollar, he'd take over the South."

The foregoing statements all show, not a fear of Negro inferiority, but a fear of the Negro potential for equality or even superiority, unless legal and illegal means are used to keep him in a social, economic and cultural straitjacket.

In order to conform to the so-called "way of life" of the white man's backdoor and quaintly and plaintively complain, "Yes, suh, Boss, I needs a little corn meal and some sow belly and a pair o' old pants, if you don't mind, suh!"

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Dead Paragraph

EVER since this nation was born, even before, Negroes have been a burden on its conscience. The South's present attitude toward school segregation is nothing new. From the very beginning, the South has fought manhood status for the Negro. Always, there have been those who were willing to extend full citizenship status to the Negro, the South has been present and has invariably denied the right.

Mr. Prattis

P. 8

Among the many unusual "revelations" in Langston Hughes' and Milton Meltzer **A Pictorial History of the Negro in the United States** is a paragraph from the first draft of the Declaration of Independence as written by Thomas Jefferson. In this paragraph, Jefferson denounced King George III of England for enslaving Africans, imposing slavery on the colonies and freeing the slaves to "murder" their masters.

Pittsburgh Pa.

Sat. 12-29-56

THE SOUTH, the same South as today, rejected the paragraph which reads:

He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred right of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce; and that this assemblage of horrors might want no face of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which HE deprived them by murdering the people upon whom HE also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another.

White school children, or colored, who read the Declaration of Independence, can never suspect that the author of the Declaration, Thomas Jefferson, sought to indict the institution of slavery and was thwarted by the Eastlands, Talmadges, Ellenders and other Southerners of his day.

■

MY COLLEAGUES, Messrs. Rogers and Schuyler, have expressed some criticism of Mr. Hughes' book, largely because of what he has left out about the achievements of Negroes since slavery and the amount of space devoted to slavery and the slavery period. The criticism may be valid, although it would be impossible for any author to write a book to suit all the desires of other authors.

Mr. Rogers is gracious enough to concede that A Pictorial History of the Negro in the United States is the best of its kind yet to be published. It is not profound, but it is discerning.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P. 10

Jobs Waiting

Sat. 4-28-56 Pittsburgh Pa.

WHAT would you do if a good job came up and slapped you in the face? Are you prepared to say that you would turn the other cheek and embrace the job? Julius Thomas of the National Urban League, who has done so much resourceful pioneering in the placing of Negroes in new jobs, is finding it more and more difficult to find Negroes who are prepared to "embrace" the jobs which are CLAMORING FOR THEM.

Mr. Prattis

■

THE JOBS of today and the jobs of tomorrow require training. They require brainpower and its application to challenging tasks which are in the very nature of our times.

From time to time, I have indicated the existence of jobs —FOR MEN AND WOMEN WITH PROPER SKILLS, TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE. Responses I have received have not been too encouraging. Most interested individuals have pursued a variety of nondescript occupations, but nothing to qualify them to say more than that they have worked HARD and LONG.

This week I am using this column to "advertise" another JOB OPPORTUNITY. Color doesn't count. **Training does.**

The United States Patent Office needs men who can earn $7,570 a year, 5½ years after graduation from college and further advancement is possible up to $13,760 a year.

The jobs are open to men and women between the ages of 18 and 36 and there are no age limitations for veterans.

No civil service examination is required. But for appointment without examination you must have a college degree (A) in any field of engineering or applied science; (B) with a chemistry major, having 26 semester hours in chemistry, or (C) with a physics major, having 21 semester hours in physics, or (D) with any other major which included 40 combined semester hours in engineering, chemistry and physics; or 28 combined semester hours in chemistry and physics.

If you can qualify under the above terms, you can start IMMEDIATELY, at $4345 a year; after six months your pay will be at the rate of $4930 a year; a year later at the rate of $5,440 a year if you merit it, and eighteen months later, at the rate of $6,390 a year.

There are generous provisions for vacations and the educational facilities for improving yourself for advancement are practically unmatched.

These jobs are waiting for YOU TO TAKE THEM.

■

IF YOU have the qualifications, all you have to do is to write to the COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS, WASHINGTON, D. C., state your qualifications and ask for an interview. If you want any questions answered, he will answer them.

The Commissioner of Patents doesn't care whether you are white or colored, male or female. He needs qualified workers.

He can't use you if you have majored in HISTORY, or ART, or DRAMA, or if you have simply gone in for the "humanities." They're important, too, but they don't lead to most jobs except in teaching and social work and the church.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P. 8

NAACP Answers Extremist Critics

Sat. 4-14-56 Pittsburgh, Pa

EVEN while they are being murdered, robbed, humiliated, insulted and made the victims of economic pressures, Negroes are being plagued with such words as "moderation," "patience," "gradualism" and "extremism." The counter-attack against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the South is, in essence, based on senseless charges that the NAACP is "extremist" and "radical" simply besause it wins verdicts through orderly judicial process which some white Southerners do not wish to accept.

Mr. Prattis

In an editorial, published in the April issue of the Crisis, the NAACP answers its traducers. Unfortunately, there is not space to reproduce the entire editorial.

But, for the benefit of those white Southerners who will listen to reason and to friends in other sections of the country who think Negroes and the NAACP should be more patient, the NAACP has cited part of the record.

■

FOR EXAMPLE, Autherine Lucy did not attempt to enter the University of Alabama under the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 or 1955. She based her right to enter on the Supreme Court ruling of 1950 which opened graduate schools in Southern universities to Negroes.

Even so, she waited TWO YEARS before resorting to court action and MORE THAN TWO YEARS was consumed following the orderly processes of the courts. After nearly FIVE YEARS OF PATIENCE, Miss Lucy was ordered to enter.

Who started the riot? Who resorted to force? Miss Lucy? Indeed not! It was the VERY WHITES who accuse Negroes and the NAACP of extremism.

Another area in which PATIENCE was shown, even GRADUALISM, was that of segregated housing, the ghetto mold. In 1917, Louisville, Ky., passed an ordinance to legalize segregated housing. The NAACP took that ordinance to the U. S. Supreme Court and had it and all such ordinances declared illegal.

■

BUT AS The Crisis says: "...it was thirty-two years later before the Supreme Court outlawed the restrictive covenant in 1949. Again the NAACP and Negroes were PATIENT, relying on the orderly processes of the courts."

And again: "Negroes worked for thirty years to be allowed to purchase Pullman accommodations in the South, to be permitted to eat in dining cars without being hidden, like lepers, behind a curtain.

"And the ICC ruling banning segregation of interstate passengers in rail and bus transportation and waiting rooms of stations was handed down only last fall—Nov. 25, 1955."

This is the record and The Crisis quite properly wants to know what its enemies and its friends mean when they speak of gradualism, patience and moderation. The NAACP record is a symbol of all three. How gradual do you have to be to escape the onus of extremism and radicalism?

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier 31a

Racial Respect

Pittsburgh Pa.

WOULD Nat (King) Weisberg sing for a Southern audience if his people, by law or custom, were forced to sit in a special section of the hall? Would he sing if he were forced to give two concerts, one for Gentiles and a later one, for Jews? Would he sing if he were the star with a Gentile orchestra and he was separated from that orchestra by a curtain?

What would Nat (King) Scalise do under similar circumstances involving Italians?

Mr. Prattis

Sat. 5-5-56

What about Nat (Kin) Guru, the great Hindu song stylist, if he learned that all East Indians were forced to sit apart, or that he would have to give a "special" show for them because they were regarded as "different" or "inferior"?

What about Nat (King) Liu, the incomparable Chinese crooner, if he should come upon the fact that all the Chinese in his audience were to be forcibly huddled into a corner, or a section?

P. 10

■

THE FOREGOING questions are raised, obviously, because of the recent incident in Birmingham involving Nat (King) Cole.

But the questions are not directed at Cole alone. Nor can he give the answers. The questions point at every Negro performer, in any field, who submits to segregation or to the segregation of his people. The questions also point at Negroes as a group. They have grown up with the patterns of segregation and have become accustomed to them.

Why should not Nat (King) Cole sing to a segregated or separate Negro audience if the Negroes themselves accept segregation or separation?

In view of the bahavior of some of our Negro artists and athletes, it is to be doubted that any of them, Cole included, would ignore the principle involved in segregation if THEIR OWN PEOPLE DID NOT GO ALONG.

■

IT CANNOT be disputed that many Negroes, particularly in the Deep South, like segregation. It is just as much a "way of life" to them as whites say it is to them. They would rather not be bothered about segregation if it is going to cause "trouble" between them and the whites among whom they must live and for whom they must work.

I, for one, will welcome the day when no Negro performer will accept a segregated status for himself or for Negro audiences.

But Negroes themselves must be educated for integration (or first-class citizenship) and against segregation.

However, Negro stars with national reputations, can help in this process of education and strike fatal blows against the evil system of segregation by bluntly refusing to put segregated engagements on their schedule or, if they do, publicly turning over all the money so acquired to the NAACP for the fight for freedom.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P. 10

Helping Others

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE SUB-TITLE of this piece is a bit off, but I could not think of a better one to fit in the space above. What I want to write about is helping yourself by seeming to help others, or actually helping others. Negroes have been on the receiving end of millions of dollars of help during the past 100 years. The mean, ornery white folk keep us so upset that we are prone to forget those other white folk without whose help and protection we would not have made the progress which is the marvel of the modern world. But how much have we helped others?

Mr. Prattis

There is at hand a letter from a friend, Judge Samuel A. Weiss of the Common Pleas Court of Allegheny County. Judge Weiss, a sort of superhuman dynamo, is always using his inexhaustible energy and influence in behalf of somebody or some cause, white or black, Jew or Gentile.

Sat. 5-12-56

■

HIS CURRENT plea is in behalf of that world-famed institution, the National Jewish Hospital at Denver, which serve the whole of America and ALL Americans. Judge Weiss is asking his fellow-Americans for $10 contributions.

For 57 years this institution has been giving free treatment and care to thousands of tuber-

culous adults, youngsters and even infants throughout the nation (Catholics, Protestants and Jews alike) in accordance with its famous motto:

"None may enter who can pay; None can pay who enter."

The foregoing means that, insofar as the facilities of this great hospital and study center permit, it is a haven, a refuge and a rehabilitation center for all persons without means who NEED its services.

It seems to me that Judge Weiss' invitation offers us an opportunity to pay a little back "in kind" for the help we have so often received. I am sure that such a "talent" given would be returned to us tenfold.

That is why I could not write that those who may send checks to Judge Weiss would really be helping others. The very fact that they had given to so noble and helpful a cause would get around and create unknown friends for our people.

Can you spare $10? If you can, make out a check or money order, payable to the National Jewish Hospital and mail it to Judge Samuel A. Weiss, 808 City-County Building, Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

Such action on your part will demonstrate that Negroes are ready and prepared to play their part, insofar as their means permit, in the traditional American role of helpfulness to those in need wherever they may be found.

There seems little need repeating the poet's line, "Give to the world the best you have and the best will come back to you." That is true and easy to find out.

Real Estate Sharks Prey On Chicago's Newcomers

Courier Sat. 3-3-56 P.7

Pittsburgh, Pa.

By P. L. PRATTIS
(Executive Editor)

CHICAGO — Late-comers in Chicago's bulging Negro population of three quarters of a million are dead-game suckers for rapacious real estate sharks who, taking advantage of the "tight squeeze seller's market," exploit the baffled floods of immigrants and pick their pockets clean whether they try to buy a house or rent an apartment.

This is the consensus reached by this writer and Frayser T. Lane of the Chicago Urban League after interviewing reputable real estate brokers, leaders in the housing field and many other persons.
and many other persons.

Inability to obtain adequate housing is leading to attendant social problems which will be described later.

Public housing, of which there is a substantial amount in Chicago, is usually "off limits" to the newcomer. He can't qualify.

* * *

IF HE obtains a good job his income may be too high for public housing. Furthermore, he must have been a resident of Chicago for a year. Then within the listed qualifications there are priorities: to persons forced to move because of urban renewal, and to veterans.

So the in-migrant, and many others, must go into the private housing market. Whites are fleeing to the suburbs. The vacated dwellings they leave behind are sold or rented to Negroes at three or four times their normal value.

If the newcomer seeks a house in the suburbs, he is blocked off by the banks and mortgage institutions. They will not lend Negroes the money to buy into blocks in suburban communities—unless there is a considerable number of Negro families already in the block.

If a Negro is successful in obtaining a loan, he must pay much more than the conventional rate of interest.

"We had a client who wanted to purchase a home valued at $30,000,' Bolin V. Bland, president of the DuSable Realty Company, told this writer. "He was willing to pay $10,000 down, but so far he hasn't been able to obtain a mortgage at conventional rates because the area in which he seeks to buy is new for Negroes."

* * *

FEDERAL HOME Loan and Savings banks, operated by Negroes, and Negro insurance companies, have helped to relieve the mortgage squeeze, but their resources are not adequate for the big job.

The need for mortgage money is so acute that Mayor Richard Daley has set up a special committee under the leadership of Leonard Spacek, a banker, to try to break the mortgage jam. Mr. Spacek is tackling the problem with courage and conviction, but he is dealing with hard-headed bankers and money lenders.

Chicago's public housing, referred to earlier, provides for 56,500 persons. Seventy per cent are Negroes. The percentage is on the rise as white incomes increase.

Administrators of public housing face a dilemma. As the number of white tenants approaches the vanishing point, they see the prospect of new public housing ghettoes, or slums, occupied solely by Negroes.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P.10

Rev. M. L. King Jr.

Sat. 6-2-56

IT WOULD have been fitting this past Monday if the more than 16 million American Negroes could have all been assembled to see the first FISK UNIVERSITY DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD bestowed upon the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the Montgomery pastor who, starting in October, 1955, began to create a new dimension in the Negro's struggle for recognition as an equal human being and to forge a tool which others, as well as Negroes, could use to win such recognition.

Mr. Prattis

The Rev. Mr. King has led a firm, but peaceful, non-violent protest against the unequal and humiliating aspects of segregation as practiced in the bus service furnished Negroes in the capital city of Alabama.

He, and those associated with him, did not attack segregation itself—although it is reasonable to assume that they were opposed to it. They did attack a segregated system where Negroes furnished most of the traffic and got none of the jobs; where Negro passengers were insulted by uncouth and profane bus drivers and where Negro passengers were forced to stand and look at empty seats reserved for whites who were not on the buses.

■

Pittsburgh, Pa.

GREATNESS HAS a mysterious way of courting men. The Rev. Mr. King did not seek leadership. It was thrust upon him.

The significant fact is that this young man, still in his twenties, rose to the occasion. He was prepared for greatness.

His was not an easy task. In the kind of situation into which he was thrust, there were uncounted chances to make mistakes. There was the opportunity for disagreement among the leaders. There was the chance that the people being led would not follow and that they would take matters into their own hands. In either event, the cause would have suffered. It might have been lost.

But the Rev. Mr. King seems to have had qualities of leadership which kept leaders and people together. He seems to have been able, with the help of others, to spell out a new way of doing the job. He sold the injured, humiliated bus riders on the idea that they could get nowhere with violence, that their simple task was to stay off the buses and to resist all temptation and all provocation to violence.

■

THE IDEA sank in. But more! It spread. The nation heard about and read about this new kind of fight. When the Rev. Mr. King advised prayer instead of violence, he touched something that moved not only Negroes, but white Americans as well. This was something they could not be against.

No wonder the nation wants to see and hear this man. He has given Negroes and whites something to think about. What can the White Citizens Councils do with a man like this?

Fisk University does credit to itself by bestowing honor upon such a man. It is noteworthy that the vote for the Rev. Mr. King as the first recipient of this honor was almost unanimous

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

A New Nation

THERE has been hardly any thing so inspiring and stimulating to happen in the twentieth century as the forthcoming celebration of the independence of the Gold Coast. This storied land, now a protectorate of the British Empire, will become free next year and will celebrate its independence on March 3-17.

Mr. Prattis

There are few Americans, white or black, who are informed about the past of the so-called Gold Coast. They do not realize that a great empire existed for centuries in the area of the present Gold Coast. Its name was Ghana, which is going to be the name of the new nation. One of its great cities was Timbuctoo, a center of learning and of trade for centuries.

Sat. 12-15-56

EVIDENCE HAS been unearthed by a Pittsburgh scholar, Laconia Knox, which indicates that ancient Egyptians fled their homeland after the conquest of the Hyksos in the sixteenth century before Christ and found their way to West Africa. He has traced the similarity in names, architecture, customs and the artifacts of the old culture of Ghana.

This flourishing kingdom prevailed when most of modern Europe was a continent of roaming barbarians and most of their people, captured in war, were enslaved by the Greeks and the Romans.

The Gold Coast appellation was attached to this ancient empire during the days of the slave trade. Historically, it has been the practice to enslave prisoners of war. The Ghanians of empire days sold off their prisoners to Spanish, Dutch, English and Portuguese freebooters who were looking for strong backs to do the work of the New World. Thus did the slave trade develop. It became so profitable that its victims were regarded as Black Gold. And the section through which they were filtered was called the Gold Coast—by whites. Now, free and independent, these Africans will resume their old and honorable name of Ghana.

■

INTERESTINGLY enough, these people (who include the Ashantis) were never conquered—except through diplomacy. Just as the Indians signed treaties which eventually helped the white man to take America from them, the leaders of the Gold Coast tribes, signed treaties with the British which, they thought, preserved their independence. Later, they learned to their dismay that British protection meant denigration and the giving up of their cherished independence.

In March, their independence, because of the leadership of their Prime Minister, will be returned to them on a silver platter.

To see this historical event, every American Negro should be sitting in the grandstands. All cannot go. But Prime Minister Nkrumah and his cabinet earnestly want American Negroes to be present to see their forebears enter the company of free nations.

This independence celebration is a once-in-a-lifetime celebration you can share. Write to our travel editor for details.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P.10

Bishop Walls

Sat. 5-19-56

"LET HIM speak. Let him explain what he meant. You have charged that what he has written is wrong, against the law and the discipline of the Church. But he is our senior Bishop. He has HIS SIDE. Let us hear HIS SIDE." The speaker was Bishop H. B. Shaw. He stood at the microphone before the delegates to the 35th Quadrennial Conference of the A. M. E. Zion Church. One of the youngest of the Bishops, he was asking that one of the oldest be given a chance to be heard by the muttering assemblage.

Mr. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

The situation was full of irony. The object of the ire of some of the delegates was Bishop William Jacob Walls. The day was Tuesday, May 8. Seventy-one years before, in 1885, Bishop Walls had been born. Thirty-two years before, on the same date, this man Walls had been made a Bishop. At the age of 39, he was the youngest man to have been admitted to the Zion episcopacy.

Fifty-eight years before, as a boy, he had begun preaching in Zion.

■

BUT HERE on this Tuesday, May 8, 1956, instead of being honored for his long and distinguished service to the Church, instead of being acclaimed for extending the reaches of Zionism to the uttermost corners of the earth, he was being called a dictator and accused of fouling up the law of the Church. This was no proper birthday party.

Unemotionally, and in scholarly but warm fashion, he did rise and he did defend himself. His defense had great substance to this writer.

There are not many persons today, the senior Bishop pointed out, who know the thinking that went into the making of the early laws of Methodism and, particularly, Zionism. What were the intentions of the Founding Fathers.

Bishop Walls took the delegates back fifty-seven years. He had preached a sermon which had been heard by the late Bishop Hood. Two weeks later, Bishop Hood sent for him. He kept the "boy preacher" with him for three days. Bishop Hood had known the founders of the Church.

■

FOR THREE DAYS, the Bishop expounded to the "boy preacher," telling him the between-the-lines meanings of what the founders had written. He learned what was in their hearts, their minds, their souls.

Now, with a sort of honeyed sweetness, Bishop Walls told the delegates that these matters had not been written down for the benefit of posterity.

"I wrote what the founding fathers of our Church thought and meant for the benefit of a generation that does not know. This was a task which I set for myself in the interest of Zionism. No one else in Zionism had gotten it as directly as I. And I know that as I stand here this morning, the founding father are standing beside me, they are in the galleries and in the pews. I know that in what I have written I have spoken for them. Not a single word will I take back."

Thus passed the morning of Bishop Walls' seventy-first birthday.

Horizon

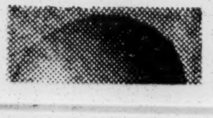
By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P.10

Nickels and Dimes

Sat. 5-26-56

I AM RATHER sure that if and when the Rev. A. G. Dunston of Philadelphia reaches the Pearly Gates, St. Peter will turn to the Keeper of the Records and say: "This fellow talks like he has the right address, but you had better look up his record. See if you've got a Dunston there, an A. G. Dunston. See if his record is clear. I don't know anything about him, but he is a mighty sweet talker."



Mr. Prattis

The Rev. Mr. Dunston was a candidate for the episcopacy at the Quadrennial Conference of the AME Zion Church in Pittsburgh. He was disqualified as a candidate by the Board of Bishops. The Rev. Mr. Dunston, naturally, did not like that.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

HE SEIZED the microphone to appeal from the ruling of the Bishops to the some five hundred delegates present. He delivered himself of an oily "Ode to Duncan" which was replete with unction, inverted self-praise and palpable dissimulation. He went so far at one point in his perversion of the significance of a reference made to him that Bishop Spottswood was compelled to rise and categorically deny that he had by word or implication said what the Rev. Mr. Dunston imputed to him.

The Board of Bishops never published its reasons for disqualifying Dunston, although the delegates present freely discussed the alleged reasons. They seem to have had to do, partially, with his divorce. It seems that the Rev. Mr. Dunston has been very successful in keeping the real reason secret.

It was in the course of explaining how he had done this that he delivered himself of a gratuitous insult to the press. He said that he had obtained his divorce in such a manner as to keep the "reason" from the press, to estop the press from creating headlines about him for the sake of taking in nickels and dimes.

There are rascals in every phase of public life who take the position of the Rev. Mr. Dunston. They begin with a conceit which makes their own affairs, willy nilly, important. They become involved in situations which cause the public to talk, and about which, since the public is involved, the public has a right to know.

I do not know why the Rev. Mr. Dunston and his wife broke up their marriage. I am not personally interested. However, if I were a member and supporter of his church, I would want to know. I would want to know whether the leader of my church was above reproach. I think church members have the right to know.

Even the general public has a right to know about the lives of men who look to the public for support. The newspapers do not make news. In respect to the church, the newspapers, all too often, do not even publish the news.

Where newspaper files can prove this, these editors can only regard with scorn a man who publicly proclaims that the facts of his private life were concealed to keep the press from making headlines for the sake of nickels and dimes.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P.10

Name-Calling

Pittsburgh, Pa.

ANYONE who stops to observe, or think, is bound to be perplexed by the uses to which NAME-CALLING is put by the Status Quo. Whenever entrenched interests, be they political, social or economic, are challenged, they resort to a perversion of the meaning of the language, which results in NAME-CALLING, to keep the other fellow in his place that suits the Status Quo.

Mr. Prattis

If one may pass up for the nonce the terms which are used to delimit and debase the Negro in these good old United States, let us consider some of this NAME-CALLING which goes on in other parts of the world.

Of course, a Chinese is not a Chinese any more. He is either a Red (Communist) Chinese or a Nationalist Chinese. And Koreans are not North and South Koreans. They are Red (Communist) Koreans and South Koreans. We must never neglect to describe the people we don't like as Red or Communist.

Sat. 6-16-56

BUT WORSE! What is a fanatic? What is a rebel? What is a terrorist? What is a loyalist? What is a patriot?

The Mau Maus in Kenya are FANATICS, not patriots fighting for their land and for freedom in an even more essential sense than our American forebears.

The Cypriots are TERRORISTS, not patriots, simply because they are determined to drive their British lords and masters from their island homeland. Who pictures them as terrorists in the eyes of the world. The British, of course, and We Americans fall in for the British NAME-CALLING with all it connotes.

The same thing is true in Algeria. There the native peoples are fighting for THEIR land. With all the oddgs against them, they are putting up a tremendous fight against one of the great powers. France has sent hundreds of thousands of soldiers to Algeria and the French Government has just asked for two and one-half billion dollars to pay for the "action" in Algeria.

■

AND WHAT do we read in our newspapers, over and over, day after day? That seventy "rebels" were killed. That the French have ambushed 230 "terrorists." That Moslem "fanatics" have razed French farm homesteads with fire.

If any people belonging to our Western society were to put up such a fight for freedom and sovereignty as the Algerians have done, they would have been lauded in story and song—even as the Irish have been. "Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do and die," wrote Tennyson of the sacrifice and bravery of English soldiers in a far-away strange land.

Are Algerian bravery and courage to be lost sight of by the use of such terms as fanaticism and terrorism? Must we yield to the delusion that these Algerians do not fight for the same freedom the American colonies did?

So many Algerians are killed each day for freedom, but HOW MANY FRENCH for colonialism?

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P.19

Pittsburgh, Pa.

My Hurricane

Sat. 6-23-56

THE EXPERTS don't like my Tommy (Hurricane) Jackson. They have been looking for someone to blow him down, knock him out of the heavyweight picture. The guy can't box, they tell you. He can't hit. He's an "unpredictable animal." He violates all the rules, except those of fighting when he's in the ring and training when he's not in the ring.

Mr. Prattis

But, despite the fact that my "Hurricane" whips all the boys who follow the rules, he still can't win acceptance. He's an outlander. He doesn't belong to the upper class of boxing society. He's not "one of the boys." He's rude and crude—even a cry baby. He might make you ashamed of him if he became champion.

So, let's get him out of the way and forget that he is one of the busiest fighting men who ever came out of pugilism's jungle.

■

THIS HIGH-BROW attitude towards my "Hurricane" reminds me of a parallel sports situation a generation ago. This other situation, in the early twenties, involved such tennis greats as Talley Holmes, Dr. Owen B. Williams and the late Edgar Brown.

In those days, Tally Holmes, of Washington's upper crust, was just about the last word in Negro tennis, the tournaments of which attracted the elite of the fraternities, the sororities and the Negro "400."

However, Dr. Owen B. Williams, or "O. B." as we called him, then playing out of Chicago, was the talented heir-apparent and successor to Dr. Holmes. "O. B." was really a likeable guy, still is. He played a sweet game of tennis. He knew all the shots. He had forehand and backhand. He knew how to put English on the ball. He was handsome. The gals went for him although he didn't go for them—and never has.

■

FROM OUT of nowhere (which was Indianapolis then) came a rude, crude, unpredictable tennis player nobody knew. He didn't "belong" and didn't care about belonging. The highfalutin' fans in the stands pulled against him and the experts experted against him.

They knew darned well he couldn't play. He had no shots, no finesse. He was not flexible. All he could do was drive, or return the ball.

Edgar (Goatee) Brown was to tennis of those days what "My Hurricane" is to boxing today. But Edgar then (even as in later life) paid no heed to the sneers and jeers of the elite.

He just kept driving the ball back over the net. My pal, "O. B.," fancy-shotted the ball all over the court, but not where Edgar wasn't. Always, Edgar drove the ball back. Edgar drove "O. B." silly and became the champion.

Even after Edgar won the title, the purists were "again" him. They felt no relief until Ted Thompson dethroned Edgar. Just as these latter day purists felt no relief until Floyd Patterson won a split decision over my "Hurricane."

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P.10

Our Babies

Sat. 6-9-56

Mr. Prattis

OF COURSE, it is impossible for married couples without children to know how a child of their own could and would alter the entire course of their lives and their reason for being. On the fly leaf of Silas Marner, by George Eliot, the following words from a British poet were printed: "A child, more than all other gifts which earth can offer to declining man, brings hope with it and FORWARD-LOOKING thoughts." The capitals are mine. No man and no woman, nor man and woman, have undertaken the biggest job in life until they have tackled the challenging task of preparing a child for the future, making a human being.

In spite of the challenge in such a task, and in spite of its necessity and rewards, there are thousands and thousands of homeless babies, particularly in our great metropolitan centers. Go to Chicago, to Detroit, to Pittsburgh, to New York, and the story is the same—HOMELESS BABIES.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THIS IS not true with whites. There are so many white couples seeking babies that a black market in such babies has grown and intermediaries have been "selling" white babies for outlandish sums.

If you went to New York, courts and social agencies which handle adoptions might tell you: "We have fifteen white applicants for every one white homeless baby, but we have only ONE Negro applicant for every FIFTEEN homeless Negro babies."

In Pittsburgh, the figure used might be ten. In Chicago, some people would tell you that there is only one Negro applicant for every twenty Negro babies.

In all large cities, honest efforts are being made by the courts and social agencies to do something about this problem. But if you are a childless couple, or a couple who would like to have another boy or girl, YOU are the only ones who can really help to solve this problem. Adoptive homes are needed for adoptable children.

In Pittsburgh, Perry B. Hall, director of Family and Children's Service, 4 Smithfield St., Pittsburgh 19, is promoting a program of education in behalf of the many adoptable Negro children in that area.

In Chicago, a most significant project, financed by the Field Foundation, is being carried on under the direction of Mrs. Thelma G. Thompson. She heads the Negro Adoption Project, sponsored by the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, 123 W. Madison St., Chicago 2, Ill.

The in-migration of Negroes from the South has made the problem of adoption in Chicago extremely critical. More than 75 per cent of the aid to dependent children goes to Negro children. Mrs. Thompson has accepted the responsibility of trying to get over to YOU, the Negro public, the seriousness of the problem and of showing how YOU can help.

You can help and you WILL HELP if you but ponder how "a child, more than all other gifts which earth can offer to declining man, brings hope with it and forward-looking thoughts."

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P.8

Uncle Sam Spurned

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 7-7-56

NO MATTER in which direction one looks these days, there is the almost 100 per cent chance that you will be dismayed by the sight of some ragamuffin people rejecting the proffered friendly hand of Uncle Sam, the immensely wealthy purveyor of the ideals of western democracy. It seems like the unclothed, unfed, unsheltered millions of people of the world would welcome the chance to share the granaries and armories of the torch-bearer for freedom and civilization—western style.

Mr. Prattis

But the proof of the pudding is its savoriness and whether it is swallowed or spat out. Abundant evidence is piling up that most people around the world simply do not like Uncle Sam. Our Mr. Rogers, now doing research in European capitals, has brought to the attention of Courier readers the immensely popular piece written by the French writer, Raymond Cartier. Mr. Cartier wrote on the subject: "Why the Americans Are Detested Today in the Whole World?"

■

THE ARABS and the pro-Arab nations do not like us. The so-called neutralist nations (in Europe and in Asia) suspect and fear us. No matter what kind of smile Uncle Sam wears. That is despite the fact that this country's devotion to democratic ideals and to slick paper creeds of human equality, set in motion chain reactions of social and political forces which brought freedom and sovereignty to nations in Europe, Africa and Asia.

The straw that breaks the elephant's back, however, is the rough heave-o we get from Iceland. "Go home, Uncle Sam, go home," said the Icelanders in their recent election. It didn't matter to them that our air-base hypoed Iceland's economy. They would rather be poor and free than to have some rich old guy walking over them every day. So they give us the boot.

■

THEY GIVE us the boot in spite of the fact that we tried to get along with them. When the Icelanders said, "Now look, Sam, you can come up here, but we want you to understand clearly that we don't want any of your black boys and girls playing around under our palm trees, 'cause we ain't got no palm trees." Uncle Sam put his hand to the deal. "Okay!" he responded, "nothing but Nordics except, occasionally, a Sicilian for good measure and to spice up the joint."

Now the Icelanders give the boot not only to Uncle's colored children, but to his entire doggoned family. Ain't that somethin'?

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier

It's Up To Ike

Pittsburgh, Pa.

WHETHER any civil rights legislation is passed by the present Congress is solidly up to the leadership which President Eisenhower gives backers of civil rights in both parties. The President has the most favorable opportunity to see that civil rights laws are enacted that has presented itself in recent years. His gifted leadership has brought together various elements within his own party. He, thus, has a unified force with which to work.

P.10

Sat. 6-30-56

Mr. Prattis

The civil rights program presented by the Administration to Congress is good, but is moderate almost in the extreme. However, one must recognize that there is the aspect of practicality to all such matters. If the President advocated what some persons might regard as a most extreme program, the chances for passage would diminish in exact proportion to its extremity. It must be noted that, although the present civil rights package is moderate, it is also basic.

If one wishes to be truthful, he must admit that the present civil rights package is not as far-reaching as the one offered by President Truman in 1948. But Mr. Truman was unable to get any action on his program. He was the leader of a bitterly divided party. The Southern Democrats teamed up with the Republicans. These Republicans played coy with the Truman legislative proposals so that the Democrats would not win a political advantage at that time.

■

HOWEVER, THE climate for passage is much better now although there are forces, in the Republican party, particularly from the rural sections, which are indifferent to civil rights legislation per se, they are not indifferent to the success of their party. They will support the kind of middle road program President Eisenhower has proposed. But, he must make it clear to all the members of his party that he is deeply and sincerely interested in seeing that his proposals are enacted into laws. He cannot and must not assume a take-it or leave-it attitude. He must insist that the leadership in both the House and the Senate press vigorously for the success of this program.

■

A FILIBUSTER can be beaten in the Senate. Only 64 votes are required to beat a filibuster. At least 33 votes are required to maintain a filibuster. The signers of the Southern Manifesto can only point to 22 certain votes. They must pick up 11 votes in order to keep a filibuster alive. They cannot do if the Republicans and the Northern Democrats perfect a "holy alliance" this year in contrast to the "unholy alliance" in 1948.

There is glory enough in this freedom legislation for both parties to share and to take it out of the political arena. If the Republicans believe in the equality of rights for all citizens and the Democrats, who are like-minded, will join to pass this legislation through the Congress, they will learn that they have won the gratitude of Negro voters.

However, it is up to Ike to give the leadership.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Whites Scarcer

MAYBE Senator Eastland of Mississippi and others like him who try to preserve the purity (?) of the "superior" white race, have something. With every day that passes, the proportionate number of whites in the world decreases and the corresponding number of colored people increases. In another hundred years, what with modern transportation and means of communication, the chances are that whites will constitute a tiny minority in the world population.

Mr. Prattis

Recent statistics compiled by the United Nations point up the perilous trend.

In 1920, the total world population was estimated at one billion, eight hundred million. Of that number, 53.4 per cent were largely colored peoples of Asia and 7.7 per cent colored peoples of Africa, for a total of 61.1 per cent.

White-dominated lands of Europe, including Russia, constituted 26.9 per cent; of the Americas, 11.5 per cent, and of Oceania, .5 per cent, for a total of 38.9 per cent.

THERE HAS been a significant change in the last 35 years. Now the world population is estimated to be two billion seven hundred million.

The colored peoples of Asia and Africa now constitute 63.3 per cent of the world's population and the so-called white countries, 36.7.

If these figures are projected to 1980, the world population is expected to be four billion. The percentage of colored then will be 64 and of white 36.

Of course, in the so-called colored areas (Asia and Africa), there are pockets of whites. But these white pockets in colored areas are easily counterbalanced by colored pockets of population in the so-called white areas, the Americas and Oceania, for example.

It seems inevitable that, as the colored population of the world grows, it will burst its bounds. South America, North America, Africa and Oceania must look forward to incursions of Asiatic people. Japan cannot and will not stay forever cooped up. The Chinese and the Indians are going to travel.

SENATOR EASTLAND and his ilk might as well look forward to a time when there are going to be great migrations and a "mongrelization" that may well turn to tan every pink face left in the world. That may be a dread prospect, but it pointed up clearly from the statistics, the trends of population growth, the higher birth rates among coloreds, lowering infant mortality and death rates, etc., etc.

Whites are going to become scarcer and scarcer. A hundred years from now, white youngsters will be puzzled to read their histories and discover the attitudes which existed in these present days and the behaviour of their ancestors.

It will seem foolish to whites then left that their forebears could ever have behaved with such disregard for the future.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Mr. Dulles Again

AS THIS is written, our reverent Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles, is off on another goodwill mission. It is his purpose to perfect and effectuate the intricate and explosive mechanism for some sort of a "users' association" for the Suez Canal. Before he enplaned, he is said to stuffed his pockets with a promise of a half billion dollars spending change.

Mr. Prattis

How do we get ourselves into these messes? First, of course, we turned our heads the other way when Egypt violated the 1888 convention by stopping Israeli vessels or ships with cargoes destined for Israel. Then we pressed Great Britain to remove her troops from the Canal Zone.

In the latter persuasion, it is to be presumed that we were making friends with the Arabs and making a show against imperialism or colonialism. However, we merely forced the British to transfer to Cyprus and compound their troubles. There we have let them stew in their own juice.

But the real coup de grace in the Suez debacle was delivered when Mr. Dulles carried us to one of his famous "brinks" and told the Egyptian Government that the United States was withdrawing its offer of a one hundred million-dollar loan to help build the high dam at Aswan. Britain had offered some fifty million, but as soon as we welched, so did she.

The game was then on. Nasser retaliated by seizing the Suez Canal and telling the entire world it is Egypt's very own.

Great Britain and France made impressive military blusters as though they were going to retrieve the Canal by force. But Mr Dulles, a man addicted to peace, despite his diplomatic manipulation of the "brinks of war," would not go for force in the Canal.

One reason, of course, is that the more force we might have marshalled against Egypt the more force the Communist nations might have marshalled in her favor—and we would have had a third world war all because Mr. Dulles snatched his bet of one hundred million.

However, he left home for London last week with five hundred million dollars worth of promises. The idea was to first pull together a "users association" and get that association to test whether Egypt would allow it to use the Canal. If Egypt wouldn't, charges against her would be filed with the United Nations.

In the meantime, Europe must have its oil. So Mr. Dulles was prepared to make loans to help European countries buy oil from North and South America and to sail oil from the Persian Gulf around the Cape of Good Hope.

Neither Mr. Dulles, nor Mr. Eden nor Mr. Pineau of France seem willing to trust President Nasser. Is this because Nasser doesn't exactly belong to the same club as they? Do they distrust him because he went to the Bandung Conference?

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Teachers Union

WHEN the American Federation of Teachers met in Pittsburgh some weeks ago, public attention was focussed on the fight within the group to expel segregated locals in Southern states. After failing to marshal a two-thirds vote for immediate expulsion of the locals, convention leadership did get a two-thirds vote requiring expulsion of the offending locals by December, 1957, if they don't integrate.

Mr. Prattis

This is in line with the constitution of the union.

However, the foregoing action attracted so much attention that the public was not properly informed of constructive action taken by this teachers union along other lines. Significantly, two of the most important resolutions introduced and approved at the convention, came from the Washington D. C., local, led by Sallie E. Tancil.

ONE OF these, Resolution No. 34, had to do with Federal aid to education. Here the teachers followed the line of Congressman Adam Powell's amendment to the Federal aid to education bill in the last Congress by asserting:

"Therefore be it resolved, that Federal funds be granted only to those school districts and states that are in compliance with the provisions of the Supreme Court with regard to desegregation, and

"Be it further resolved, that Federal funds not granted to school districts that have openly defied and refused to comply with the Supreme Court decision be held in escrow until such compliance is forthcoming."

IN ANOTHER resolution, No. 38, these organized teachers, took cognizance of the fact that in the process of desegregation many qualified Negro teachers may lose their jobs. They felt that the problems of these teachers constituted a proper area of interest and action for the Teachers Federation. They therefore resolved that the American Federation of Teachers:

"***authorize the national president of the AFT to organize and institute programs designed to aid teachers who face the problems of loss of position, tenure, or other security provisions on account of race, or color, in the racial integration or desegregation of the public schools in their local communities, and

"***that the AFT urge its locals to request superintendents of schools to declare a policy of encouraging employment of Southern teachers who have been displaced because of desegregation problems, and

"***that all AFT locals furnish education guidance, workshops, scholarships, other aids which will prepare displaced teachers for employment in their school systems."

The plight of teachers in the change from segregation to integration is truly a serious one, but those who are qualified need have little to fear if the Federation of Teachers pursues the program indicated above. In most Northern communities, there is a shortage of qualified teachers. Qualified Southern teachers can help to eliminate this shortage.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Graveyard

WHILE appearing as a witness before the Platform Committee of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, described United States Senate Rule No. 22 as "the graveyard of all civil rights legislation."

Mr. Prattis

The two big objectives of all civil rights adherents at Chicago and at San Francisco were: specific endorsement of the Supreme Court school segregation decision and a pledge to implement it, and a pledge to change Rule 22 in the Senate.

Both parties balked on both these objectives although, as Roy Wilkins commented, the Republicans were a thin shade better (on the Supreme Court issue) than the Democrats.

Senate Rule No. 22 is the filibuster or cloture rule. Under it, two-thirds of all the Senators, or 66, must vote to invoke cloture or to end a filibuster.

Sat. 9-8-56

■

It is against this insurmountable obstacle that all civil rights legislation founders if it reaches the floor of the Senate.

The Republicans were asked to give a platform pledge that they would modify the rule to substitute a simple majority for two-thirds. So were the Democrats.

P. 8

Members of the Democratic Platform Committee made much of the fact that Republicans had voted against an effort to change the rule of the opening of the 84th Congress.

But when the Democratic platform was reported out, there was nary a word about Rule 22.

And in all the fine words uttered at San Francisco, there was no mention of Rule 22.

That is in spite of the fact that the Republican platform endorsed President Eisenhower's civil rights legislative package.

It is, of course, sheer mockery to endorse such legislation so long as it must encounter an unbeatable filibuster.

What is the plight of the Negro citizen anyhow? Where civil rights (which means him) are concerned, he hears from all corners and sides the terms moderation and compromise. But only in respect to that issue —no other.

From the leaders of the Republican party, he learns of the paramountcy of states rights, the same doctrine preached by Southern Democrats who debase him.

And then when the two parties have a chance to place themselves on record as repudiating the tool (the filibuster) used by Southern Democrats (and them alone) to block civil rights legislation, both parties remains completely mum.

The move to change Senate Rule No. 22 received only 21 votes in support at the beginning of the last Congress. It is reasonable to assume that Southern influence in both parties will prevent any effort at all being made in the next Congress.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P. 8

Family Income

Sat. 10-13-56

IN HER short but significant speech to the delegates to The Democratic National Convention, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt made some allusions which are of the utmost importance to Negroes. She referred to the fact that her husband, when President, had deplored the fact that one-third of all Americans were ill-housed, ill-clothed and ill-fed. Although she admitted progress has been made, she is distressed by the fact that TWENTY PER CENT of Americans today do not have adequate food, shelter or clothing.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Prattis

The actual figure, according to U. S. Government records in 1954, is 19.8 per cent. That is the percentage of American families which in 1954 had an income of less than $2,000 per year. Mrs. Roosevelt was rightly distressed by the fact that one in every five American families TODAY must live near a starvation level. But her percentage applied to ALL Americans.

■

MAYBE SHE did not know that 43.2 per cent of ALL NEGRO FAMILIES in these great United States had an income of less than $2,000 in 1954, and that 21.7 per cent had an income of less than $1,000.

Despite the economic gains made by Negroes, their overall poverty is still frightening. Sixty and three-tenths per cent of all Negro families have an annual income of less than $3,000.

Only 7.6 per cent of the white families have incomes under $1,000 per year, and 17.6 per cent have incomes of less than $2,000 per year.

Eighty-eight per cent of all Negro family incomes are under $5,000 per year, but only 60.2 per cent of white family incomes are under $5,000.

Or to put the point another way: Forty per cent of all white American families have an annual income of $5,000 a year or more and only 12 per cent of Negro families have such an income.

We are far behind the economic eight ball in the upper income brackets.

■

THE MEDIAN family income in the United States in 1954 was $4,591. The median white family income that year was $4,827. The median Negro family income was $2,876.

The median family income of the Negro was slightly less than sixty per cent that of the whites.

Poverty is a serious handicap in a country like America. It breeds many other ills.

Mrs. Roosevelt knows that something is wrong in the richest nation on earth when one-fifth of its population is no better off than the hungry hordes in Asia.

Crime and health statistics, assembled to indict the Negro, are a direct reflection of the evils of the economic straightjacket which confines him. Much can be done to solve the race problem by giving the masses of Negroes the opportunity to earn enough money to provide adequate food, shelter and clothing.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P. 8

The Big Lie

Sat. 10-20-56

MANY white Southerners, prone to shed crocodile tears over "the good old days," repeatedly lament what they assay to have been the period of growing goodwill between the races that was wickedly interrupted by the Supreme Court segregation decision.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Prattis

"We were doing well and great progress was being made in the area of race relations," they'll insist, and carry on: "The Nigras were getting better housing, better jobs, better schools. The Supreme Court decision has destroyed all the goodwill we had."

Well, that may be the Southern white man's story, but it's certainly not the story of the Southern Negro. The Southern Negro was making progress because of the pressure of social and economic forces which the Southern white man could not control.

■

THERE NEVER was a bigger lie told than that of making the claim that Southern Negroes were satisfied with the status imposed upon them before the Supreme Court decision. The Southern white man who repeats this lie knows that he is lying, but he hopes that the nature of the lie is such that his adamantly evil intention of preventing the Negro from being a full man and a full citizen will be obscured.

The Southerners who tell this "big lie" try to blame the Supreme Court and outside agitators for "upsetting" the Southern Negro. Neither the Supreme Court nor outside agitators induced 40,000 Montgomery Negroes to stop riding jim-crow buses.

If white Southerners had had respect for Negroes as human beings, citizens and children of God, they would long ago have opened the doors that shut the Negro out from getting an even break as a man. The so-called tensions are the reaction of those white Southerners who still don't want the doors open. They want "good" race relations on their own terms.

■

INDEED, this matter of the white man making all the decisions and exercising all the controls, is the kernel of the issue. The Southern white insists on having what he wants and forcing the Negro take what he (the white man) gives him. The Southern white man, forced to face reality, rebels and says that his "way of life" is being destroyed when, as a matter of fact, only his wilfulness is being challenged.

Of course, Southern Negroes kidded Southern whites into believing everything was hotsytotsy. This is the Negro's way of staying alive in the same land with the murderers of Emmett Till. He is forced to make out like he's pleased. But he isn't.

All whites who repeat the "big lie" about how "good" race relations were getting to be ought to realize: (1) that material progress was the result of outside forces; (2) that they yielded to these forces and then patted themselves on the back, and (3) that Negroes pulled their (the white men's) legs in the process.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P.10

A Birthday

Sat. 2-25-56

DESPITE Negro History Week, many of our young people of today are woefully uninformed about the life and works of Negro leaders of the recent past. Ask them about M. C. Mason, Booker T. Washington, Bishop Alexander Crummel, Joseph Price, Robert R. Moton, James Weldon Johnson. The retort is likely to be: "Who was he?" or "Who were they?" This is particularly disturbing when it is true of present-day high school graduates.

Mr. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

This week a man who lived and worked with all the foregoing, and many others, will celebrate his eighty-eighth birthday. For that reason, I am reproducing a part of his biography as published in "Who's Who in America."

William Edward Burghardt DuBois was born in Great Barrington, Mass., Feb. 23, 1868. He received his bachelor's degree from Fisk University in 1888 and the same degree from Harvard University in 1890. Also, from Harvard, he received his master's degree in 1891 and his doctorate in 1895. He studied further at the University of Berlin. He has received numerous honorary degrees.

In 1896, he married Nina Gomer, who died in 1950. Two children were born, Burghardt Gomer, who died, and Nina Yolande. He married Shirley Graham in 1951.

Dr. DuBois was professor of Greek and Latin at Wilberforce from 1894-96. He was assistant instructor at the University of Pennsylvania 1896-97. He was professor of economics and history at Atlanta University from 1897-1910.

He was director of publications for the Advancement of Colored People and editor of the Crisis from 1910-32. He was head of the Department of Sociology of Atlanta University 1933-44. He was head of the Department of Special Research for the NAACP from 1944-48; chairman of the Peace Information Bureau, 1950-51, and has been vice chairman of the Council on African Affairs since 1949.

Dr. DuBois was the editor of the Atlanta University Studies, 1897-1911. He is a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and founder of the Pan-African Congresses. He is a member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters and Knight Commander of the Liberian Order of African Redemption.

Dr. DuBois is the author of The Suppression of the Slave Trade, 1896; The Philadelphia Negro, 1859; The Souls of Black Folk, 1903; John Brown, 1909; Quest of the Silver Fleece, 1911; The Negro, 1915; Darkwater, 1920; The Gift of Black Folk, 1924; Dark Princess, 1928; Black Reconstruction, 1935; Black Folk: Then and Now, 1935; Dusk of Dawn, 1940; Color and Democracy, 1945; The World and Africa, 1947; In Battle for Peace, 1952.

He was editor-in-chief of the Enclopedia of the Negro, 1933-45, and editor of the Phylon Quarterly Review from 1940-44.

Dr. DuBois lives at 31 Grace Court, Brooklyn 2, New York. He would be cheered by a message from you.

Horizon

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Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier

Wes Santee

Sat. 3-10-56

THERE is a moral of great importance to us in the recent ban imposed on Wes Santee, America's premier mile runner and the United States' hope for laurels in the Olympic Games. Santee was banned by the Amateur Athletic Union because, in the opion of a committee of seven persons, his acceptance of excessive expense fees impaired his amateur status.

Mr. Prattis

At the core of this ban placed on Santee is a matter of ethics. The word amateur derives from the word love. An amateur is supposed to be a person who engages in any activity because of his love for it and not for pecuniary, or financial, gain. He is a lover or amateur of the particular field in which he is accomplished.

IT IS well-known that there are "swindle sheets" among amateur athletes as well as among the representatives of business and industrial concerns.

As a matter of fact, this is so well-known that when the original ban on Santee was announced, some writers were disposed to commiserate for him, wailing, "Why pick out Santee?"

There are always those who, when an unethical practice is almost condoned as custom, will try to argue that the deed is ethical because "everybody's doing it." Such an attitude is immoral and corrupts society.

Negroes, particularly, should ponder the Santee case. He is America's best man at the mile. America needs him. But the Amateur Athletic Union has placed the ban on him. It is possible here to get a view of our white fellow Americans policing themselves. They are not lured away from an ethical base by a prevalent practice.

* * *

NEGROES do copy, imitate whites. Too often they copy the white man's vices and ignore his virtues. They actually allow themselves to do the wrong thing (when they know better) because some white man wags his head up and down.

All whites do not settle issues on the basis of what is right, legal or moral. But most often you will find them trying to do so—and winning.

Don't ask me, but ask yourself what would have happened if Santee had been a Negro miler and it had been up to Negroes to decide his future status. Ask yourself whether we adjust ourselves to "easy ethics" or adhere to strict ethical values.

I think we are disposed to do those things which the dominant group will wink at. By so doing, we corrupt ourselves and fail to provide the body of support for moral values which our nation needs. Our position in relation to all issues would be stronger if we acted with the austerity of the Amateur Athletic Union and condemned evil where we find it.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier

Deadly Parallel?

ONE HUNDRED years ago, the greatest issue which beset our country was slavery. In the original thirteen colonies, during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, there had been slavery and indenture, of whites as well as blacks, in most or all of the colonies. By the time the nation was founded and the Constitution framed, slavery had vanished for practically all persons but Negroes.

Mr. Prattis

However, the Americans of these early days were divided on the issue of slavery and the issue grew bigger between abolitionists and pro-slavery groups until it erupted in a Civil War. The first shot was fired by a slave state on Fort Sumter, a Federal Government installation.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE DETERMINANT which actually brought on the war was indeed economic, but this economic factor derived from the competition of slave labor against free labor and the extension or "containment" of the slave labor area.

War came and legal slavery was abolished.

But the emancipated slaves were not then prepared for the full responsibilities of citizenship and they were given little, if any help. Slavery was followed by the infamous Black Codes in many Southern states and, finally, by an alignment of the "poor white" and the poor aristocrat, two groups which created a "place," at the bottom of the totem pole for the Negro.

Sat. 2-3-56

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has set January, 1963, one hundred years from the

issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, for the attainment of full, first-class citizenship for American Negroes.

3-3-56

THE GREAT issue today is not slavery, but SEGREGATION. Negroes see in segregation the principal and vilest barrier to first-class citizenship. White who prate about "white supremacy" and the purity of their race, see in segregation the last social, political and economic instrument to keep the Negro "in his place" at the bottom of the totem pole.

This issue of segregation is going to divide the nation just as slavery did. It has already done so. There are million of whites who recognize that segregation is legally and morally indefensible. They are ashamed of extremist behaviour in a few states which gives all of America a bad name throughout the world.

As slavery was the most important domestic issue one hundred years ago, so is segregation today. How will the issue be resolved? Issues like slavery and segregation cannot be avoided or evaded. They must be met and resolved somehow. The deadly parallel of slavery and segregation looms before us. What does it portend?

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P.10

Secretary Dulles

Sat. 3-17-56

I AM AFRAID that, after years of trying, I don't get our Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles. Long ago, I learned that he was a smart boy at Princeton and baffled his classmates. These days, when he comes out fighting with press releases and statements, he forces me to the ropes.

Mr. Prattis

Is Mr. Dulles addicted to double talk or verbal sleight of hand? Why is it so difficult for me, and many others, to see reality as he does?

Pittsburgh, Pa

Let's forget the "brink of war" gambit which was sheer ratiocination of speciosity, whichever you want to call it.

The one that really gets me is the definition of Russia's so-called "new look" in foreign affairs. Mr. Dulles, with a straight face, tells us that Russia found she could not get anywhere with force, so she has now begun to copy America's economic assistance or give-away program.

Who coined the term "massive retaliation"? Who has determined to act from a "position of strength (force)" more than we, or Mr. Dulles?

The extraordinary fact is that Russia has taken over country after country without the use, or the loss, of a single soldier.

Russia is not copying after the United States in offering economic assistance. She is **beating us at our own game.**

To almost every gift we offered foreign nations, in Europe, Asia and Africa, strings were attached. We insisted that they be on our side, politically and militarily. Our policy has been "no strings, no gifts."

And we have been fettered with the Western brand of colonialism which, reduced to the plainest terms, is the economic exploitation of colored peoples by whites.

Kruschev and Bulganin have gone gamboling about offering Russian gifts and aid **without strings.** They have also **negated** the color factor. That is hard for us to do and to understand with a difficult color problem here at home.

Dulles truly says we have helped to liberate fifteen African and Asian nations. But we did so in such a way that we did not win their gratitude or their loyalty. The Middle Eastern nations (Arab) insist our interest in them is selfish and based on **oil.**

We toady to them despite the fact that Saudi Arabia is a slave state. According to recently released reports, there are 500,000 slaves, mostly black in Arabia and the slave trade goes briskly on without a blink of Secretary Dulles eyes, or those of the United Nations.

We do not condone Russian slave labor camps. Why do we ignore the theft of human bodies from Africa and their enslavement in the Arabian peninsula? Mr. Dulles must know about this slave traffic among peoples we helped to free. How much does he face up to realities?

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P.10 Sat. 3-24-56

Middle Ground?

Pittsburgh, Pa.

WILLIAM FAULKNER, the distinguished Mississippi writer, who favors the objective of full citizenship rights for all United States citizens, regardless of race, creed or color, has disturbed and perplexed many persons as a result of his views published in a recent issue of Life magazine. In essence, Mr. Faulkner seemed to be asking Negroes, their organizations and their friends, for an "agonizing reappraisal" of their position in respect to segregation versus integration, or, more particularly, the tactics and strategy to be employed in moving toward the desired and ultimate objective.

Mr. Prattis

Mr. Faulkner seemed to be saying: "Go slow, now. Let's take this thing step by step."

Before coals of fire are heaped upon Mr. Faulkner's head, very thoughtful consideration should be given to the import of what he has written.

I know that there are many white persons in this country, North and South, who are convinced that Negroes must have, and should have, first-class citizenship. But these persons, like Faulkner, are being caught in the middle.

* * *

THEY ARE being caught between the extremists whites who, using such torch words as "integration" and "desegregation" and "intermarriage" and "mongrelization," say that there shall **NEVER** be integration in the public schools and the extremist Negroes (who have law and morality on their side), who demand that compliance with the Supreme Court decision take place everywhere **IMMEDIATELY**—if not sooner.

Negroes and whites who would try to resolve this situation more practically are plagued by the intolerance of both Negro and white extremists. So far nobody has defined, or laid out, a middle-ground where these Negroes and whites can get together, work together and plan together.

Integration cannot be put off **FOREVER** and it can not be made to stick **NOW** everywhere.

* * *

THERE ARE EIGHT states in which there is absolutely no integration in public schools after **TWO YEARS. EIGHTY PER CENT** of Southerners interviewed by Gallup pollsters, registered against integration. But can one be sure that they were against integration **FOREVER** or **NOW?**

Only **NINE PER CENT** of Negro pupils in the seventeen Southern states and the District of Columbia where segregation was the rule are now in "integrated situation. This 9 per cent comprises more than 200,000 pupils, but the majority of these are in Baltimore, Washington and in some school districts in border states. The Supreme Court decision has not reached more than two million Negro youngsters in the real South.

Plainly, it would seem that **NO PROGRESS AT ALL** is being made in the South while deep-seated feelings of animosity are being released and exploited.

Is there need for reappraisal by Negro leaders. Should not Negro leaders devise a strategy, based on law and morality, which whites like Faulkner can support? Must there not be a **MIDDLE GROUND, a GOLDEN MEAN,** where both groups can assemble and do this job together?

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P.13

An Oily Smell

Sat. 4-21-56

UNITED STATES policy in Near East has an extremely oily smell. This is particularly true of the pronouncement that the United States will not sell arms to Israel, but would look the other way if France and Great Britain (its allies) did. How hypocritical can you be? Why won't the United States sell arms to Israel and not complain if her allies do so?

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Prattis

Our State Department, led by the evangelical Mr. Dulles, has insisted from the beginning that its reluctance to sell arms to Israel was based upon the fear of starting an arms race (between Israel and the Arab countries) that would lead to Middle Eastern outbreak and, possibly, a third world war.

■

ALL RIGHT. If that is sauce for the American goose, why is it not also for the British and French gander. If America refuses to sell arms openly to Israel for fear of starting an arms race, will not the open selling of arms to Israel by Great Britain and France lead to the same and the same prospective disaster.

If the selling of arms to Israel starts an arms race, then it is clear that the race is on whoever sells the arms.

What is behind the United States position anyhow? Must it not be exactly what the Arab say it is. In spite of all the money we have spent on them, in spite of the fact that we used our influence to free them from colonialism, these Arabs still say:

"The United States is not interested in our welfare. The United States is interested in our oil."

■

IT BECOMES abundantly clear that present United States policy is motivated by a desire not to lose a single Arab "friend." And we want their friendship because they have the oil reserves.

The stark implication is that if Israel had the oil reserves, she would need to have no fear for her future security.

It is as simple as that.

Only recently, New York Times correspondents interviewed European diplomats, **sotto voce,** so to speak about their feelings in respect to United States foreign policy. These diplomats seemed to agree unanimously that our policy is enlightened self-interest that leads to selfishness which is palmed off on other nations under the guise of generosity.

Say they: "The United States helped Western Europe back on its feet because America needed those countries vis a vis the Communists in the cold war."

They then want to know why we brag about what we are doing for THEM. They answer that we are giving foreign aid basically to serve our own interests, not them.

The Arabs know this, too. Israel's misfortune is that she cannot be more serviceable.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P8

Able Men Needed

Sat. 1-14-56

FROM every side now, you hear it proclaimed that Africa, the giant who has slept through the centuries, is awakening, will shake off the shackles of colonialism and begin to take its rightful place in modern society and civilization. The barriers of ocean and desert have been eliminated by new methods of transportation and communication. Africa, at long last, is in touch with the world.

Mr. Prattis

The new Africa is going to need help. Don't let them tell you that any nation has ever lifted itself by its own bootstraps. All through recorded history one nation, or people, has learned from others and built upon that learning. It was because of this process of learning that civilizations flourished for centuries on the coastlands and islands of the Mediterranean and in the Middle East. These peoples learned from one another. Scholars and artisans went from civilized peoples to barbarian peoples.

Pittsburgh Pa.

THE VAST Sahara desert kept civilization from penetrating to Central Africa and the heat and munificence of nature let people there, for the most part, be content with a primitive culture which led to happiness, but not to inventions required by more rugged climes.

The Sudanese General Assembly has just proclaimed the independence of that vast area. Egypt is flexing her muscles and speaking as of yore, the first time in some twenty-three hundred years. Ethiopia is free.

In West Africa also, there is resurgence where respectable empires once flourished. The new-old peoples of Songhay and Ghana are about to reassert themselves. In this very year, Nigeria and the Gold Coast are prepared to assume a new status, one of independence, in the British Commonwealth of Nations. This fact has tremendous significance.

What does it mean to you? These new lands are similar to pioneer America. They call for hard, rugged, trained and wise men and women. The missionaries they need are the men and women who can bring to them the arts and sciences of modern civilization. Are you a pioneer? Are American Negroes pioneers? Are they willing to take a chance in new lands where they can be free and can help build nations from the ground up.

The new nations of Africa are beckoning to American Negroes. They are crying: "Brothers, come and help us. We need you and we trust you."

What are YOU, young man and young woman, going to do about this call?

I can offer you a [illegible], comfortable, free life in Nigeria where your color will be in your favor—if you have intelligence and skills.

But don't think Nigeria wants second-rate training and mediocre skills. The country has that. Nigeria wants men and women who are prepared to train and to lead other men and women. She is prepared to honor, obey and pay such pioneers.

If you think you have the training and experience in any field, and the spirit of the pioneer, I would like to hear from you.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier

More About Jobs

Sat. 1-21-56

SERIOUS thought must be given to the fact that during a period like the present, when there is an unmet demand for men and women with special skills and special training, it is as difficult to find qualified Negroes as it is to find former Communists who won't seek the protection of the Fifth Amendment. P. 8

Mr. Prattis

There are thousands of good-paying jobs, requiring talent and training, in this country, in the many services it maintains abroad, and in the service of many foreign countries. Generally, technical specialists are sought. But, for the most part, if you get too technical you get beyond the training span of too many Negroes.

Last week I referred to Nigeria and the fact that this West African nation of more than eight million souls will this year be assuming independent status within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Nigeria's leaders recognize that their people must march on the double-quick if they are to get in step with the fast pace of modern civilization. They want YOU to help them.

Pittsburgh Pa.

RECENTLY, Eastern Nigeria's Prime Minister, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, visited this country with his minister of education. He is interested in establishing the University of Nigeria. His cabinet has set aside $7 million as a starter, for this purpose. But Dr. Azikiwe feels that Nigeria needs the kind of technical education provided by certain American universities. He wants the talented youth of Nigeria to be trained in these institutions. He also wants to attract skilled staff, teachers, administrators, etc., from America, to help build a great Nigerian university along American lines.

At the same time, Dr. Azikiwe is interested in building up the free press of Nigeria. He recognizes the value of the press in the education of a people. For this purpose he needs trained editors with experience, trained advertising salesmen, trained circulation promotion men, trained linotype and monotype operators and machinists.

HE HAS jobs waiting for men with training and experience in the above categories. As a matter of fact, he has more than a job—he has a FUTURE for such men. The salaries he offers may not seem like much according to American salary scales. But in Nigeria the salaries he will pay will transform you into a middle-class gentleman. You will be eating much higher on the hog in Nigeria than you are in America and you'll be FREE.

Of course, Dr. Azikiwe, who publishes a chain of five newspapers, can't use any stumblebums or slickers. He wants and needs men who are talented, trained, experienced, industrious and ambitious. He is not interested in anybody who is looking for something easy.

Have YOU got what Dr. Azikiwe needs? Do you have any friends who have the attributes and the vision required? Do they want to pioneer in a pioneer country? Do they want to help make history?

If you think you're the man, I would like to hear from you. Or if you have friends who feel they have something to offer Nigeria, I'd like to hear from them.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier

All for Africa

Sat. 2-4-56

I HAVE been encouraged by the response from persons with appropriate skills and training who are interested in going to the new countries in West Africa. I hope to hear from many more. This week I am reproducing parts of a letter from an attractive young white woman, a native of Missouri, who is using her skill in Sierra Leone. If she can go and give, why not YOU? Her letter:

Mr. Prattis

Pittsburgh Pa.

"Africa is truly a land of contrasts. In some places there is evidence of development, education and spiritual growth, but in too many places there is still the darkness of ignorance and superstition which is binding the people in fear.

"The babies are loaded with charms around the neck and waist to keep away the evil forces, but are brought every week to be weighed and treated at the Mission clinic. Some people still take their native medicine until it proves useless and then come to the hospital for care.

"After two days of travel, I arrived at the most inland of our Mission stations. In this village there is a lovely little church which at times is filled to overflowing, a school attended by over 300 pupils and a dispensary which attends to over 100 people every day.

"The maternity unit is becoming increasingly popular in a society which puts much emphasis on the ritual of home confinement with its resulting high infant and maternal mortality rate.

"Besides the clinics, maternity work and emergency cases which come in day and night, I add variety to the week's activities by assisting with the choir and church music. I also work with some women who hold a service in the village court barrie every Friday afternoon.

"When time permits I make an attempt to learn the Kono language so that I might be of greater usefulness in the community.

"The medical residence here is a lovely one—much too big for me. I have a wonderful cook who has worked here for ages and contributes much to making our work easier.

"My three hospital assistants are also grand people."

* * *

THE GIRL who wrote the foregoing might have gone into the movies, or she might have become engaged to the Prince of Monaco. Instead, she has chosen to give her service to the Africans.

Nigeria is going to need you, but you must have solid training in the sciences, particularly engineering. They need men to help build, not men to grow fat off what others have built.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P. 10

Without Bias

Sat. 1-28-56

ONE of our readers who claims he took to The Courier almost at his mother's bosom writes in to express several mild complaints about The Courier of today. One of these complaints is that "Prattis has gone Zionist." Also in the mail is a note from my colleague, Horace Cayton, who admits to a sort of frustrating ambivalence in trying to assess the merits of the Israeli-Arab question. Cayton thinks I have written pretty strongly in favor of the Jews.

Mr. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Now as to the reader who grabbed the Courier when he threw away the bottle (milk). This Prattis has not "gone Zionist." He believes the Zionism of Theodore Herzl was a necessary and inevitable product of the centuries of persecution to which Jews had been subjected after the Roman armies in Palestine tried to exterminate the in 70 A. D.

I believe the Middle East is the natural home of the Semitic peoples. I believe, without equivocation, that the Jews have as much right to a share of the real estate in the Middle East, from the standpoint of history, tradition, birth, culture, etc., etc., as the Arabs.

I believe the Arabs, who were freed of Turkish domination and promoted to sovereignty by the Western powers, should have welcomed an opportunity to work and grow with the modern Jew from the seven corners of the globe.

Now, whereas I believe that Zionism 70 years ago had an ideal (a homeland for the Jews) which I believe in, and that there was political and cultural necessity for realizing that ideal, I do not believe the same

necessity or the same grounds for Zionism exist today. Sometimes, I am inclined to believe that Zionism should now go out of business. Certainly, it should restudy and restate its objectives.

The existence of Zionism in its present-day form IS a barrier to understanding between Israelis and Arabs and often between Jew and Gentile. I think Zionism needs to be overhauled.

If our reader had written that I am pro-Jew, pro-minorities, or pro-underdog, he would have had me. I am. I am pro-Arab. This latter fact creates a problem for Cayton and me.

The Arabs are seeking to throw off the kind of domination of which we have been victims. They vote pro-underdog in the United Nations. The Israelis, themselves underdogs, but tied to the kite of Western colonialism, do not always come up with the right answers or the right votes.

Furthermore, there is an undisguised arrogance about some Jews, wherever you find them, that rankles not only Arabs, but Gentiles as well. But they are a tiny minority of a minority and I am for the minority as a whole.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P.8

Year of Decision

Sat. 2-11-56

SINCE this is a year when we must elect, or re-elect, a President and members of the Senate and House, I have been thinking of the forthcoming encounter in terms of the pleasure I might derive from it. My favorite forms of competitive entertainment are boxing, baseball and basketball. Am I going to enjoy the slugging between the White House hopefuls as much as I did that between Gil Turner and Jackie LaBua on a recent television show? I don't think so.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Prattis

As one grows older and older in the very necessary practice of democracy, he becomes more and more sick at the stomach with partisan politics as she is played.

* * *

I ONCE asked the late, great editor of this newspaper, Robert L. Vann, who was an astute politician, how he could play such a game and enjoy it. I had come up in the early days of South Side politics in Chicago and I knew HOW the game is played.

I can enjoy boxing, baseball and basketball because there are rules and there are referees and umpires to enforce the rules. Further, if fighters or players violate the rules, they can be disqualified on the spot.

There is nothing but a rule book which keeps fighters from hitting on the break, from backhanding, from kidney punching and low blows. Few fighters resort to these more obvious violations. Some fighters try to get away with butting, rubbing the glove over a wound and using their knees, but the crowd catches on quickly and these fighters are booed out of their foul behaviour.

The same thing is true in baseball and basketball, or any sport. There are rules players must live up to if they are to continue in the sport and enjoy the support of the fans.

* * *

BUT I can discover no rules in this game of politics which are enforceable against dirty players. You find aspirants for office who hit on the break, kick their opponents on the shin, cuff them on the back of the head, travel with the ball, trip the other candidate and violate all the rules in the books of sports.

It is, therefore, difficult, if not impossible, for the fan (or citizen) to fairly assess the player in the game of politics. He does not know what to believe and what not to believe. He finally becomes convinced that the only sport which is as full of fakery is wrestling.

Yet, this is a year of decision when Americans, all of us, must choose leaders to guide and protect us in these perilous times. But how can we trust them when we have watched them play the game (in the campaign) and have seen that many of them are dirty fighters who ought to have been thrown out of the ring?

Democracy is indeed a problem.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier P.16
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Beauty

WHAT is beauty, anyhow? Are women beautiful? If women are not beautiful, why do we persist in saying so? We men, I mean? When there is talk of good looks and beauty, involving humans, why is it that the women are the one who are always tapped? Who started the notion that women are better-looking than men?

Mr. Prattis

Only among human beings, who are supposed to have some sense, does any such queer notion prevail. Even the most superficial observation of other animals will quickly convince me that although the female may be more deadly, the male is usually better-looking.

Go out into your barnyard. Look at the hens, big, frimpy-looking creatures, lacking in both grace and adornment. But not so the rooster. The rooster is a proud and handsome king in his domain, upright and accoutred in the grand style. He is something to look at and admire; not the cackling hens, but the crowing rooster.

Sat. 3-31-56

AND DON'T ask me to compare a mare and a stallion, or a bull and a cow. In neither instance is there basis for comparison so far as looks are concerned. The stallion is sleek, strong, handsome and vibrant. He, too, is a cock of the walk, sculptured along classic lines. How different the stallion from the run down mares who lack even a gleam in their eyes, whose hair has no sheen, who grow paunchy and dull.

What cow is not ashamed of herself in the presence of a handsome bull! A sluggard cow, good only for producing milk, without shape or form, or of the most grotesque shape or form. She has utterly no standing with her mate when considered in terms of looks.

So it is with the birds and the bees and the flowers. The male is the beauty.

Only the human male, by word and tongue, has made of his female a creature who is supposed to be more beautiful than himself.

She is **NOT.** Look at her sometime. She is unlike the lilies of the field which neither toil nor spin, yet none are arrayed like they. She toils and spins and paints and powders, and girdles and ungirdles, dyes her hair brown, then red, then purple, covered herself with clothes and jewelry and still so often looks even more grotesque than the cow.

* * *

YET FOOLISH men worship at the shrine of made-up "beauties" such as these, write imperishable odes to them and forget that the finest human form is that of the male, the most orderly features are those of the masters of females.

Men have given away the title to their birthright which is beauty and have bestowed it upon dames who have been blowing smoke in their eyes down through the centuries.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Skin Deep

IT GRIEVES one to have to acknowledge that the devotion of many white Southerners to the principles of democracy and the teachings of Jesus is only skin deep. This must be the reluctant realization of Negroes, North and South, who have sought through law and moral suasion to have the white South accept Negroes as equal human beings and first-class citizens.

Sat. 4-7-56

P.10

Mr. Prattis

William Faulkner, Mississippi, has now joined his fellow - Mississippian, Hodding Carter, as a professional spokesman in the field of race relations. Each has the entree to the slick paper magazines whose circulation totals millions. They are supposed to speak with authority (because they are white Southerners) and with sincerity because, some day, short of heaven, they are willing to grant that the principle of equality should apply to the Negro.

■

BUT WHERE do people like Faulkner really stand? He tells you himself. As long as Negroes, and their friends, go slow and easy, and accept social change in the South on the basis of the white Southerner's terms and timing even if it leads to eventual equality—Mr. Faulkner is willing to go along.

But if the white Southerner's terms and timing are not accepted, if he is pushed to the point where his hot blood boils and he resorts to the violence of the mob to resist changes in an evil way of life, Mr. Faulkner blandly and without shame confesses he will have to join the mob.

If the mob organizes and arms itself and declares that the time has come to murder and lynch Negroes, the object of its hate and the cause (as it would believe) or justification for its action, MR. FAULKNER, citizen in the greatest democracy on earth, will JOIN THE MOB and he will SHOOT DOWN NEGROES with the rest of the mob.

■

MR. FAULKNER avers that there is a great body of Southerners (who don't mind working this matter out on a long-term basis) who will join the mob and bloody the streets of Southern communities.

Faulkner's bold and shameful statement has made Negroes who know him and have accepted him into Christian fellowship, sick at their stomachs. They never want this man to touch the hem of THEIR garments again. He has made himself into a loathsome person.

True, indeed, all Southerners, white, are not like Faulkner or Carter. But most of them are now frightened, the victims of an evil system and evil associations. When the mob runs, they must run with it.

Religion and law are only skin deep with them when the race issue is involved.

31a 1956 WHITE (BEM PRICE)

News B'ham, Ala.
Aug. 5-13-56 P. 1-B

Difference in discrimination is in degree—

The Negro in the North: As population increases, s[o] does problem

(EDITOR'S NOTE: What happens to the Negro who turns his back on segregation in the South and hopefully heads North? What are his chances for a better job, better housing, better schooling north of the Mason-Dixon Line? Here is a first-hand report by an AP correspondent who has covered the segregation story on both sides of the Line since the Supreme Court's history-making decision.)

BY BEM PRICE, AP newsfeatures writer

DETROIT, May 12—The problem of race relations is not confined to the South.

There is racial discrimination in the North, certainly in the parts I visited. Many of the harsh things Southerners say about the life of the Negro outside the South are true.

But there is a difference: Legal and Actual.

The moral problem is the same both in the North and South. The difference lies in degree. In many Northern cities and towns, there is virtually no problem. These are the areas where there is a staple Negro population, not growing much, reasonably well-housed, fairly steadily employed.

But as the Negro population in a given city increases, so often does the problem.

Began during war

THE BIG PUSH Northward began during World War II. There were good-paying jobs in Northern industry that attracted many migrants. The Army drew heavily from Southern farm labor, and many of the youths never went back.

Many didn't want to; others found no jobs. Southern farms, once worked almost entirely by hand, had become mechanized, notably by the cotton picker. Many other farms shifted from row crops to grains and cattle.

Edwin C. Berry, secretary of the Chicago Urban League, says that in past years most farm Negroes moved first to Southern cities, became urbanized, then headed for Northern cities. Now many are coming North directly from farms.

"Once," said Berry, "it was the more alert and aggressive Negro who moved North. The fearful stayed South. Now it is reversed somewhat. The fearful are leaving, and the aggressive are staying. I had one man tell me he was going to stay South and fight because 'the white man is not going to do to me what he did to the American Indian.'"

Some tension

THERE HAVE BEEN estimates that Chicago's Negro population is growing by 3,000 a month. Most of them move into slum areas in what has long been called "The Black Belt." Overcrowding is terrific. So the push is outward, into the next block, into adjacent neighborhoods. Tension has been high in some sections as a result.

How high? How serious is the whole Negro problem outside the South? What steps are being taken to solve it?

The last time I was in Jackson, Miss., William J. Simmons, administrator for the pro-segregation White Citizens Councils, said, "Why don't you go up North and write about the way Negroes are treated?"

So I went to the North-South city of Baltimore and to New York, Chicago and Detroit.

The schools, I found, are integrated in all these cities. Negroes are working at jobs which are closed to them in the South. With the exception of Baltimore, Negroes come and go in hotels, restaurants and theaters.

Further, each of these cities in the past 10 years has adopted anti-discrimination ordinances — Baltimore just last month.

Each city has set up an active public commission against discrimination, with the expressed mission of breaking down prejudice because of race, religion, ancestry or national origin.

There is nothing comparable to these commissions anywhere in the South.

Discrimination

THERE STILL IS discrimination against Negroes in private employment in these four cities, and barriers against them in private housing. A survey in New York, for example, indicates that 90 per cent of privately-owned housing is not accessible to Negroes. All public housing is open to them, however.

In Los Angeles, Associated Press Reporters Graham Berry and H. D. Wilhoit looked into the racial situation and found that, with the exception of the housing field, it paralleled that in the four cities I visited.

"The Negro population," they report, "has a greater geographic spread in Los Angeles than probably any other city of comparable size in the nation."

Housing is worst

HOUSING IS THE GREATest single source of racial tension in all the cities I visited.

There are cities such as Cicero, Ill., adjacent to Chicago, and Dearborn, Mich., next to Detroit, which exclude Negro residents through community pressures.

And you can find instances in the North of mob action when a Negro family moves into an all-white neighborhood.

Where statistics are available it can be shown that Negroes account for most of the arrests for major crimes—two-thirds of the murders in Chicago, 69 per cent of all felonies in Detroit.

New York City does not break down its arrest figures by race. Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm explained why.

"We find," he said, "that crime is among the poor. It is not by race."

The majority of people on the general relief rolls are non-white— 69 per cent, for example, in Detroit. Chicago gives aid to 55,433 dependent children, 75 per cent of whom are Negro.

Job opportunity

DOES THE NEGRO flee the South just to get on relief rolls? The question was put to Welfare Commissioners Dan Ryan of Detroit, Henry McCarthy of New York City and Alvin Rose of Chicago. Their answers:

"I personally don't think the Negro moves North to get on welfare," said Ryan. "I think he comes in search of job opportunity."

McCarthy said, "They don't come to New York to get on relief. They come to work."

"No," answered Rose, "and besides, it is almost impossible to get on relief immediately. There is a residency requirement of one year in the state, and six months in Chicago. They have to have all sorts of records, too, before they can qualify — birth records, school records, doctors' certificates."

All three commissioners told the same story: The number of actual employables on general relief is small. More than 75 per cent of the people on relief are the aged, the ill, mothers with small children, and children.

Still pouring north

DESPITE THE SLUMS and the discrimination, Negroes still are pouring North and westward by the thousands. Even the most menial job in these areas pays between $1.50 and $2 an hour.

There are no really reliable figures on this migration, and there won't be until after the 1960 census. One study, though, estimates that Negroes are arriving in Chicago at the rate of 2500 a month.

In Los Angeles, it was found that Negroes are arriving in the area at the rate of 1500 a month. Many are coming directly from Alabama and Mississippi. Formerly the influx came largely from Louisiana, Texas and Oklahoma.

In New York I asked Roy Wilkins, executive director for the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People, to explain this migration.

"There is an old expression among Negroes," Wilkins replied. "It goes 'I'd rather be a lamp post in Harlem than the governor of Georgia.' There is discrimination in the North, but here you can agitate against it, seek the outlawing of it. It is being cut down steadily—in restaurants, theaters, parks, hotels, swimming pools and even schools."

Barriers falling

IN NEW YORK, Los Angeles, Detroit and Chicago a Negro can — and often does — go to places he wouldn't even try to enter in, say, Memphis.

If he is well-dressed and obviously able to pay his way, he can register in any hotel, eat at any restaurant (though he might be seated by the kitchen entrance) and drink at any public bar. He can ride unsegregated on any bus, subway, train or airplane. He can use any public sanitary facility, drink from any fountain and sit where he pleases in any station.

In Baltimore, which has a Southern orientation, the barriers are breaking down. In the last two years Negroes have begun to patronize the stand-up, quick lunch counters in five department and almost all drug stores.

White collar break

BY AND LARGE, the Negro in cities still works at the day labor and semi-skilled jobs, but that does not tell the whole story. There has been a breakthrough on the white collar front.

In Detroit, Chicago and New York Negroes can be found as sales personnel in the leading department stores. The communications industries in New York and Detroit are beginning to hire on the basis of ability, not color.

Scattered here and there in office buildings you will find Negroes working as stenographers, bookkeepers and clerks. Negroes are nurses and technicians in hospitals. You will find Negroes operating buses and subway trains.

Detroit, Chicago and New York have opened civil service rolls to Negroes. There no longer is a place on job application forms for designation of race or religion. Baltimore recently voted to follow suit.

The net result is that in New York, Detroit and Chicago Negroes are working in all city government departments and as policemen and firemen.

Some discrimination

EVEN IN THESE CITIES, although all labor unions incorporated in the AFL-CIO have anti-discrimination policies, not all follow the principle.

In Detroit, New York, Baltimore and Chicago leaders on the inter-racial Urban Leagues, devoted to improving the lot of the Negro, said industrial unions generally were much better in practicing anti-discrimination than the craft unions, especially the building and printing trade unions.

In Los Angeles, Lee Meriwether, NAACP local secretary, said the Negro had little trouble working in factories, though there is resistance to upgrading. He added that the the Negro could join unions at will, but sometimes finds there aren't jobs for him.

School integration

ONE OF THE GREAT WORRIES in the South, and the source of considerable agitation, is school integration. The schools in all the cities I visited are integrated. There are some all-white schools and some all-Negro, chiefly because the surrounding school districts are comprised of one race or the other. Most of the schools are mixed.

With some exceptions private schools also are open to Negroes. Henry Moon, NAACP publicity director, put it this way: "Everybody up here who can afford it sends his children to private schools. It has nothing to do with race. It is just that the caliber of instruction is higher."

Another great worry to Southern parents has been "socializing" at school functions. Ed Lewis, head of the Urban League of New York, was asked how this worked out.

"Fine," he said. "The kids

come if they want to. There are no social pressures. Negro kids are selected for positions of leadership. They go to mixed dances and have mixed bands. I find that if you give the kids a chance to handle a situation, they handle it. Mongrelization is pure propaganda."

I searched in all four cities for statistics on racial intermarriage. I could find none, and neither could the two Los Angeles reporters. So I asked Moon to make a guess.

"Just from the top of my head," Moon replied, "I would say that of all the marriages in New York involving Negroes, it would be way less than 5 per cent—so small as to be insignificant."

Housing sore spot

THE ONLY REALLY SORE SPOT I found among Negroes is housing. In the three largest cities I visited, some sections of the slums are almost incredible — you wonder how humans can survive—and the pattern is the same. Negroes are concentrated — Harlem in New York, Center City in Detroit, and the Southside in Chicago.

In New York's Harlem I found 20 people crowded into three rooms with one bathroom—and the toilet worked only irregularly. The smells and filth equalled the worst to be found in the Orient.

These concentrations of Negro population began in the days of the so-called restrictive covenants; that is, clauses in real estate deeds prohibiting the sale of property to non-whites. The U. S. Supreme Court rules these clauses unconstitutional in 1948.

Even so, there still are tacit agreements among property owners and real estate men, Negro leaders assert, not to sell to anyone but whites.

The riots

IN THE WAKE of the 1948 decision, however, the pressure to escape the slums has been terrific. Negroes have moved outward, usually spreading block by block. Often they moved into homes vacated by whites who have shifted to the suburbs.

One result of this pressure is that the hearts of the major cities, Los Angeles excepted, are being taken over more and more by Negroes.

Where, the two races meet they often clash. Perhaps the most famous cases are those involving Circero and the Trumbull Park project in Chicago.

The trouble began in Cicero in July 1951, when a Negro bus driver and his family moved into an apartment. The resentments in the all-white community reached its peak July 12 when 5000 people rioted. It took 250 policemen and 450 National Guardsmen to restore order. The bus driver moved and since then, so far as Negro leaders know, no Negro has tried to move into the community.

Trumbull Park on the far Southside of Chicago has been festering since 1953, when a Negro and his family moved into a housing project. After a series of riots, the Chicago police were forced to assign 1200 policemen to maintain order.

The Trumbull Park disorders have continued intermittently since. Even now, almost 100 policemen are assigned to the project to maintain peace.

Until recently, members of the 28 Negro families now living in Trumbull Park were escorted into and out of the project by police. Now they come and go on their own, though police keep a watchful eye on the routes they travel.

In Detroit

THERE HAVE BEEN repeated racial disturbances in Detroit. The latest is the case of John Rouse, 70, his wife, daughter and two grandchildren.

Rouse and his family moved onto quiet, middle-class Robson Street early in April. A neighborhood rumor that they were Negro—which Rouse denied—led to the formation of a mob which stoned the house. After the incident Rouse sold the house to a neighborhood association for a $2000 profit, and agreed to move.

Last October a Negro couple with three children moved onto Chalfonte Street. A mob of about 1000 collected and hurled rocks at the home. Two policemen were injured. The family sold and moved.

These are just two incidents. There have been others. Still the outward flow of Negroes from Center City continues.

Detroit on guard

DETROIT IS A CITY where racial tensions are watched closely by the police. In fact, The operator switched the call the city mainains a Bureau of Special Investigation which

Continued from Page 1-B

deals largely with racial incidents.

Two of the detectives in this bureau are Sgt. Thomas Nickerson and Ed Boggs.

"Our job," said Boggs, "is to maintain order. Whatever we think, we keep to ourselves. Anytime anybody wants to throw a brick at a house in Detroit, he had better remember one thing: there is going to be a cop between him and his target."

Boggs and Nickerson said also they expected trouble after a racial incident in the South.

"After the Till murder case down in Mississippi," said Boggs, "we must have investigated 40 beatings of whites by Negroes. They just wanted to take it out on somebody."

(Two white men were acquitted of a charge of murdering Emmett Till, 14-year-old Negro boy, in Mississippi last Summer after he allegedly made an impertinent remark to a white woman. The defense contended that the body of a youth found in a river was not Till's).

THE CITY OF DEARBORN, which adjoins Detroit, has achieved a certain measure of fame. It contains no Negro residents and the mayor, Orville Hubbard, is outspokenly pro-segregation.

Charles Wartman, editor of a Negro newspaper, The Michigan Chronicle, said of Hubbard, "There's nothing like him anywhere else in Michigan. . . . I will say this, the pressure of Negro expansion has not reached Dearborn. For a Negro to move to Dearborn, he would have to take a large hedge hop. If the Negro population reaches the boundaries of Dearborn, they will move in."

DESPITE ALL the troubles of the North with discrimination, there is no real comparison with segregation in the South, where the races are separated by law. The North is making steady moves toward equality.

In Los Angeles, Augustus F. Hawkins, Negro member of the State Legislature, observed, "It is becoming unpopular to be prejudiced in California."

In Baltimore, Dr. Furman Templeton, Urban League director, said, "The white community itself has made it unpopular to be rabid on race relations."

THERE IS an incident which, perhaps, illustrates something of the difference. I went into a small bar in New York's Harlem just off Seventh Avenue near 127th Street and asked with my Southern accent, "Bourbon and water, please." The bartender kept on wiping the bar. After I repeated the order he looked up and asked, "You say something—boy?"

I grinned and said, "Who you calling boy—boy?" He grinned and I grinned and I got my bourbon.

In New York it would have been illegal for him to refuse service because of race—or origin.

This is the case in most of the North, and this is where the Northern Negro is making his most progress—under the law. Custom is less rigid in the North, too, but it is toward the law that he looks for full equality. In the South, both law and custom are often against him.

In most Northern cities, white and Negro policemen are in the same stations; white and Negro firemen in the same fire houses. Deep South Negro policemen are not allowed to arrest whites. Negro firemen may put out fires in a white part of town, but the Negroes serve in segregated companies.

IN THE NORTH, custom may be more tolerant, but in some ways it is proceeding little faster than in the South. Socially, for example, and more specifically in the college fraternities.

Leading honorary fraternities, like Phi Beta Kappa, the scholastic group, have no national policies of discrimination because of race, color or creed, and have initiated Negroes in some local chapters.

Social fraternities have moved more slowly. Of 60 men's fraternities, only seven have formal policies excluding non-whites; of 30 women's sororities, only one.

31a 1956 WHITE (BEM PRICE)

HOUSING SOREST SPOT

Advertiser p.1
Montgomery, Ala.
Sun. 5-13-56

As Negro Population In North Grows... So Do Problems

By BEM PRICE

DETROIT, May 12 (AP)—The problem of race relations is not confined to the South.

There is racial discrimination in the North, certainly in the parts I visited. Many of the harsh things Southerners say about the life of the Negro outside the South are true.

But there is a difference: legal and actual.

The moral problem is the same both in the North and South. The difference lies in degree. In many Northern cities and towns, there is virtually no problem. These are the areas where there is a stable Negro population, not growing much, reasonably well housed, fairly steadily employed.

But as the Negro population in a given city increases, so often does the problem.

The big push northward began during World War II. There were good-paying jobs in Northern industry that attracted many migrants. The Army drew heavily from Southern farm labor, and many of the youths never went back.

Many didn't want to; others found no jobs. Southern farms, once worked almost entirely by hand, had become mechanized, notably by the cotton picker. Many other farms shifted from row crops to grains and cattle.

Edwin C. Berry, Secretary of the Chicago Urban League, says that in past years most farm Negroes moved first to Southern cities, became urbanized, then headed for Northern cities. Now many are coming North directly from farms.

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Advertiser

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p.13-A

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COME TO WORK

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Despite the slums and the discrimination, Negroes still are pouring north and westward by the thousands. Even the most menial job pays between $1.50 and $2 an hour.

NO RELIABLE FIGURES

There are no really reliable figures on this migration and there won't be until after the 1965 census. One study, though, estimates that Negroes are arriving in Chicago at the rate of 2,500 a month.

In Los Angeles, it was found that Negroes are arriving in the labor unions incorporated in the AFL-CIO have antidiscrimination policies, not all follow the principle.

LITTLE TROUBLE

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HOUSING SORE SPOT

The one really sore spot I found among Negroes is housing. In the three largest cities I visited some sections of the slums are almost incredible—you wonder how humans can survive—and the pattern is the same. Negroes are concentrated—Harlem in New York, Center City in Detroit and the South Side in Chicago.

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These concentrations of Negro population began in the days of the so-called restrictive covenants; that is, clauses in real estate deeds prohibiting the sale of property to non-whites. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled these clauses unconstitutional in 1948.

Even so there still are tacit agreements among property owners and real estate men, Negro leaders assert, not to sell to anyone but whites.

PRESSURE TERRIFIC

In the wake of the 1948 decision, however, the pressure to escape the slums has been terrific. Negroes have moved outward, usually spreading block by block. Often they moved into homes vacated by whites who have shifted to the suburbs.

Where the two races meet they often clash. Perhaps the most famous cases are those involving Cicero and the Trumbull Park project in Chicago.

The trouble began in Cicero in July 1951 when a Negro bus driver and his family moved into an apartment. The resentments in the all-white community reached its peak July 12 when 5,000 people rioted. It took 250 policemen and 450 National Guardsmen to restore order. The bus driver moved and since then, so far as Negro leaders know, no Negro has tried to move into the community.

TROUBLE IN TRUMBULL

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The Trumbull Park disorders have continued intermittently since. Even now almost 100 policemen are assigned to the project to maintain peace.

There have been repeated racial disturbances in Detroit. The latest is the case of John Rouse, 70, his wife, daughter and two grandchildren.

Rouse and his family moved onto quiet, middle - class Robson Street early in April. A neighborhood rumor that they were Negro —which Rouse denied—led to the formation of a mob which stoned the house. After the incident Rouse sold the house to a neighborhood association for a $2,000 profit and agreed to move.

TWO POLICEMEN HURT

Last October a Negro couple with three children moved onto Chalfonte Street. A mob of about 1,000 collected and hurled rocks at the home. Two policemen were injured. The family sold and moved.

These are just two incidents. There have been others. Still the outward flow of Negroes from Center City continues.

The city of Dearborn, which adjoins Detroit, has achieved a certain measure of fame. It contains no Negro residents and the mayor, Orville Hubbard, is outspokenly prosegregation.

Despite all the troubles of the North with discrimination there is no real comparison with segregation in the South where the races are separated by law. The North is making steady progress toward equality.

In Los Angeles, Augusta F. Hawkins, Negro member of the State Legislature, observed, "It is becoming unpopular to be prejudiced in California."

BALTIMORE OUTLOOK

In Baltimore Dr. Furman Templeton, Urban League director, said, "The white community itself has made it unpopular to be rabid on race relations."

There is an incident which, perhaps, illustrates something of the difference. I went into a small bar in New York's Harlem just off 7th Avenue near 127th Street and asked with my Southern accent, "Bourbon and water, please." The bartender kept on wiping the bar. After I repeated the order, he looked up and asked, "You say something—boy?"

I grinned and said, "Who you calling boy—boy?" He grinned and I grinned and I got my bourbon.

In New York it would have been illegal for him to refuse service because of race—or origin.

This is the case in most of the North, and this is where the Northern Negro is making his most progress — under the law. Custom is less rigid in the North too, but it is toward the law that he looks for full equality. In the South, both law and custom are often against him.

SAME STATIONS

In most Northern cities, white and Negro policemen are in the same stations; white and Negro firemen in the same fire houses. Deep South Negro policemen are not allowed to arrest whites. Negro firemen may put out fires in a white part of town, but the Negroes serve in segregated companies.

In the North, custom may be more tolerant, but in some ways it is proceeding little faster than in the South. Socially, for example, and more specifically in the college fraternities.

Leading honorary fraternities, like Phi Beta Kappa, the scholastic group, have no national policies of discrimination because of race, color or creed, and have initiated Negroes in many local chapters.

FRATS MOVE SLOWLY

Social fraternities have moved more slowly. Of 60 men's fraternities, only seven have formal policies excluding nonwhites; of 30 women's sororities, only one. But this doesn't mean that a majority are admitting Negroes. Many have been more liberal toward other nonwhites, such as Asiatics; and Northern chapters are more liberal than those in Southern colleges.

In practice, says Alfred McClung Lee, president of the National Committee on Fraternities in Education, about 15 men's national fraternities now have Negro members, but how many members in how many chapters are figures he says are not available.

In Race Relations

News & Observer

Problem Not Confined to South

June 3-1956
Raleigh, N.C.

By BEM PRICE.

DETROIT, May 12 (AP)—The problem of race relations is not confined to the South.

There is racial discrimination in the North, certainly in the parts I visited. Many of the harsh things Southerners say about the life of the Negro outside the South are true. But there is a difference: legal and actual.

The last time I was in Jackson, Miss., William J. Simmons, administrator for the prosegregation White Citizens Councils said, "Why don't you go up North and write about the way Negroes are treated."

So I went to the North-South city of Baltimore and to New York, Chicago and Detroit.

Integrated Schools.

The schools, I found, are integrated in all these cities. Negroes are working at jobs which are closed to them in the South. With the exception of Baltimore, Negroes come and go in hotels, restaurants and theaters.

Further, each of these cities in the past 10 years has adopted antidiscrimination ordinances—Baltimore just last month.

Each city has set up an active public commission against discrimination with the expressed mission of breaking down prejudice because of race, religion, ancestry or national origin.

There is nothing comparable to these commissions anywhere in the South.

There still is discrimination against Negroes in private employment in these four cities and barriers against them in private housing. A survey in New York, for example, indicated that 90 per cent of privately owned housing is not accessible to Negroes. All public housing is open to them, however.

In Los Angeles, Associated Press reporters Graham Berry and H. D. Wilhoit looked into the racial situation and found that, with the exception of the housing field, it paralleled that in the four cities I visited.

"The Negro population," they report, "has a greater geographic spread in Los Angeles than probably any other city of comparable size in the nation."

Housing Tension.

Housing is the greatest single source of racial tension in all the cities I visited.

There are cities such as Cicero, Ill., adjacent to Chicago, and Dearborn, Mich., next to Detroit, which exclude Negro residents through community pressures.

And you can find instances in the North of mob action when a Negro family moves into an all-white neighborhood.

Where statistics are available it can be shown that Negroes account for most of the arrests for major crimes—two thirds of the murders in Chicago, 69 per cent of all felonies in Detroit.

New York City does not break down its arrest figures by race. Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm explained why.

"We find," he said, "that crime is among the poor. It is not by race."

The majority of people on the general relief rolls are non-white—69 per cent ,for example, in Detroit. Chicago gives aid to 55,433 dependent children, 75 per cent of whom are Negro.

Does the Negro flee the South just to get on relief rolls? The question was put to Welfare Commissioners Dan Ryan of Detroit, Henry McCarthy of New York City and Alvin Rose of Chicago. Their answers:

Seeks Jobs.

"I personally don't think the Negro moves North to get on welfare," said Ryan. "I think he comes in search of job opportunity."

McCarthy said, "They don't come to New York to get on relief. They come to work."

"No," answered Rose, "and besides it is almost impossible to get on relief immediately. There is a residency requirement of one year in the state and six months in Chicago. They have to have all sorts of records too before they can qualify—birth records, school records, doctors' certificates."

All three commissioners told the same story: The number of actual employables on general relief is small. More than 75 per cent of the people on relief are the aged, the ill, mothers with young children, and children.

Despite the slums and the discrimination, Negroes still are pouring north and westward by the thousands. Even the most menial job pays between $1.50 and $2 an hour.

There are no really reliable figures on this migration and there won't be until after the 1965 census. One study, though, estimates that Negroes are arriving in Chicago at the rate of 2,500 a month.

In Los Angeles, it was found that Negroes are arriving in the area at the rate of 1,500 a month. Many are coming directly from Alabama and Mississippi. Formerly the influx came largely from Louisiana, Texas and Oklahoma.

In New York I asked Roy Wilkins, executive director for the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, to explain this migration.

"There is an old expression among Negroes," Wilkins replied. "It goes 'I'd rather be a lamp post in Harlem than the Governor of Georgia.' There is discrimination in the North, but here you can agitate against it, seek the outlawing of it. It is being cut down steadily—in restaurants, theaters, parks, hotels, swimming pools and even schools."

In New York, Los Angeles, Detroit and Chicago a Negro can — and often does — go to places he wouldn't even try to enter in, say, Memphis.

Can Go Places.

If he is well dressed and obviously able to pay his way he can register in any hotel, eat at any restaurant though he might be seated by the kitchen entrance and drink at any public bar. He can ride unsegregated on any bus, subway, train or airplane. He can use any public sanitary facility, drink from any fountain and sit where he pleases in any station.

In Baltimore, which has a Southern orientation, the barriers are breaking down. In the last two years Negroes have begun to patronize the stand-up, quick lunch counters in five department and almost all drug stores.

By and large the Negro in cities still works at the day labor and semiskilled jobs, but that does not tell the whole story. There has been a break-through on the white collar front.

In Detroit, Chicago and New York, Negroes can be found as sales personnel in the leading department stores. The communicaitons industries in New York and Detroit are beginning to hire on the basis of ability, not color.

Clerical Workers.

Scattered here and there in office buildings you will find Negroes working as stenographers, bookkeepers and clerks. Negroes are nurses and technicians in hospitals. You will find Negroes operating buses and subway trains.

Detroit, Chicago and New York have opened civil service rolls to Negroes. There no longer is a place on job application forms for designation of race or religion. Baltimore recently voted to follow suit.

The net result is that in New York, Detroit and Chicago Negroes are working in all city government departments and as policemen and firemen.

Even in these cities, although all labor unions incorporated in the AFL-CIO have antidiscrimination policies, not all follow the principle.

In Detroit, New York, Baltimore and Chicago leaders on the interracial urban leagues, devoted to improving the lot of the Negro, said industrial unions generally were much better in practicing anti-discrimination than the craft unions, especially the building and printing trade unions.

In Los Angeles Lee Meriwether, NAACP local secretary, said the Negro had little trouble working in factories though there is resistance to upgrading. He added that the Negro could join unions at will but sometimes finds there aren't jobs for him.

About Schools.

One of the great worries in the South, and the great source of considerable agitation, is school integration. The schools in all the cities I visited are integrated. There are some all-white schools and some all-Negro, chiefly because the surrounding school districts are comprised of one race or the other. Most of the schools are mixed.

Another great worry to Southern parents has been "socializing" at school functions. Ed Lewis, head of the Urban League of New York, was asked how this worked out.

"Fine," he said. "The kids come if they want to. There are no social pressures. Negro kids are selected for positions of leadership. They go to mixed dances and have mixed bands. I find that if you give the kids a chance to handle a situation, they handle it. Mongrelization is pure propaganda."

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"Just from the top of my head," Moon replied, "I would say that of all the marriages in New York involving Negroes, it would be way less than 5 per cent, so small as to be insignificant."

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Housing Bad.

In New York's Harlem I found 20 people crowded into three rooms with one bathroom—and the toilet worked only irregularly. The smells and filth equaled anything in the Orient.

These concentrations of Negro population began in the days of the so-called restrictive covenants; that is, clauses in real estate deeds prohibiting the sale of property to non-whites. The U. S. Supreme Court ruled these clauses unconstitutional in 1948.

Even so there still are tacit agreements among property owners and real estate men, Negro leaders assert, not to sell to anyone but whites.

In the wake of the 1948 decision, however, the pressure to escape the slums has been terrific. Negroes have moved outward, usually spreading block by block. Often they moved into homes vacated by whites who have shifted to the suburbs.

Where the two races meet they often clash. Perhaps the most famous cases are those involving Cicero and the Trumbull Park project in Chicago.

The trouble began in Cicero in July 1951 when a Negro bus driver and his family moved into an apartment. The resentments in the all-white community reached its peak July 12 when 5,000 people rioted. It took 250 policemen and 450 National Guardsmen to restore order. The bus driver moved and since then, so far as Negro leaders know, no Negro has tried to move into the community.

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'NOTIONS' CONTRADICTED

Journal & Constitution

South No Longer Solidly Segregated, Survey Finds

Sun 9-16-56 Atlanta, Ga.

R-2-a

(Editor's Note: The first region-wide attempt to find out how integration is progressing in the South in the wake of the Supreme Court order of May 17, 1954 has turned up some surprising results. Here is a report on the survey, soon to be published by the Fund for the Republic, which sponsored the study.)

By BEM PRICE

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15 (AP)—After turning up 1,100 examples of racial barriers dropped in all walks of life in Dixie over the past two years, a Southerner concludes: "There is no longer a solid South of segregation."

Reporting on a carefully documented survey of 17 Southern and border states where segregation has been the historic pattern, Harold C. Fleming said:

"The common notion that desegregation just can't work in the South is plainly contradicted by the findings."

The survey turned up examples, by specific location, of desegregation in schools, housing, public health and welfare, private enterprise, government, public transportation and public accommodations.

* * *

FLEMING, a native of Georgia and assistant director of the Southern regional council at Atlanta, said the survey was by no means complete and that the examples cited must be taken as merely representations.

The council is an interracial group devoted "to equal opportunity for all." Its membership is confined to Southerners.

Fleming's findings—all 1,100 of them—are to be published shortly in book form by the Fund for the Republic, which provided the money for the survey, along with a companion study on the removal of racial barriers in the 31 states outside the South.

The study, now in the hands of the printers, was made available in the aftermath of recent disturbances in the South over the admission of Negroes to public schools in Mansfield, Tex., Clinton, Tenn., Texarkana, Tex., and Sturgis and Clay, Ky.

* * *

IN ASSESSING his state-by-state survey, Fleming, a student of his region for 10 years, wrote:

"The 1,100 instances of desegregation discovered were almost evenly divided between the five 'border' states on the one hand and the 12 'Southern' states on the other. Virtually all of them took place smoothly and harmoniously.

"Obviously," he said, "a large reservoir of good will and capacity for change exists among private citizens, even in states where the official climate is harsh. There is no longer a solid South of segregation."

The survey covers the period from May 17, 1954 — date of the U.S. Supreme Court decision holding school segregation unconstitutional — to May of this year.

It is the first regionwide attempt to find out what movements toward integration have taken place in the wake of the court's opinion among all segments of Southern life.

* * *

THE SURVEY did not deal with what was expected to take place, but what has actually happened. The findings in part:

More than 350 school districts in nine of the 17 states had integrated to some degree. There were no integrated public elementary or secondary schools in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Virginia or North or South Carolina.

Negro children were attending previously all-white Catholic parochial schools in 21 Southern cities located in Arkansas, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Since 1935 some 164 accredited colleges and universities in Southern and border states and the District of Columbia have opened their doors to Negroes. Of these 164 now open to Negroes, 95 have newly desegregated at some level since May 1954.

* * *

AS OF MAY this year, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina enforced complete segregation in state-supported institutions. However, all but South Carolina had at least one private college which admitted students of both races.

In the field of public service Maryland stood at the top of the list in the number of Negroes appointed or elected in the two years inventoried. At least 11 Maryland Negroes were named, all but one for the first time, to city and state posts.

Fleming noted here that developments in this field are not a reliable measure of the extent of Negro representation. For example, he said, in 1954 Negroes already were serving on city councils in at least 11 Southern cities and held elective or appointive office in more than 20 others.

* * *

IN PUBLIC HOUSING, Fleming found "segregation not only deeply entrenched but virtually unchallenged in the South."

Even so, this field was not without its exceptions. Negroes were living in public housing projects occupied by whites in Taylor and Crystal City, Tex.; Baltimore, Charleston, W. Va., St. Louis and Rayne, La.

As for transportation, Fleming reported that "local transit systems known to have dropped segregation were found in Texas, Tennessee, Oklahoma and Arkansas.

Among religious groups 20 newly integrated ministerial associations — were counted — four with elected Negro officers. Fleming noted, however, "the overwhelming majority of churches continue to serve either white or Negro congregations, although at least 10 formerly white churches accepted Negro members."

* * *

AS FOR HOTELS, restaurants and theaters, Fleming observed, "desegregation in public accommodations and theaters has been confined so far mainly to cities in the border states, chiefly St. Louis and Louisville.

"Instances of new desegregated seating in motion picture theaters were found in five border-state cities, and some eating places began serving both races in a like number of communities."

Why did the council undertake the survey at this time? Fleming explained in his summary: "It is universally recognized that this is a time of trouble in the South. . . . In recent months dissension and conflict have dominated the news from the region. The danger is that Southerners themselves, to say nothing of people elsewhere, will be blinded to the constructive evidence and will surrender to fear and discouragement."

BETTER IN SOME WAYS

Constitution

Negro Running From South Finds Same Things Up North

Jun. 5-13-56 Atlanta, Ga.

P. 10-A

EDITOR'S Note: What happens to the Negro who turns his back on segregation in the South and hopefully heads north? What are his chances for a better job, better housing, better schooling north of the Mason-Dixon Line? Here is a first hand report by an AP correspondent who has covered the segregation story on both sides of the line since the Supreme Court's history-making decision.

By BEM PRICE

DETROIT, May 12 (AP) — The problem of race relations is not confined to the South.

There is racial discrimination in the North, certainly in the parts I visited. Many of the harsh things Southerners say about the life of the Negro outside the South are true.

But there is a difference: Legal and actual.

In Baltimore, New York, Chicago and Detroit the schools are integrated. Negroes are working at jobs which are closed to them in the South. With the exception of Baltimore, Negroes come and go in hotels, restaurants and theaters.

Further, each of these cities in the past 10 years has adopted anti-discrimination ordinances — Baltimore just last month.

Each city has set up an active public commission against discrimination with the expressed mission of breaking down prejudice because of race, religion, ancestry or national origin.

There is nothing comparable to these commissions anywhere in the South.

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THERE STILL IS discrimination against Negroes in private employment in these four cities and barriers against them in private housing. A survey in New York, for example, indicates that 90 per cent of privately owned housing is not accessible to Negroes. All public housing is open to them, however.

Los Angeles, with the exception of the housing field, is the same. The Negro population has a greater geographic spread in Los Angeles than probably any other city of comparable size in the nation.

Housing is the greatest single source of racial tension in all the cities.

There are cities such as Cicero, Ill., adjacent to Chicago, and Dearborn, Mich., next to Detroit, which exclude Negro residents through community pressures.

And you can find instances in the North of mob action when a Negro family moves into an all-white neighborhood.

Where statistics are available, it can be shown that Negroes account for most of the arrests for major crimes—two-thirds of the murders in Chicago, 69 per cent of all felonies in Detroit.

New York City does not break down its arrest figures by race. Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm explained why.

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THE MAJORITY of people on the general relief rolls are non-white—69 per cent, for example, in Detroit. Chicago gives aid to 55,433 dependent children, 75 per cent of whom are Negro.

Does the Negro flee the South just to get on relief rolls? The question was put to Welfare Commissioners Dan Ryan of Detroit, Henry McCarthy of New York City and Alvin Rose of Chicago. Their answers:

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There are no really reliable figures on this migration and there won't be until after the 1960 census. One study, though, estimates that Negroes are arriving in Chicago at the rate of 2,500 a month.

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IN LOS ANGELES, it was found that Negroes are arriving in the area at the rate of 1,500 a month. Many are coming directly from Alabama and Mississippi. Formerly the influx came largely from Louisiana, Texas and Oklahoma.

The one real sore spot among Negroes is housing. In the three largest cities some sections of the slums are almost incredible—you wonder how humans can survive—and the pattern is the same. Negroes are concentrated—Harlem in New York, Center City in Detroit and the Southside in Chicago.

In New York's Harlem I found 20 people crowded into three rooms with one bathroom—and the toilet worked only irregularly. The smells and filth equaled anything in the Orient.

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Even so there still are tacit agreements among property owners and real estate men, Negro leaders assert, not to sell to anyone but whites.

In the wake of the 1948 election, however, the pressure to escape the slums has been terrific. Negroes have moved outward, usually spreading block by block. Often they moved into homes vacated by whites who have shifted to the suburbs.

One result of this pressure is that the hearts of the major cities, Los Angeles excepted, are being taken over more and more by Negroes.

Where the two races meet they often clash. Perhaps the most famous cases are those involving Cicero and the Trumbull Park project in Chicago.

* * *

THE TROUBLE BEGAN in Cicero in July, 1951, when a Negro bus driver and his family moved into an apartment. The resentment in the all-white community reached its peak July 12 when 5,000 people rioted. It took 250 policemen and 450 National Guardsmen to restore order. The bus driver moved and since then, so far as Negro leaders know, no Negro has tried to move into the community.

Trumbull Park on the far Southside of Chicago, has been festering since 1953, when a Negro and his family moved into a housing project. After a series of riots, the Chicago police were forced to assign 1,200 patrolmen to maintain order.

The Trumbull Park disorders have continued intermittently since. Even now almost 100 policemen are assigned to the project to maintain peace.

Until recently members of the 28 Negro families now living in Trumbull Park were escorted into and out of the project by police. Now they come and go on their own though police keep a watchful eye on the routes they travel.

There have been repeated racial disturbances in Detroit.

Last October a Negro couple with three children moved onto Chalfonte street. A mob of about 1,000 collected and hurled rocks at the home. Two policemen were injured. The family sold and moved.

* * *

DETROIT IS A city where racial tensions are watched closely by the police. In fact, the city maintains a bureau of special investigation which deals largely with racial incidents.

Two of the detectives in this bureau are Sgt. Thomas Nickerson and Ed Boggs.

"Our job," said Boggs, "is to maintain order. Whatever we think we keep to ourselves. Anytime anybody wants to throw a brick at a house in Detroit, he had better remember one thing: There is going to be a cop between him and his target."

Boggs and Nickerson said also they always expected trouble after a racial incident in the South.

"After the Till murder case down in Mississippi," said Boggs, "we must have investigated 40 beatings of whites by Negroes. They just wanted to take it out on somebody."

(Emmett Till, a 14-year-old Negro, was slain in Mississippi last summer. The two white men accused of his murder were acquitted.)

The city of Dearborn, which adjoins Detroit, has achieved a certain measure of fame. It contains no Negro residents and the mayor, Orville Hubbard, is outspokenly prosegregation.

Charles Wartman, editor of a Negro newspaper, the Michigan Chronicle, said of Hubbard: "There's nothing like him anywhere else in Michigan. . . . I will say this, the pressure of Negro expansion has not reached Dearborn. For a Negro to move to Dearborn, he would have to take a large hedge hop. If the Negro population reaches the boundaries of Dearborn, they will move in."

Despite all the troubles of the North with discrimination there is no real comparison with segregation in the South, where the races are separated by law. The North is making steady progress toward equality.

31a 1956

NEGRO (ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE)

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE
(National News Editor)

DR. TURNER
. . . in the middle

DR. GORE
. . . troubles

E. Perry
. . . boo-hooed

Oh, What They Have Done!

PRESIDENTS of state-supported colleges and universities for Negroes in the **Deep South** have done remarkably well in handling the very touchy **school desegregation** issue. Courier

By being diplomats . . . and not talking too much . . . most of them have escaped verbal blasts and the chopping block. But, what do they do when they find **The Issue** sitting on their own front steps? President **B. C. Turner** of South Carolina State College at Orangeburg rolled out of bed one morning and found **The Thing** staring him in the face. His students had caught the desegregation fever and were making a lot of noise with boycotts and strikes. Now, President **George W. Gore Jr.** of Florida A. and M. State University, finds himself in the very middle of an interesting situation. His students are boycotting city buses right on his own campus.

So, what's a guy to do when his **OWN** folks start a fire right under his **OWN** house? Should he just stand by and watch the house burn? Should he sprinkle oil on the blaze? Or, should he grab a high-pressured water hose?

P.14 Sat. 6-9-56

Joyful weeping has become a part of the commencement tradition at **Bennett College** and no finals would be complete without it. Always on hand to record the crying scenes are the photographers. Honors for tears this year go to **Ellen Perry** of Winston-Salem, N. C., and valedictorian **Barbara Brown** of Akron, Ohio.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Bells Will Ring for 11

Wedding bells will ring this summer for 11 of the young ladies graduated from **Fisk University** last month . . . Rain fell on the graduating class of **Tennessee State University**, first time in the history of the Nashville institution . . . **Rose (Chee Chee) Murphy,** currently starring at the Theatrical Grill and Burgandy Room in Cleveland, returns to London late this month for her second appearance as guest of the **Royal Air Force.**

B. BROWN
. . . tears of joy

P. BAILEY
. . . no denial

R. MURPHY
. . off to London

■

Officials of a Southern college bundled up two co-eds and shipped them home with the swiftness of a hyped-up jet after detectives caught the girls shoplifting. The female collegians escaped prosecution and court records, but what did their parents say?

■

Trend in both the **AME and AMEZion** denominations is to curb power of Bishops . . . Newsman **A. M. (Alex) Rivera Jr.,** Durham, N. C., having trouble with his peepers and getting fitted for specs . . . Drive on in Boston to put an end to **belly-bumps** on dance floors . . . Phenomenon in Kingston, Jamaica—Cars roll up a hill without aid of a motor.

■

20 Years of Action!

Ten thousand expected in Houston's City Auditorium June 10 to observe 20th anniversary of **NAACP** State Conference in Texas . . . Favorite gossip over teacups in Los Angeles these days is divorce action taken by pretty and shapely **Imogene Neusom** against her attorney-husband, Thomas G., prexy of the L. A. NAACP . . . **Pearl Bailey** hasn't denied buying a dude ranch on the West Coast . . . And, **Sugar Ray Robinson,** before returning to New York, said: "Just one more fight and then I'll retire."

■

Much-liked **Dr. D. H. Stanton** of the American Bible Society gifted high school graduates with Bibles after delivering a baccalaureate address in Atlanta.

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE
(National News Editor)

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

CONG. POWELL
. . no pictures

A Congressman and a Girl . . .

6/13

THERE IS such a thing as stretching one point merely to prove another point. Seems as though the big Congressman from New York, **Adam Clayton Powell,** went way out of his way the other day to prove his stand for integration and desegregation when he refused to pose with an American Negro girl down in **Haiti,** merely because she represented an all-colored organization.

It happened this way: **Maxine Perryman,** a pretty lass from **Mississippi Vo-**

M. PERRYMAN
. . . no harm meant

cational College, was in Haiti at the same time Congressman Powell was being wined and dined by the U. S. Ambassador. Miss Perryman had just been voted "Spirit of Cotton" in Memphis and was on tour, spreading goodwill and good cheer.

When it was suggested that he pose with Maxine, Powell refused on the grounds that she represented the "jim-crow, segregated cotton festival in Memphis."

The president of the college in Mississippi blew hot and heaped abuse upon the big Democrat from New York for ignoring the pride and joy of his campus and Mr. Powell bounced right back with: "I refused for many reasons, and not because of the lovely, sweet girl . . . I'm not in any way going to condone segregation . . . Negro schools must practice integration in their own institutions if they want white institutions opened to them."

That was that and who was right and who was wrong? No matter who, this thing is getting mighty serious.

■

T. MARSHALL
. . . how long?

The Thurgood Marshall Story

When the National Newspaper Publishers Association met in Pittsburgh a few weeks ago, there were whispers about **Thurgood Marshall,** whispers about his future with the **NAACP.** "Thurgood," said a voice, "has reached the point where he's ready to stay in one spot. He's tired of hopping around the country and will accept the first Federal judgeship that comes his way. He's happy at home with his wife and anxiously awaits the heir she is going to present him."

R. WILKINS
. . . well, now!

Now comes the report that Marshall didn't quite agree with everything that went on at the NAACP Convention in San Francisco. Frisco papers played up the reported incident as a split between Roy Wilkins and Thurgood.

Maybe the voice knew what he was talking about. Maybe Mr. Marshall is ready to make a change. Whether he stays with the NAACP or not, Marshall will go down in history as one of the greatest civil rights fighters. He's already won his spurs.

■

W. A. GORDON
. . . under fire

Trouble in Virgin Islands

Remember **Archie Alexander?** How he had to pack up and git and quit being Governor of the Virgin Islands? Well, his successor, **Walter A. Gordon** of California, is getting it now. The Unity Party, which controls the Legislature, has declared an all-out war against him.

Y. BROWN
. . . the bestest

Radio, TV, newsreel and newspaper people might well hold a convention of their own when they get down to covering the **Republican National Convention in San Francisco.** To date, exactly **4,321 of these news gatherers have applied for credentials to cover the big event.**

■

Stately **Yvonne Brown** of Yanceyville, N. C., **possesses the good looks and curves needed to set off the clothes she makes and models. She won first prize in the dress review staged at the annual North Carolina State 4-H Club Week celbration at A&T College.**

The High and the Mighty

THE FELLOW on the other end of the phone was saying: "I was sitting next to **Roy Campanella** in a dining room last night and he did something that made me burn up. Campy was seated at a table with Reese, Snider and Walker in the Webster Hall dining room. It was around midnight or a little after and the Dodgers had just been beaten by the Pirates at Pittsburgh's Forbes Field.

Mr. Ratcliffe

"When the waitress, a nice looking colored girl (the man on the other end of the phone said he's Jewish) approached Campy's table, she asked for his autograph. Now here's where I went into a slow burn. Campanella said:

" 'Now look young lady, you are here to wait on people; not to ask for autographs'."

"That waitress was stunned and hurt," said the man on the other end. "Someone should talk to him and tell him he owes that girl an apology."

"I know it was tough for the Dodgers to take a licking from the lowly Pirates . . . and all of the Brooklyn team must have been feeling awfully bad . . . but that was no reason for Campanella to treat the waitress the way he did."

■

Several years ago, **Joe Louis** was in Pittsburgh for a golf tournament. After losing several hundred on the last hole, he went to Crawford Grill with friends for steaks. A little boy, about 8, kept hanging around Joe's table, holding a pencil and a piece of paper. Joe didn't see the boy or didn't care. Then one of Joe's friends said: "Give the kid your autograph, Joe." And, Joe said: "Ah, go on. Can't you see I'm eating. I don't sign autographs when I'm eating."

The disappointed youngster disappeared. Joe continued eating his big steak.

■

The guy on top who hates to give out autographs should develop a knack of turning people away without offending them.

Mr. Campanella

Autograph hounds can be bores, but they shouldn't be condemned because they are hero-worshippers. Campy (if he did what the man on the other end of the phone said he did) could have given the waitress a smile and explained about his sore hand . . . and Joe Louis would have looked much better in the eyes of his worshippers if he had patted the boy on the head and said: "Later, kid."

The guy on top should remember that the day is coming when he'll be wishing for just one person to ask him to scribble his name on a piece of tattered paper. Surely, he remembers how eager he was to sign autographs way back when he was just beginning to climb the ladder of success.

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE
(National News Editor)

Courier P.4
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 8-4-56

More About a Man Named White

THREE ISSUES ago, this column took a mild crack at the aggressive and successful president of Mississippi Vocational College, one of three state-supported undergraduate schools for Negroes in the land of Emmett Till fame.

President of the college, located in a delta town known as Itta Bena, is Dr. J. H. White, an educator who has had it a little rough at times with both Negroes and whites on the subject of desegregation.

Dr. White

Comment on Dr. White in this corner in the July 21 issue of The Courier was based on a well displayed article appearing in the Memphis Commercial Appeal, an influential daily paper. The CA newsstory dealt with Dr. White's speech in all-Negro Mound Bayou (Miss.) on the occasion of the town's 69th anniversary and pictured him as a Negro leader favoring segregation.

■

What Dr. White Said

We now have before us a copy of the address delivered by Dr. White at Mound Bayou and, after several readings of the speech, we find the one paragraph that caused editors of Southern dailies to shout with glee. Here's what Dr. White said in that section of his prepared talk:

"Citizens of Mound Bayou and friends, I don't believe you are going to throw away your churches, schools, hospitals, businesses, in[su]rances and newspapers and refuse to sing 'Nobody Knows de Trouble I've Seen . . . Nobody Knows but Jesus.' No, I don't believe you are going to throw all of this away just to sit, eat and ride with a white person."

It's a punchy statement so far as the white South is concerned. But, it does not necessarily mean that Dr. White is advocating segregation for now and forever. It could mean, and probably does mean that the Negro in the South should hold on to what is his . . . and develop it, while the Battle to End Jim Crow rumbles along at a very, very slow pace.

It must be said for Dr. White that he does speak his mind, knowing that his views may be misinterpreted. So many presidents of state-supported Negro colleges in Dixie have sealed their lips. For, if their sayings are taken the wrong way by the white powers-that-be, they might as well pack their traveling bags and git.

■

Not Alone in His Thinking

Dr. White is not alone in advocating the preservation of Negro schools and churches. Some of our strongest advocaters of complete desegregation and integration contend that there'll always be a need for the Negro church and school.

What it really boils down to is this (and I am sure this includes Dr. White)—The Negro educator in the South knows the day of integration and desegregation is coming, but while the controversial issue is being booted around, he is endeavoring to make his all-Negro college as good as the all-white institution.

Several presidents of all-Negro colleges and universities in the South have made this statement: "We are building an A-1 institution here, and when desegregation does come, white students will be happy to enroll with us."

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE
(National News Editor)

Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 8-25-56

DINAH WASHINGTON
. . new clothes

Another Fire Breaks Out

THE Negro leader, whether he be self-appointed or elevated to that position, is on the spot. The desegregation issue has made it so. No longer can he hedge on civil rights and expect to win the applause of a majority of his colored brothers.

Mr. Ratcliffe

This Negro leader of today is expected to take a firm stand for integration and desegregation, even though it may cost him a good job and throw him on the bread line. He's in a ticklish position, not only in the South, but in the North as well.

It has reached the name-calling stage. In one Southern state, one Negro group is condemning several other Negroes because they appear to be middle-of-the-roaders. Congressman Dawson of Chicago is being spanked verbally today because he didn't lash out at segregation and discrimination when he faced the Democrats' national convention last week.

PROPHET JONES
. . spirit moves

CONG. DAWSON
. . frying pan

D. SAULTER
. . pleasing

DR. HOWARD
. . in Chicago

And, this is just the beginning. The issue will get hotter as stronger demands are made for complete desegregation in the South.

■

Dig Deep and Pull Up

With two bus boycotts going at full speed, a reissue of the Autherine Lucy case in the making, and the NAACP busy trying to continue its operation in the states of Alabama and Louisiana, the time has come when money becomes very important. Each of these battles is a costly operation, and much money is needed to keep these operations under way.

Civil rights battlers found it easy to raise money after the Till lynching, the Lucy case and the Montgomery bus boycott. But, even these cases have lost some of their drama now. And, the second bus boycott down in Talahassee, Fla., has failed to attract national attention.

Meanwhile, sponsors of each of these cases is seeking financial contributions from both local and national sources. With each of these groups crossing each other's path in the search for much-needed cash, it is suggested here that a national fund-raising pool be organized. Such a pool would provide money for all of the organizations now fighting segregation and discrimination in the South.

■

About People and Things

Dinah Washington lost 40 pounds and had to get a brand new wardrobe . . . Just in case anyone cares, the dethroned **Prophet Jones** of Detroit will launch a soul-saving crusade in Philadelphia . . . **Frank Yerby's** new novel, "Captain Rebel," will come off Dial Press, Sept. 17 . . . The Reporter magazine describes Congressman Dawson as a politician first and a Negro second . . . Al and Bettye Rice **Hughes** have come out with a new magazine in Los Angeles, Town Topics . . . Radio listeners were up in the air for a while last week, believing **Dr. Ralph Bunche** had been killed (it was his brother-in-law) . . . New Jersey's Herald News is now a tabloid . . . Talladega's **Dr. James O. Hopson stages** his annual recorded program and supper for friends in Pittsburgh this week . . . **Dr. T. R. M. Howard** now medical director for Fuller Products Company in Chicago . . . Broadway actor **Earl Sydnor** investing in stocks

DR. BUNCHE
. . . still here

and bonds . . . and, **Dottie Saulter** continues to draw rave notices.

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE
(National News Editor)

Courier 9-15

About a Man Named White . . .

C. E. SPENCER
. . . westward trail

A MAN named White, **Dr. J. H. White,** president of Mississippi Vocational College at Itta Bena, has become the darling of the daily press in the Mid-South . . . because he's quite adept at cussing out **Congressman Powell** . . . and because he's against integration and desegregation—and he's a Negro. Dr. White has become a "great colored man" in the eyes of the Mississippi white folks and they may even build the professor an all-Negro university before the year is out.

■

Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Autherine Lucy Story . . .

JOHN DIAZ
. . . it's all over

Reports from Hollywood say the **Autherine Lucy** story will be filmed under the title of "Incident on the Campus" at a cost of $200,000 . . . **Charles (Chuck) Smith,** the Florida A. and M. University public relations expert, got a new slant on life at the public relations conference held at the world-famed resort, Greenbrier, in White Sulphur Springs, W. Va. . . . Another white-owned station, answering to the name of **Ebony Radio,** is setting up in Little Rock, Ark., with the aim of winning Negro listeners and slicing into the so-called Negro market . . . **NAACP** New York office dispatched lawyers and probers to branch office in Los Angeles after charges of mishandling of funds began to move from mouth to ear.

Sat. 7-21-56

DR. WHITE
. . . headlines

Those fashion designers aren't going to sue the Stork Club after all . . . Africa's society of 2,000 **witch doctors** is planning a conference in Johannesburg to demand recognition from the British Government . . . The wife of North Carolina Mutual's **W. A. Clement** (she's one of John Wesley Dobbs' daughters) is expecting again . . . And, the **Drs. Gerald** and **Cecile Edwards** (both high-ranking chemists in the high salary bracket) are giving up their posts at Tuskegee and flying to Greensboro, N. C., where Gerald will head up the Department of Chemistry at A. & T. College.

■

DR. EDWARDS
. . . to the air

C. SMITH
. . . new life

That noise from 'Frisco that had **Thurgood Marshall** and **Roy Wilkins** mad at each other takes on another twist now and the new version comes from New York. New York scuttlebutt says Thurgood got hot and blew his top because he thought other NAACP staffers were trying to undermine Roy.

■

John A. Diaz, who left Trinidad to become well-known as a newspaperman in Miami, Philly and New York before settling down in San Diego, is a single man again and plans to stay that way "for a long while." His latest marriage, result of a whirlwind courtship, lasted just three months . . . terminated in an annulment.

■

Chauncey E. Spencer, one of the first Negroes to take to flying and long a leader in the fight for an integrated military setup, is happily situated with his family in San Bernardino, Calif., following his transfer from the Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio.

■

The powerful **Methodist Church,** disturbed over the shortage of ministers, raised the salary of its Bishops to $12,500 a year . . . Is it true that a Negro-owned bank is (or was) up for sale to an all-white syndicate? . . . **Alpha Phi Alpha's** 50th anniversary convention in Buffalo, N. Y., will be covered by all of the major news agencies, including Life magazine.

■

Sign on a former grocery store, now a church-front window: "HOLINESS TEMPLE CHURCH . . . HELP OUR CHILDREN'S CENTER BY PLAYING BINGO HERE."

Behind the HEADLINES

By Robert M. Ratcliffe
(Courier's National News Editor)

Sat. 2-4-56 p. 7
Pittsburgh Pa.

Exploiting Emmett Till

NEXT THING you know somebody'll be putting out an Emmett Till candy bar or an Emmett Till baseball cap or a shirt with a picture of Emmett Till on the back of it. They've done just about everything else in exploiting the name of the Chicago boy who went to Mississippi on a vacation spree and ended up a corpse in a muddy river. A fellow named Bill Huie sold a ghastly piece about Emmett, sometimes called Bobo, to "Look" and now he's expanded the story for his publishers who will hit 100,000 newsstands soon with a 25-cent pocket-sized thing which will tell the bloody story all over again.

This same Huie, who got himself in trouble with a Florida Judge while doing a book on Ruby McCollum, the lady who shot up that doctor chap down in Live Oak, isn't missing any bets in the Till case. He's gone and written another story about Emmett, a movie version this time, which will be filmed in a few days by a picture-making firm in Meridian, Miss. All of this popped up just when most people thought the last bell had been tolled over the Till case.

Long before Huie interested himself in the case, the name of Emmett Till was being cried from the hill tops in various forms and fashions. A couple of fellows grabbed up some pictures and turned out dingy looking brochures which they sold for a dollar apiece. Some of Bobo's relatives were in on this deal.

Bobo's mother and uncle and other relatives are still making public appearances and taking up collections. Mrs. Mamie Bradley, Bobo's mother, is more or less on her own now that she's been dropped by the NAACP because of her reported $5,000 demand for a West Coast tour.

Tragic part of it all is that the NAACP is getting very little of this money and it is the main organization fighting the minority group's battles.

* * *

Colorful Floyd Snelson

COURIER MANAGING EDITOR William G. Nunn Sr., who probably knew Floyd G. Snelson better than any other newspaperman, fills in the rest of this space:

"Floyd G. Snelson, 66, whose life was snuffed out recently in an explosion in a French rooming house, was one of journalism's most colorful figures during the roaring twenties and early thirties.

"After more than one hundred Atlantic ocean crossings, Snelson had retired three months ago to spend the rest of his life in his beloved France . . with its rare beauty and his nostalgic reflections.

"Son of a Methodist minister, Snelson (more than any other person) glamorized the sun-tanned show girls of twenty-five years ago. First as editor of the Pictorial Tattler . . . and later as theatrical editor of this paper . . . he discovered talent, interviewed the stars, and helped to "make" the big names of his era.

"During his heyday he knew more showfolk . . . colored and white . . . than any other writer. He created the fabulous theatrical contests which gave readers an opportunity to select the top artists in the field. His 'brainchild' is now universally recognized.

"Oldtimers in the wings . . . and on the stage . . . always will remember Floyd Snelson . . . a genius born twenty-five years ahead of the time!"

Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE
(National News Editor)

JO. THOMPSON
. . . on tour

LIEUT. LEE
. . . twin honors

J. BAKER
. . . big business

Lucy Really Hurt This Time . . .

Autherine Lucy was cut to the quick when a hate group called her a "Red." This hurt her more than all of the bitter experiences suffered at the **University of Alabama . . .** Before flying to New York for a "rest," she was almost "sold" on going to either Chicago or Washington . . . In case she doesn't know who sent her the roses before she left Alabama, they were wired from New York by members of the Dress Pressers and Shipping Clerks Union.

* * *

Pittsburgh Pa.

Boycotts and More Boycotts . . .

Nelson Jackson, formerly of Atlanta and now with the national office of the Urban League, is on a tough assignment. He's touring the South, contacting board members of the various local leagues in an effort to offset damaging propaganda cooked up by lily-white organizations. Urban League branches are supported by Community Chests and pro-segregation groups are demanding that the Chests withdraw this support as a means of curbing Negroes in their determined drive for first-class citizenship.

Sat. 3-17-56

The Montgomery (Ala.) **bus boycott** is a mere baby compared to some of the squeezes being put on big business firms in the South merely because these firms have been friendly to Negroes or employ Negroes on a national scale.

* * *

Double Honors for Lieut. Geo. Lee . . .

Lieut. George W. Lee, a Republican wheel, insurance executive, author and orator, is receiving pats on his back for two very high honors heaped upon him recently. They named a new post office station for him at 816 Mississippi in Memphis, and a speech delivered by Lieutenant Lee at a citizenship dinner in Philadelphia

has been made a part of the Congressional Record by **Congressman Reese** of Tennessee.

* * *

Fam-U's Smith Is on the Ball . . .

J. PICKENS
. . . *to France*

Charles J. Smith III, capable director of public relations at **Fam-U** and who is married to the pretty Fam-U biology professor, the former **Norma Jean Holloway** of Fort Worth, has come up with a new organization—the Society for the Prevention of Automobile Accidents at Blind Street Corners. At the moment, he is the lone member of the society.

A. LUCY
very upset

Couple a weeks ago Chuck staged his annual Interscholastic Press Workshop Conference which attracted more than seventy-five student editors from Florida high schools and several newspaper and radio consultants, including **Wesley South** of Ebony and Jet, **Ken Knight** of Jacksonville's radio station WRHC, **Eric O. Simpson** of the Florida Star, **Marion Jackson** of the Atlanta World, and this writer.

* * *

Jazz Fan Clubs in Florida

C. J. SMITH
. . . *capable*

Sax ace **Julian (Cannonball) Adderley,** who is making nightclubbers flip their lids on his Eastern tour with his smart combo, has fan clubs all over Florida . . . **Jo Thompson Dunmore** postcards that she and her mother had a "wonderful time" in Mexico after she rocked the nightlifers in Los Angeles . . . "On the Track," published by **Joseph V. Baker Associates, Inc.,** for the Association of American Railroads, is a neat and interesting publication . . . Folks are still talking about **Joe Mannel,** a Sky Cap at New York International Airport, who starred as a model in the Travel Fashion show put on at Abraham and Straus in Brooklyn . . . Congratulations are flooding the Mobile (Ala.) home of **Mrs. Sedalia Tarver Pickens** and they're all for Mrs. Pickens' pretty daughter, **Juanita Virginia Pickens,** a Talladega graduate and French and Spanish instructor, who has just been named the recipient of a Fulbright grant for study at U. of Grenoble in France.

E. SIMPSON
. . *journalist*

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE
(National News Editor)

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

D. SAULTER
. . . she pleases

Hill-Billy Takes Over . . .

SEVERAL white-owned radio stations programming to Negro listeners are dropping blues and jazz for hill-billy music . . . **Bishop Joseph Gomez** is being called the savior of Paul Quinn College . . . **Autherine Lucy** can have all the speaking dates she wants in Canada . . . The popular widow, **Esther Washington-Williams,** is saying goodbye to Kansas City, Mo. She won't settle in Memphis, as some of her friends thought, but in the East, where she's taking a position with the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn.

Sat. 6-16-56

Look for **Dr. Frank R. Veal** to quit the presidency of Paul Quinn College in Texas to become head man at Allen University, Columbia, S. C. . . . Memphis' **Marjorie Iles-Ulen** has switched to the Tri-State Defender to boss the women's pages . . . Disc jockey **Milton Lewis Barnes** of Jackson, Miss., may have to serve that 12-month stretch after all . . . Louisiana threatening to cut off state funds to schools operated by Catholics if they adopt a desegregation program . . . **Joe Louis** ready to give up wrestling (not enough money).

B. JOHNSON
. . . facing battle?

* * *

Brooklyn's smiling **Jesse L. Vann** believes he controls enough votes to unseat Elks' Grand Exalted Ruler **Bob Johnson** of Philly at next convention (and, whatever happened to Trezz Anderson?) . . . The two Florida co-eds who started the Tallahassee bus boycott did a good job of ducking reporters and photographers . . . **Prince Hall Masons'** contributions to NAACP Legal Defense Fund over a period of five years amount to $100,000.

* * *

A. LUCY
. . still speaking

Something to Wonder About . . .

Interesting item in The Light, published in Bay St. Louis, Miss.: "We wonder just how many members of the Louisiana Citizens Councils are themselves pure, dyed-in-the-wool Caucasians? "We are wondering if some of them would not do a quick right about face if some of the old birth records were brought out to view."

J. GOMEZ
. . high praise

* * *

Velvety **Dorothy Dandridge** should build up her bankroll in the next several months. She is scheduled to star in two Italian films and one French picture, plus her contract with 20th Century-Fox which calls for her appearance in one cinema a year.

JOE LOUIS
. . getting tired?

* * *

In the Limelight . . .

DR. VEAL
. . . new post?

Tom Casey, the ex-Hampton Institute and pro-Yankee footballer, gets his medical degree next month. Now in Canada, he was named Winnipeg's "Man of the Year" in '55.

Opening night of "Carmen Jones" at New York's City Center was quite sensational, with **Muriel Smith, Cozy Coles** and **Audrey Vanderpool.** Highlight of the evening was a scene where, in anger, Carmen throws a box of candy (which she threw a-la-Willie Mays) which landed on a set of Cozy Cole's drums and had the audience in stitches.

Not too long ago, sepia **Royce Wallace** and her wealthy white husband, **Stuart Outerbridge,** made headlines because Bermudians were boycotting them. Since bringing in pert little **Dottie Saulter,** business has been tripled at their Angel Grotto nightly. Seems as if Dottie really knows how to win friends and influence Bermudians with her refreshing style of entertainment. She's being held over indefinitely.

* * *

Do the Methodist churches (all of them) want integration or don't they? . . . and whatever happened to Prophet Jones and Father Divine?

31a 1956

Negro (Robert m. Ratcliffe)

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE (National News Editor)

Courier 9.74

BETTY LETTS . . . Indian sage

DR. DAVIS . . . his horse won

MRS. JONES . . . new duties

Exit Mr. Jones, the 'Prophet'

PROPHET JONES, the ex-jailbird who lost face and followers in Detroit, was a miserable flop in Philadelphia, where he tried to recapture some of his fame. Where he goes from Philly is anybody's guess. No longer is he the prancing, dancing idol of hundreds of fanatics.

He's still trying to put on a front, however, what with his perfumed body, well-manicured nails and slick hair. But, he's down to one Cadillac now and he boarded at a private home, a far cry from his sensational appearance in Philadelphia some two years ago when he camped at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel and made newspaper headlines such as Father Divine, also of Philly, never had been able to do.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Who's Who and What's What

New director of admissions at **Bennett College** is the widow of that institution's late president, **Mrs. David D. Jones** . . . Philadelphia model **Betty Letts** has been dubbed Miss Indian Sage by a beauty products company . . . Gospel singer **Mahalia Jackson** busy planning opening of her school for girls in Chicago . . . Some New Yorkers upset because socialite **Mollie Moon** failed to win re-election as publicity chairman of National Urban League . . . What happens to their successful real estate firm now that shapely **Grace Gimms** of Los Angeles has sued her husband-business partner, Walter, for divorce? . . . Current issue of **Pageant** magazine is carrying an interesting piece on "Who Is Jim Crow?"

Sat. 9-22-56

New Honors for Tenn. State

President Walter S. Davis, who is fast making **Tennessee State** one of the top universities of the nation, sends the school's 100-piece "new sound" marching band to the big stadium in Cleveland, Ohio, Oct. 14, to put on a 15-minute show during half-time of the Cleveland Browns-New York Giants football game. The university won new fame last week when a weaning filly, **Sun's Silver Storm,** from the Tennessee State stables, took first place in the National Walking Horse Show at Shelbyville, Tenn. The horse was bred and trained by **W. E. Officer.**

DR. JOHNSON . . . top faculty

MOLLIE MOON . . . disgusted?

M. JACKSON . . . for the girls

What Happened to Prof. Hill?

There are many lifted eyebrows on the campus of **Lincoln University** in Pennsylvania all because of the sudden resignation of **Prof. Joe Newton Hill** as dean of the college. In addition to serving as dean, he also was head of the department of English for many years. Some of the campus "experts" say his resignation was "forced." Hill, this year, will teach IN the English department and conduct classes at the Barnes Foundation.

Big Boost for Fisk University

Scholarly **Dr. Charles Johnson** is beaming with pride these days. The **Fisk University** president has brought to his campus the strongest faculty in the history of the Nashville school. It will stand up against the faculty of any medium-sized liberal arts college in the U. S., said one observer.

Althea Gibson's close friends believe big crowds upset the tennis star. They say she tries too hard to please the fans and, in doing so, makes mistakes on the court that eventually cost her a deserved victory.

B. H. (Bert) Logan, The Courier's religious editor, was 59 Thursday. He comes from a big family, 21 brothers and sisters including five sets of twins.

Behind the HEADLINES

By Robert M. Ratcliffe
(Courier's National News Editor)

Courier Sat. 1-28-56 P. 8 Pittsburgh, Pa.

You Never Know . . .

TIPS, OF ALL THINGS, caused a strike the other day in Houston, Tex. More than two score waiters staged a work stoppage at the fabulous Houston Club because they didn't like the way their tips were being divided. The fact that their tips were limited to 15 per cent of the bill was bad enough, they said, but it was really much too much when the club began taking out 2½ per cent of their tips and applying the sum to a special savings fund.

Main objection to the plan was that they could draw out the savings only at Christmas and vacation time, and in event they quit or got fired, they would only get one-third of the savings. Their pay is low, 40 cents an hour, so maybe they had a right to gripe.

* * *

And, if you think the waiters are (or were) having a tough time in Houston, you'll really feel sorry for the young medical students in Washington. They've got plenty of sharp knives and saws but very little to cut on. There's a shortage of cadavers (dead bodies) in the nation's capital and scientific research is almost at a standstill.

In some medical schools, two students have one frozen stiff all to themselves and they are at liberty to cut, saw and chop until their teeth fall out. In other schools, the quota is four students to a corpse. But, things are getting so bad in Washington now that five guys are lucky if they get a chance to carve a dead body.

Reasons for this are (1) decline of unclaimed dead, primarily because of economic stability in the District of Columbia; (2) bordering states will not send District medical schools unclaimed bodies, and (3) benefits under Social Security generally provide enough for burial of bodies which otherwise would be left unclaimed.

* * *

Graham Jackson of Atlanta fame is fast becoming the toast of the nation . . . The late **Walter White's** Poppy is now working on his biography . . . **Texas Southern University's** school of pharmacy is high in enrollment with 154 . . . The man that Emmett Till made famous, none other than **J. W. Milam,** has a 4-year-old son, Bill, who is tough on dentists—he bites them.

* * *

For the first time North Carolina is using alphabets on its new auto tags. Without any particular reason, two letters and four digits are used. Some new license holders are mad as wet hens because their tags read something like this: VD-0000.

* * *

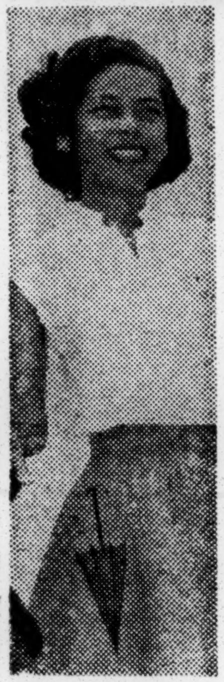
Of the eight Bishops of the AME Zion Church four are without wives. W. C. Brown and R. L. Jones lost their mates in recent months. Stephen Spottswood is also a widower and W. J. Walls is a bachelor. Spottswood and Jones are young and handsome.

* * *

Brooklyn Catcher Roy Campanella has switched from bats to boats. The National League's most valuable player has bought a 40-foot cruiser which is in the $30,000 to $40,000 class.

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M RATCLIFFE
(National News Editor)



DEL LEADON . . . "Miss TSU"

Dottie Tamed Marshall Tito

PETITE vocalist **Dottie Saulter,** only artist with **Dizzy Gillespie's** touring group to crack the boredom of **Marshal Tito** during their stand in Yugoslavia, returned to the States on May 23 and then grabbed another plane for Bermuda to appear at the famous Angel Grotto . . . As quiet as it has been kept, a bandleader and his wife were asked to vacate a hotel in L. A. because of the double syllable words they were using during a heated argument . . . **Leon Fisher,** former radio announcer and merchandiser, will do the narration for Color Magazine Publisher **I. J. K. Wells'** two-hour movie on Africa and the AME Zion Church.

Courier P. 5

GLAMOUR BOYS—**Sugar Ray Robinson,** who carries his barber and hair stylist on all trips with him, and **Archie Moore,** who orders one of his handlers to have comb and brush ready after all his fights.

Sat. 6-2-56

W. J. (Bill) Shaw of Atlanta, for many years an associate of the late **Ben Davis Sr.,** saw a 30-year-old tradition broken when he was elected secretary of the Georgia State Republican Convention. The post was uncontested. Several other Negroes hold prominent positions in the statewide organization.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

A.T. SPAULDING . . . the Whetstone

Spaulding in the News

Vice President-Actuary **A. T. Spaulding** has two revealing articles in the current issue of **The Whetstone,** voice of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company . . . Waitresses in the Centre Avenue YMCA, Pittsburgh, didn't think much of tips they received from some of the AME Zion delegates.

■

Asked why he married a woman 40 years younger than himself, a well-to-do and well-known man of the cloth leaned on his cane and said: "When I go to bed I want to smell perfume, not liniment."

ABOUT THE GIRLS — Someone should inform sax star **Julian (Cannonball) Adderley** that one of his top admirers is pretty school teacher, **Evelyn DeBose** of Pensacola, Fla. . . . Central State College senior **Gwendolyn Walters** of Detroit took third place in Cincinnati Summer Opera tryouts . . . Cute **Delores Leadon** of Houston and a business administration major at Texas Southern U. is the new "Miss TSU" . . . Star of the Cultural Arts Banquet at Morgan State was English and speech instructor, **Carolyn Hill Stewart,** who gave her exotic interpretation of "Salome."

GWEN WALTERS . . . third place

EVE DEBOSE . . . No. 1 fan

BILL SHAW
. . . *GOP climb*

Some folks are wondering why the first Negro principal of a Pittsburgh school, John Brewer, wasn't honored with other Negro "firsts" at a banquet staged by the Frontiers Club in the Steel City the other night.

■

The Way We Heard It

Some **Philly Democrats** are worried now that **E. Washington Rhodes** is leaving the State Parole Board. There's some talk that the Dems might lose the Phila. Tribune's editorial pages for political whatnots, etc. (Rhodes owns the Tribune.)

■

Prophet John The Conqueror, known as the "lucky number" expert, has a list of the birthdays of over 100 famous celebrities. He sends each one a personalized birthday card that glows in the dark.

■

And whatever happened to the old time jazz? And what is Progressive Jazz, anyway?

C. H. STEWART
. . . *did the dance*

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE
(National News Editor)

Clement Turns Down Paris Post

DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT turned down an offer to go to Paris as boss of **UNESCO's** department of education. Friends believe the scholarly president of **Atlanta University** and member of the Atlanta School Board would rather remain in the South for the time being because "there is a big job to be done there."

Courier p. 13

Virgin Islands Governor **Walter A. Gordon** of California is breathing easier now that his wife's operation at Knud-Hansen Hospital was reported successful.

Sat. 5-26-56

G. JACKSON
. . . *Dave loved him*

G. ELLIOTT
. . . *real brains*

JO THOMPSON
. . . *Italian cut*

C. E. TUCKER
. . . *kept his promise*

G. LOCKERMAN
. . . *way down South*

Willie Mays' new roommate, **Bill White,** will live with Mr. and Mrs. Mays when their "town house" is completed in early June . . . Singing star **Dinah Washington** invited everyone to the bar for a night-cap and picked up a tab of $1,400 at the dashing formal thrown by the **Rinkeydinks,** a fabulous New York club composed of bandleaders' wives.

■

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Graham Jackson Does It Again

When **Dave Garroway** TV'd his **"Today"** program from **Atlanta,** he turned the spotlight on the Gate City's No. 1 entertainer and performer—**Graham W. Jackson.** Graham was featured eight times on the three-hour-long coast-to-coast hookup. Tickling the ivories of the accordion and piano has been the profession of Mr. Jackson for years and his nimble fingers have entertained Presidents and the multi-millionaires.

■

World-traveller **Dr. Virginia S. Nyabongo** still managing to jump around the country and hold down her post at Tennessee State University . . . And, Tennessee State's top senior this year is **Gwendolyn Elliott** of Lawton, Okla., with a 3.9 cumulative point average and a 4.0 in her major, mathematics (4.0 is perfect). Gwen already has been promised a $4,900-a-year job with International Business Machines.

■

Pride and Joy of Miami Beach

Sporting an Italian cut and billed as a calypso singer, pianist-vocalist **Jo Thompson,** the pride and joy of Miami Beach, has the supper club group eating out of her hand at Dore's in Pittsburgh. What does she do in her dressing room between shows? "Oh, I write letters . . . read . . . and think."

■

Louis Lautier, who heads up the news agency for National Newspaper Publishers Association, was one of ten reporters selected to interview Indonesia's President Soekarna at a special news conference Friday . . . **Gloria Lockerman,** the Baltimore girl who spelled correctly the word ANTIDISESTABLISHMENTARIANISM and won a lot of money, flew down to Birmingham, Ala., to add sparkle and glamour to the state-wide Spelling Bee sponsored by the Booker T. Washington Business School.

Bishop Tucker Keeps Promise

Newly-elected AME Zion Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker made a promise 20 years ago. "If I am ever elected a Bishop," he said at that time, "my first public appearance as a Bishop will be at **Caldwell AME Zion,** a little church in Jeffersonville, Ind., because the congregation there was so good to me and my wife." Bishop Tucker kept that promise last Friday night.

■

Once-all-Negro West Virginia State College is past the desegregation stage, what with an enrollment of 800 white students and 600 colored knowledge-seekers.

W. MAYS
. . . *new roommate*

Texas Silhouettes

By J. W. RICE

Recent Texas Developments In The School Desegregation Situation

During the past week Texas has had the lion's share of national headlines concerning the desegregation of schools. The figures involved in the stories run all the way from the daughter of an anti - integration leader of Mansfield, scene of recent rioting to Vice - President Richard Nixon on the occasion of his political appearance in Houston last Tuesday night.

J. W. RICE

Among the major stories were: the investigation of NAACP offices in Dallas and Houston, the filing of an injunction suit against the organization by the Attorney General of Texas, the granting of the injunction by an East Texas judge in Tyler; the filing of a suit against Texarkana school officials by the NAACP, the throwing out of that suit on the grounds that NAACP attorneys did not officially and legally represent the plaintiffs, two students who had been refused entrance to the Texarkana Junior College; a hearing in the Mansfield case in which testimony was given to staff members of the Attorney General to the effect that they had not instituted the suit; the charges by a rabid anti-integration leader in Mansfield that his daughter had been fired from her position with the Lone Star Gas Company of Ft. Worth when she refused to make a contribution to the United Fund because the Ft Worth Urban League branch was receiving support from the fund, and finally the statement by Vice-President Richard Nixon to the effect that he was an honorary member of the NAACP. That statement has already been made a part of the campaign of an aspirant for a seat in Congress who is running against a Republican who has the blessings of the Vice-President. As this is being written the hearings on making the injunction permanent which would outlaw the NAACP in Texas are running into their second day.

It is a hodge podge of happenings. It is a swift moving series of things which make clear reasoning and orderly thought practically impossible. It is more than likely that the principals in all of these situations are themselves amazed by the speed with which their actions, whatever the inspiration for them, are becoming parts of the whole scheme by which people of different points of view in a democracy, settle their differences by lawful means. At least this week all of the happenings have been lawful. That could not have been said of the events of the past two weeks in connection with this same situation.

The average man in the street both white and black is taking the whole situation "in stride" apparently. He seems to feel that this, like many other such bits of American difficulty, will settle down to normal once all the "steam" has been let off. Even the young people of both races are remarkably calm during these times when, if prejudice had taken as strong a hold of them as it has done of their elders, there would be more youthful interracial clashes than twice as many officers as are now on duty could quell.

Naturally there is much regret among us that so many aspiring politicians are using this question as the main theme of demagogic rantings during their campaigns. Many of them have heretofore been recognized as good men. In the case of many of them there is reason to feel that in their inner selves they are ashamed to have let political ambition get the best of their better selves. In later years they will be listed among those who were not friends either of the land they profess to love or of the principles of democracy which they claim to espouse.

But with each suceeding week we have added reason to continue to be hopeful. In fact, to have deep faith and the conviction that democracy in America will survive. The Supreme Court decree will not be vacated despite the hopes of so many and the efforts of die hards. It must never be forgotten that in Texas, as all of these disturbing situations are told under bold headlines, 19 Texas colleges have admitted Negro students and 100 out of 700 independent school districts have integrated their pupils to some degree.

DR. CARVER
. . . saved top-soil

TREASURE TROVE By RIC ROBERTS

Courier: Sat. 1-28-56
Magazine Section P. 2
Pittsburgh, Pa

Bi-racial Schools Will Challenge False Supremacy

"Inferior" Negroes Gave Dixie Her Only Scientific Geniuses

DR. DREW
. . . saved lives

GAINESVILLE, Fla.—"The South, the poor South, God knows what will become of her." Those were the supposed last words of the spectral-eyed John C. Calhoun, South Carolina Senator who almost died on the U. S. Senate floor, championing, more fiercely than any man in belief that the black man was God's gift to the Anglo-Saxon elite . . . to have and to hold as beasts of burden. Today, 105 years since that dynamic, white-maned slaver was gathered to his Maker (March 31, 1850) Trove invites you share in a critical look at the Dixie Tiger which, since 1878, has kept the Negro lying in helpless misery within its iron talons.

In the United States, 99 per cent of Anglo-Saxon genius, since 1820, has been bred and born between the fortieth and forty-fifth parallels, North: a line, extending from East to West, through or very close to Springfield, Ill.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Columbus, Ohio; Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, Pa., on the South, and another, East to West, along the northern boundary of Massachusetts, through Albany, N. Y.; Lansing, Mich., and Milwaukee, Wis.

The Mason and Dixon line corresponds roughly with the southern limit of this area of harsh (but not too harsh) climatic stimulus. In Dixieland, where the challenge of climate is less, creative response has been less and, in Maine, for example, where the climatic challenge has been too severe, nature has subjected human response to the law of diminishing returns.

Southerners have had to forsake Dixie to attain immortality: Woodrow Wilson quit Virginia for New Jersey; Abraham Lincoln forsook Kentucky for Springfield, Ill; Mark Twain turned his back on Missouri in favor of Connecticut, etc.

Gallant in war and things romantic but inept in the intricacies of economics, no Dixie-born, Dixie-residing Anglo-Saxon of the past seven decades (excepting the heroic, blind Helen Keller) has laid a single indispensible bouquet on the altar of civilization. Miss Keller also quit (Tuscumbia, Ala.) Dixie in favor of New England's crisp clime.

Lacking in physical stimulus, the South has wounded itself by denying its previous, lily-white children the human stimulus which competition with Negro pupils, in desegregated public schools, would immediately bring to bear and, mayhap, bestir in those children the urges that sleep, untapped, within them.

While the proud, "superior" Anglo-Saxon dominant majority could never stop walking (unfirmly) on its tip-toes, it remained for "inferior" Negroes, like George Washington Carver, Charles Drew, Edgar C. Just and Booker T. Washington to make indispensible contributions to Dixie . . . and to the world!

Dr. Carver stopped dreamless Anglo-Saxon planters and yeoman-farmers from "sinning against Dixie's precious soil." Barred from two lily-white schools, nevertheless, he eventually warned his "superiors" to stop letting the South's farm lands go unnourished . . . restoring soil fruitfulness with a compost of legumes or rotation-crops . . . unfolded the mystery of pod-bearing plants that drew nitrogen from the air and enrich rather than despoil the soil in which they were planted. No crop robs the soil as fiercely and completely as does cotton; Dixie's best bet.

Dr. Drew's blood plasma technique has saved millions of lives during the last fifteen years. He was, of course, too "inferior" to attend the University of North Carolina.

White pupils were frantically protected from Dr. Carver, Dr. Drew and Dr. Just, although the University of Berlin deemed it a privilege to have Dr. Just teach matchless German minds. "Inferior" Dr. Just, twenty-five years ago, told the world's biologists that the outer covering of the cell is just as important as the nucleus. Today, belatedly science has found how correct he was.

Dr. Washington's "Aggie" schools' concept is an American tradition, although the "Gray" plan would use racial disinfectants to protect "superior" Anglo-Saxons from his "inferiority," if, somehow, Dr. Washington were alive and again a boy.

Dixie should never forget Dr. C. G. Jung's words: "Great innovations never come from above; they invariably come from below . . . (from) the much-derided underdogs of the land—those less infected with prejudices than egomaniacs are wont to be."

Anglo-Saxon children of the Southland lag conspicuously in creativity. They are competing against the empty myth of a fancied "supremacy," when, in truth, Negro pupils would serve as a rousing call-to-arms, in the form of a human stimulus.

Far more than "protection," the lagging, climatic white victims of Dixie's torpor, need exposure to actual, prideful competition with a race which, given a chance, will produce more Carvers, Drews, Justs and Washingtons and, in so doing, start white Dixie producing Crawford Longs, Cyrus McCormicks, Edgar Allan Poes, Mark Twains and Sidney Laniers . . . again.

* * *

CHALLENGE SAVES—Newfoundland fishermen have discovered that a usual haul of choice cod or halibut, dumped into the ship's watered hold, died by hundreds before reaching port hours afterwards. However, it was found that catching the natural enemy of those forms (aggressive, sharply finned and pursuant) and also dumping them into the hold, made all the difference in the cod and halibut. Instead of losing vim and vigor, the treasured catch spent all the hours outdistancing the enemy . . . so reached port (all of them) alive and kicking. Challenge is the essence of motivation!

31a 1956 NEGRO (J.A. ROGERS)

History Shows . . . .

Courier 9-8

LAST week I told how world politics had taken a racial trend. I said the colonial powers and Russia are in rivalry with America for the favor of Asia and Africa and that both were using injustice to Negroes as propaganda against America. But while this highlighted the Negro's fight against jim crow it wasn't so much in his favor as it pictured him as a downtrodden group rather than as a live, progressive one.

Mr. Rogers

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Very, very little is known of the American Negro's advance abroad. All one hears is of a few names, principally entertainers and athletes. And the foreign-born Negro is woefully uninformed, too, not only on that, but on his own history. I attended the meetings of the Negro writers of the world in Paris and what I heard from African, British and Latin-American writers, was mostly oratory and platitude. And they didn't seem interested either. At least, my efforts to reach some of the leaders fell flat. They seemed too busy for that.

Sat. 11-3-56

BUT I did meet one there—a visitor, who was interested—very intensely so. And ironically, she is white—Madame Madeleine Rousseau. Never have I met anyone more enthusiastic about Negro art and history. She told me that people called her "Negro." (She's as white as they come though). Her home 11 bis, Rue du Val de Grace, Paris 5, has the finest collection of Negro art I have seen in or out of a museum. She declared that civilization originated among Negroes especially in Egypt, and had proof, too. She wanted all my books. Luckily, I had a full set I had taken to Europe to show and she bought that. And when I offered her some issues of the Courier, she took me in her car to my hotel for them.

She said that to most scholars, the Negro's contribution to world culture is nil, that the belief he has done nothing is accepted by them as they do night or day and it isn't necessary to look into it. We discussed Arnold Toynbee, called the world's greatest historian, who did just that. He, a living historian, who wrote: "The only one of the primary races . . . which has not made a creative contribution to any of our 21 civilizations is the black race . . . Within the first 6,000 years the black race has not helped create any civilization . . ."

SHE SAID she had been attacked for much of what she had written on Negro history and laughingly I told her what Gunnar Myrdal (who like Toynbee opposes discrimination) said of me in his famous "American Dilemma." He called me "a pseudo-historian fantastically glorifying the achievements of Negroes." And, believe it or not, he must never have looked into anything I wrote because he cited as proof a book I had never written. And not only that, he cited this utterly non-existent book in his bibliography. It's clear he had only heard of me.

Has this persistent denial of the Negro's role in civilization any significance. Yes, its purpose is to show he has been a drag on the whites and that he ought to be grateful to them for everything. Lost sight of is the Negro's immense contribution to America.

On why the blacks just at this time must tell the world of their contributions, I have something important to say in my next article.

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

TO CONTINUE from last week. I've been showing for some time now how the American Negro is the most talked of single group in the world today. Here in America, leading newspapers and magazines have been featuring him for the past year. And for over a century political leaders have realized his key position. The Civil War was fought over him. Frederick Douglass said at that time, "The destiny of the nation has as its pivot the Negro." And here are Lincoln's own words on this, "Drive back to the support of the rebellion the physical force which the colored people now give and promise us and neither the present nor any coming administration can save the Union." (Letter to C. D. Robinson, Aug. 17, 1864.)

Mr. Rogers

Courier

IT'S THE same in national elections. The side on which he would throw all his political weight would win. But what is he doing with this immense latent power? Suppose any of our white minority groups had it. Imagine 16 million Negroes throwing all their weight behind one intelligent, unselfish leader!

P. 8

Why isn't the Negro cashing in on this great advantage? Because he has an enemy—an enemy greater than all the Ku Kluxers, than all the White Councils, than Byrnes, Eastland, etc.—namely, **HIMSELF**—his own psychology——the inferiority complex bred in him about his color in the past 300 years.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

NOW ALMOST everyone has an inferiority complex on some one thing. All great men had it—Demosthenes, Julius Caesar, Napoleon, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt. But they fought it, and in so doing grew strong. But, sad to say, most Negroes give in to theirs. They hang back when they ought to advance. They do not feel that as human beings they are entitled to a 100 per cent equal chance in the pursuit of happiness.

And having the will to fight is not enough. The brain needs stimulating information as the stomach needs stimulating food. Negroes must take stock not only of their individual abilities, but of their group ones, namely, their **HISTORY**, their contribution to national and world culture.

Sat. 11-10-56

But this is just what the racists don't want. Nor many white friends. Nor certain Negro leaders. Reason: a knowledge of their great past gives the Negro masses backbone and makes them more difficult to handle. History, they're told, isn't important. But if it isn't, why the great universities, libraries and art museums of the world? All are intended to stimulate manking b ya knowledge. Are movies, as "War and Peace," historical?

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

WHEN the Eisenhower Administration opposed the invasion of Egypt, Democratic leaders were very hopeful. Even Eisenhower's friends thought it would hurt him. But the exact opposite happened. Eisenhower not only got in hands down but the United States won a double victory.

Mr. Rogers

Of the 74 nations, 64 voted with her. And the second victory is even more important. I pointed out some weeks ago that there was a rivalry among the colonial powers, Russia and the U. S. for the favor of the darker races, and I showed how racial troubles, particularly recent ones in Kentucky and Tennessee, had been been used abroad against America. Now every darker nation in the UN sided with America. Eisenhower, in his broadcast to the UN and the world, must have touched them deeply. He spoke most forcefully for "the eternal equality of all men, all races," and added, "We can claim the trust of hundreds of millions of people across Africa and Asia only as we ourselves hold high the banner of justice for all." The effect of that vote is to show that Russia is no longer the outstanding champion of the darker races.

■

THE INVASION of Egypt was most asinine. Gaitskell rightfully called it "a reckless and foolish decision . . . an act of folly whose tragic consequences we shall regret for years." Far more than Bandung, it has united the darker races against colonialism. Enemies like Nationalist China and Communist China, and India and Pakistan find themselves on the same side. A New York Times report from Pakistan is typical. "Pakistan," it says, "now feels that its associations with the West have proved a costly liability, isolating this country from its neighbors. The feeling is that a precedent has been set for the big powers to bully the small nations, and they must band together."

No one who heard Ceylon's ringing denunciation of Britain will have any doubt that Britain made matters worse in her already discontented colonies. France, too, will have more trouble in Africa. As for Israel, she has increased anti-Semitism over the whole world.

■

AS I watched the proceedings at the UN, my thoughts went right back to 1935 when the nations of the world condemned Mussolini for a similar aggression. "We cannot and we will not condone armed aggression no matter who the attacker and who the victim," declared Eisenhower.

Again, the invasion sabotaged NATO, that is, Western unity. "The U. S. was not consulted in any way," says Eisenhower. "Nor were we informed in advance." Time magazine gives the amazing inside story of how England, France and Israel concocted secretely. (See "The Conspiracy," Nov. 12, pp. 33-4.)

Can America trust Britain, France and Israel after that?

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

THE VICTORY in the Montgomery bus case again proves that, "He who would be free must strike the first blow."

The example of the Rev. M. L. King and his 50,000 Negro backers who decided to walk rather than submit to that crowning indignity of American citizenship — jim crow—is an inspiration to lovers of right the world over. Said the Rev. Mr. King: "The months (since April) have not been at all easy . . . Our feet have been tired and our autos worn, but we have kept going with the faith that in our struggle we had cosmic companionship, that, at bottom, the universe is on the side of justice."

Mr. Rogers

AND THE jim-crowers are not going to be able to duck the law as in the school cases. Violators, according to a news report, are going to be haled into court and fined or imprisoned. We are also told that violence will result. The law will deal with that kind, too. Of the 150,000,000 or so whites in this country, 100,000,000 or more ride besides Negroes without protest. Moreover, when these super-proud Southern jim-crowers come North or West, they ride meekly beside colored folk. The alternative is to walk and they "ain't" going to do that over the[illegible]st Northern cities. Furthermore, in interstate trains and buses in their own state, they must ride where they can get a seat. Yes, they will learn or be made to.

There was a time when there was no jim-crow car in the South. There are folks still alive who remember that time. It was started in the 1890's for the express purpose of exploiting Negroes, of keeping alive in many the slave spirit. A back-seat psychology was bred in them, so that when it came to wages and everything else, they'd take a back seat there, too.

JIM CROW is on the way out. The Solid South is dying. The 1956 election gives striking proof. I recall the election of Woodrow Wilson and am amazed at the change. Think of Louisiana, Florida, Texas, Virginia, Tennessee, voting Republican! That would once be regarded as vicious and traitorous. Arkansas and Alabama are wobbling. In Alabama, the Republican vote was 149,231; in 1956, it was 167,968 Eisenhower to 232,259 Stevenson. In North Carolina it was 548,154 to 568,882. Georgia and Mississippi are really the only last relics of that once Solid South that swept Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt to victory.

Whenever we get up and fight injustice, it will finally go. I recall woman suffrage. As late as 1920, women who tried to vote were arrested, fined, and roughhoused. Even in the South some Negroes could vote; a white woman couldn't.

Negroes have a lot more to fight for. And thanks to Messrs. Byrnes, Talmadge, Eastland, the White Councils, and the outlawing of the NAACP in some states, they'll be kept awake on the job.

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

LONDON . . . Negroes who have been brought here in considerable numbers since World War I are being integrated into English life with very little evident friction. The race riots in two English cities after World War I were caused by competition for jobs. Now there's a shortage of labor and though British exports fell off by several milions in June, the Soviets, according to the Daily Mail, have just arrived with orders totalling two billions.

Mr. Rogers

Negroes, most of them West Indians, have been marrying English white girls while some Englishmen have married Negro girls. The latter from the time of ancient Greece, have always been fewer than Negro men in Europe. White people, not plagued by Bilbos, Eastlands and Byrneses, are free from color prejudice. England, after World War I, had her Horatio Bottomley but he has gone to his reward—I hope, below.

■

HOW I WISH some of the leaders of the White Councils could see what I'm seeing here. More than ever I'm struck with the fact that the real black man is a very special number in Europe. I've heard of and seen, some remarkable love affairs. One British Negro dancer's wife is certainly one of the most beautiful girls I've ever seen. Complexion, form, features, superb. Another Negro I met here in 1950 has a wife almost as lovely. Whenever I meet a Negro if he has a woman with him she's nearly always, white. One evening on a sidewalk cafe in the Paris Latin Quarter, I counted 24 Africans pass with white girls, one with two, his arms around their waists. I do not include the West Indians I saw.

One Negro who spent several months in Scandinavia tells me the girls there pursued him so much he had to leave. This attraction for a black skin has been reported by white writers as early as 270 B. C. In "Sex and Race" and "Nature Knows No Color-Line" I've given a great number of quotations from them from that time to the present with sources. But there's no need of proof. Millions of American Negroes bear it in their faces.

■

MIXTURE OF whites and blacks is nothing new in England. It goes back beyond Julius Caesar. Furthermore, Negro slavery lasted in Britain from 1440-1834. The hundreds of thousands of Negroes brought in were absorbed. Of course, if your education was as fenced-in as mine you never heard of that. You were told the Anglo-Saxon is pure white.

White women married to Negroes here are shocked at anti-miscegenation laws in America. This reminds me that sometime in June the Courier told of a Negro and a white woman in the South given two years for being caught together. The story appeared in the European press. The wife of one African told me she thought it the last word in barbarity. Her husband said, "In my home the white man just runs all over our women." He sent the story of Africa. What fine ammunition that savage Southern judge provides for the Communists, too!

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Roge

BRUSSELS—Colored folk in Europe seem to be solidly behind Nasser. I have asked many—Africans, West Indians, Americans, North Africans—what they thought, and everyone said he was glad. Nothing is going to be done to him, they say, as the darker races are behind him, as well as the Russians. Some I met here from the Congo on the street and in cafes said their people back home were strong for him. So did a Gold Coast student I ran into in Stockholm.

Mr. Rogers

They're all happy that Egypt is back in the hands of her own people. Napoleon killed off the Mamelukes and made it possible for a white dynasty, which ended with Farouk, to seize power. Nasser is a mulatto, a very common type in Cairo.

■

ONE WHITE Turk, a Moslem, said that the European powers ha been robbing Egypt for the past century and a half and oppressing the people. That's why they were so poor. The English were the worst, he said. Which reminds me of what happened on my first visit to Cairo in 1930. I had gone, with two Egyptian guides, to the Mohammed Ali mosque, which together with its grounds, is enclosed by a high wall, and which the British used as a garrison.

After I had seen the mosque and was leaving soldiers were changing guard. As I attempted to pass I was waved back. I stood back until I saw some Europeans pass through and I started to go. Again I was waved back. Other white people came by and passed. Once again I started to go through and again I was waved back on which the Egyptians said to me, "You see what we have to put up with in our own country." Further south in the Sudan I found the natives even more bitter.

■

THE ENGLISH newspapers think that any agreement made with Nasser won't be kept. I'm inclined to agree with them. I feel there's even worse than Suez in store for the white powers in Asia and Africa. The other day the Sudan flatly declared her total independence and Britain could do nothing about it. Ceylon, too, told England, she was henceforth only a lodger there, and nothing was done either.

What can be done about all this, I don't know. Earlier whites sowed seeds of hate for a white skin in Asia and Africa and those of today are reaping the harvest. And the pity of it is that here in Europe, especially on the Continent, Africans and Asians are treated as human beings. This time I've not seen or heard of a single instance of color discrimination here, even by white Americans. Those who have the feeling keep it to themselves.

The powers-that-be, especially in England and France, are irritated at such incidents as they are broadcast in Asia and Africa and make fine ammunition for the Communists. Of course, these powers have their injustices, too, but America's are all the more glaring since she holds herself up as a model.

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

LONDON—Can a woman who is apparently white have a black child if her husband is white? That such might happen is the great fear of an English girl who sent the following letter to the Sunday Express of London (Sept. 14, 1956):

"My grandmother was colored. I myself was born in this country . . . I haven't a single Negro characteristic. I would be described as English-looking; fair with grey eyes—and I haven't got crinkly hair. My fiance, who is of very good county family, does not know of my mixed blood. Must I tell him?" — Amy Jackson, London.

Mr. Rogers

TWO EXPRESS columnists—Edana Romney and Edgar Lustgarten—answered Miss Jackson. The first said that on seeing Miss Jackson she doubted "whether even an anthropologist would have detected in her a trace of colored blood," but that she waited until Miss Jackson took off her gloves to see whether her fingernails betrayed her true ancestry. The fingernails were "painted a brilliant red," but underneath all that red Edana Romney said she saw "a bluish tinge—cunningly concealed"—and sure proof of Negro ancestry. Or so she had been taught, she says.

Edgar Lustgarten even after seeing "the wide grey eyes and soft blonde curls of Miss Jackson" suggests that it were best she tell her fiance all, as she might have a colored baby. He adds, "The penalties for flouting this particular moral principle can be—and are likely to be cruel. Especially so in Amy Jackson's case. The entirely unexpected birth of a coffee-colored baby into 'a very good English county family' is more than likely to be disastrous for the mother and the child . . . and shattering to the family."

It seems incredible to me that in this age and day two columnists of a great English daily can emit such utter rubbish, such old-wives' tales, such folklore from slavery days. One would have thought that in dealing with such a delicate subject they would have read up a little on what scientific research has revealed.

■

FOR INSTANCE, Dr. C. B. Davenport who, with an assistant spent a year of research on racial intermixture in the South and the West Indies for the Carnegie Institution, says he was unable to find a single authenticated case of an apparently white couple having a black baby." A person of one-eight Negro blood is, so far as skin-color goes "completely across the line," he says. "Married to white, there is no expectation of dark-skinned offspring though the hair be curly and the lips thick."

"That a black child could be born," he says, "is a tradition used to create dramatic situations in novels and newspapers and the dread of this tradition hangs over many a marriage that might otherwise be happy.

Among other scientists who agree with him are L. H. Snyder, C. L. Fenton and A. Schienfeld, "You and Your Heredity." And Catterall in "Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro," shows how even Southern juries refused to believe such a birth possible. (See my Sex and Race, Vol. 3, pp. 220-34).

Were such births possible, they ought to be common among whites in the South as the latter have absorbed a great amount of "Negro blood." And let's not forget there's a Negro strain in the English royal family. The Marquess of Milford Haven, for one, is descended from Pushkin. He is a cousin of Queen Elizabeth and was best man at her wedding.

But, of course, were such births possible, they would mean nothing to really civilized folk. The child would still be human.

History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

RE MY saying that world politics has taken a racial trend, several letters have reached me. One from Baton Rouge, La., says, "That's nothing new. Scores of writers like Lothrop Stoddard and W. E. B. DuBois pointed that out in the 1920's. And when America dropped the atom bomb on a dark race, she made race the No. 1 issue."

Mr. Rogers

Other letters say that "England and France would not have attacked Egypt if she were white"; that America took the stand on Egypt she did at the UN for fear of Russia's entry into it; that if she had been prompted by humane, not racial, feelings, she would have offered to rush food to the stricken Egyptians as she did to the Hungarians. And as for Arab refugees, how many has America taken? None, it's safe to say."

YES, PRESIDENT Eisenhower did miss a golden opportunity when he didn't offer food to the bombed-out Egyptians as he did to the Hungarians. I've seen newsreels of that bombing, the killing of women and children, and the flight of those already wretchedly poor people from their homes. Port Said now looks like one of the ruins of ancient Egypt. It's all a monstrous crime. Had America offered food to these colored people, it would have done much to offset the propaganda being waged against her by Russia and the colonial powers.

Of course, the racial trend is nothing new. It really began when white men started invading dark men's land and using their color of skin to start a caste system. But it's undoubtedly the biggest issue now. Barbara Ward, eminent authority on world affairs, in an article in the New York Times magazine, Nov. 11—"Race Relations as a World Issue"—says the effect of Suez is to heighten tensions between the Afro-Asian block and the nations of the West. She adds: "The world-wide problem of race relations may not seem as acute as communism (which exploited racialism) or nationalism (which often fuses with it) but the Egyptian conflict may well give it a jolt towards the heart of the maelstrom. Of all the long-term world-wide implications of Suez, this may be the most fateful.

■

"AT PRESENT, most Westerners think of the race problem as being primarily one of whether men and women of African stock—in Africa or the United States—can achieve full equality of status. But this definition is already outdated. The question is no longer whether Africans can achieve equality. It is becoming the wider query whether men and women of white color shall lose it."

She adds, "An irrational hatred of the white skin, an instinctive prejudice against all things Western in Africa and Asia, is the "easiest emotion to excite."

History provides innumerable instances of people at the bottom rising to the top and those at the top sinking to the bottom. The darker races, now on the march, outnumber the whites three to one. Look out, Mr. White Racist!

History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

THE color question is so sensitively woven into every fibre of our national life that almost any move, however unexpected, is likely to produce discontent somewhere along the color-line. We saw how the bill for a Federal grant to education was defeated because no jim crow would go along with it.

Mr. Rogers

Now as to the 21,500 refugees being brought in. Suppose they were colored instead of white? Or suppose a like number of colored refugees was being brought in, too, or even half the number, would even the white supporters of the President, as a whole, like it? Well, by the same token, the Negroes do not like this influx of refugees. And not without cause. They see them putting Negroes out of jobs. Thanks to the color of their skins these refugees will be getting rights that Negroes haven't been able to win in centuries.

■

AGAIN, NEGROES are asking why Washington, so quick to help alien whites, has done nothing about Negro refugees from the Klan and the White Councils. Reports in the Times, Post and Journal-American of New York City told of Negroes having to flee from the South. Life magazine, Dec. 10, 1956 gives the story of Willie Causey, a Negro lumber dealer of Shady Grove, Ala., and his wife a schoolteacher, who gave Life an interview last September favoring integration. No sooner did the article appear than the couple found almost all the whites of the town against them. Causey couldn't buy any gas. Mrs. Causey was put out of her job. Threatened with violence, they left their house, their winter's supply of food, and, taking their children, got out fast.

THE DIFFERENCE between Hungary and the South is simply this: The Hungarians are fighting back; the Negroes aren't. And while the Hungarians are lauded for using force, the Negroes would be condemned. Furthermore, there's something about this refugee story that doesn't sit well with me. We know of the methods the Communists use to keep people in—barbed wire, machine-guns and the like. Now how come so many Hungarians can escape? And with photographers there to snap them. Have the Communist oppressors, always so vigilant at their borders, gone to sleep?

The Hungarians, even those who are Communists, are right in fighting the Russians, but isn't it possible that most of these refugees are running, not from fear of their lives, but bad economic conditions. The President's ready offer to bring them to America must have had a very quickening influence to get out. Also, do people who really love their country run away from it in a crisis?

As long as we have a color-line in America, the Negro citizen will have cause to be uneasy at an influx of whites. He helps foot the bill, too, for these refugees.

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier 9.8 — Pittsburgh, Pa. — Sat. 6-30-56

PARIS—To enemies of the Negro and even of his white friends, his history begins with slavery in the New World. But here in Europe, the very home of the whites, the Negro has played a role of considerable importance which is very, very little known—conquerors, kings, generals of white armies, builders, writers, religious leaders, scientists. I've brought out some of this in "World's Great Men of Color." In "Nature Knows No Color Line," I have reproduced hundreds of coats-of-arms with pictures of Negroes who were founders of great white European families as far north as Germany. In short, a very substantial work could be produced on the Negro's role in white European history. Abundant material can be found in the European libraries and museums.

Mr. Rogers

For instance, there is the story of Fortunee Hamelin, a Negro woman, who was the greatest single feminine influence in Napoleon's career. She gave him good advice, stuck with him to the end, and in leaving for St. Helena, he gave her the equivalent of a million dollars.

■

I RAN across her name quite by accident. Learning she was Haitian, I thought she might be colored. And she was. She is described by those who knew her as "very brown-skinned with thick lips" and a face so Negroid that in her old age, one said she had a "bull-dog" look. But she had extraordinary charm, rare common sense and intellectual brilliance, and was the greatest dancer in Paris. She was called La Belle Laide ("the beautiful ugly woman"). Napoleon thought the world of her and she inspired great jealousy even in Josephine. After Napoleon's banishment, she became the closest friend of the great writer and traveller, Chateau Briand.

I gave a short sketch of her in my last book and knowing more about her was one of the things that lured me here. And I'm finding much. She is spoken of in most glowing terms and at least one novel was written about her. Now everything written about Napoleon continues to be of top interest. After seeing the very popular movie, "Desiree," in which Marlon Brando played Napoleon, I thought what a wonderful film the story of this Negro would make. She had a far greater influence on Napoleon than Desiree, and was incomparably more dazzling. Some day though, the pendulum will swing the other way, the Negro will come into his own, and his amazing characters will no longer go neglected.

■

I INTEND to continue here in my researches. But it isn't easy. Europe is expensive and I am entirely on my own. I get no grants from any source, white or colored. Most research on the Negro has been supported by white people. But I started as an independent and will go on as one. I like it better that way.

All I'm asking is that you buy my books. There's my "100 Amazing Facts" at only $1. Orders of a few thousand would come in handy now. Or the whole set of my nine books for $25. Orders can be sent c/o The Courier, 2091 Seventh Ave., New York City.

Finally, history is important. It is to the "race" what memory is to the individual. If it's not important, why has some of what I have dug up not liked even by certain white "friends" who oppose racial injustice?

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier 9.8 — Pittsburgh, Pa. — Sat. 8-25-56

LONDON . . . There are parts of this city, as around Ladbrooke Grove and Brixton, that make me think a little of Harlem from the number of Negroes about. In fact, they're all over London. Some are from Africa but the majority are from the West Indies and are much darker than the average American Negro.

Mr. Rogers

The estimated Negro population of the British Isles (not counting American Negro troops) is half a million. Some 150,000 came in the last four years; 682 in June, 1956. The day after I arrived I saw a batch of 58 newly arrived, a number of whom went to Mrs. Amy Garvey's homes in Ladbrooke Grove.

And they find ready employment; some, like the skilled mechanics even come on contract. They work in factories and at all kinds of labor. They are fairly common on the tubes (subway) as ticket-takers, guards and conductors. On the way to London I saw gangs of them working on the railroad tracks. I saw none as policemen or clerks in department stores or banks or busmen. I understand though they get better jobs in the provinces.

■

THE GREAT problem for them is housing. London already has a terrific housing problem. Many homes were destroyed during the war and comparatively few have been built. In newspaper advertisements of lodgings, as in the Middlesex Independent and London Star, were several that said, "No Colored." Such an ad could not appear in a New York paper but it's legal here.

One can be refused accommodation or service or a job because of color. There is no law against it but George Padmore tells me that an anti-discrimination has been introduced in Parliament. Should a black man engage rooms in a hotel and be refused when he appears, he can sue for breach of contract and will win.

■

BUT ALL IN all I found less color prejudice in London than in New York. There's also very much less of it than I saw in 1925. For one thing there's a better type of Negro, and the English place a much higher value on worth, education and respectability in the individual than do most white Americans. Besides the English, being a very polite people, keep their prejudices to themselves in public contact. Which is the more civilized way. We all have prejudices of some kind, race, religion, politics, etc. The English are great on class and a well-dressed, refined black man will find polite service in the best London restaurant. Should he turn out to be some powerful African ruler and be refused that would be something. Britain sees her future lies with the black race, principally in Africa. Johannes Stripdom, South African Premier got the very devil in a number of English papers.

But with so many Negroes pouring in here what will happen should be there a slump in business, of which there are signs now? Will it be like in the 1920's when Negroes, however capable were put out of jobs to make way for Englishmen? More on that next week.

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier 9.8 — Pittsburgh, Pa. — Sat. 7-21-56

DR. GODFREY NURSE of New York City and I were guests of Monsieur Gaston and Madame Monnerville at luncheone in the Luxembourg Palace, the residence M. Monnerville occupies as President of the Council of the Republic, a post equivalent to that of President of the [illegible] Senate.

We lunched amid scenes of 18th and early 19th century splendor—priceless tapestries, gorgeous murals and paintings of old masters, rare hand-woven carpets and furniture, all the dream of connoisseurs and full of historic memories. M. Monnerville's office was once that of Napoleon and his chair was also used by him.

Mr. Rogers

HIS APARTMENTS look out on one of the loveliest private gardens I've ever seen, with large roses of many colors, and beyond that the Luxemburg Garden which is open to the public and is one of the finest in Europe. As President of the Council, he is in charge of the still larger Luxembourg Palace now used as the Senate.

In the Senate are Negroes from Africa and the French West Indies. M. Monnerville formerly represented a department in France—Lot—where the constituency is white. He is very popular with his colleagues, and it is commonly said that he could be President of France if he wished. The President of France, who is elected not by the people, but by the Senate, was, at least, until the last war, a President of the Senate.

M. Monnerville has held the post ten years now being re-elected as I recall three times. He is a native of French Guiana. Seeing a man of color in these surroundings is really an event in my life.

As President of the Council, he's the third, some say, the second, person of importance in France, and so far the most important political post yet held by a Negro in France. Of course, there are others of the past who were higher as Alexander Dumas, who was commander of Napoleon's cavalry. Dumas was succeeded by another of Negro descent—Murat, King of Naples, and Napoleon's brother-in-law, and whose son, incidentally, married into George Washington's family.

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A WORD about Paris itself. The weather is awful and the prices even worse. Paris is the rainiest city I know, and it is living up to its reputation. Drizzle, drizzle, drizzle. Paris in the spring of 1956 is like November in New York—so cold in June that a winter coat feels good.

The only thing cheaper than in New York is rooms, that is, if you go to a hotel that is tourist regulated and where the prices are posted. But food and clothing are higher than in America. Subway fare, however, is around five cents and one may ride a bus for as low as three cents, which leads me to ask why American buses and subways should be so expensive—as high as 20 cents in towns like Boston.

Because most other things in France are so expensive, Spain, where they are cheap, is likely to have its best tourist season. Many are leaving for there.

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier 9.8 — Pittsburgh, Pa.

LONDON — Prime Minister Strijdom of South Africa, to win support for his anti-Negro regime, tried to stir racial prejudices here, by asking the white people what they would do if they had the same percentage of Negroes as his country. Some 100,000 Negroes have migrated here, principally from the West Indies, in the past few years. Suppose, he said "150,000,000 of them were to come, would you, in that event, allow them to settle in Britain and grant them full

Mr. Rogers

political and social equality knowing that would mark the end of your great and historic white British race?

BUT EVEN while Strijdom was saying that at the Prime Ministers' Conference, whites, blacks and browns from his own land as well as from other parts of Africa, together with prominent delegates from England, were meeting at Nairobi in the third annual conference of the Capricorn Society, whose aim is to wipe out inequality most thoroughly and to promote brotherhood among all peoples in Africa. Its president and founder is Col. David Stirling, white, who has the strong backing of the Colonial Office in London, now hard-pressed with racial passions such as Strijdom loves to arouse.

The London Daily Mail said it could be the means that will permit the whites to stay in Africa. "It is the answer," it says, "of practical men—with a streak of idealism—to the racial hatreds, both black and white, which are rising like a fire along the entire bushland of that belt of Africa which has the Equator as its pivot." It holds that "all races and colors of Africa should have one common citizenship and a common roll for voting!"

THE DAILY MAIL reporter on the scene, said, "Capricorn has, without doubt, produced an historic document. Just as America drew up a Constitution to bind the different states of a vast country, so has Capricorn written a Constitution to bind those of a country far greater in riches.

"On moral, legal and humanitarian grounds it is unassailable. To the European it provides a stable way of life which will at last enable him to exercise his powers of leadership in the opening up of Africa. To the African it is valid and exciting because he helped to write it and it removes the frustration of racial hatred and gives him the chance to participate in the creation of his nation."

He adds that thinking whites and blacks at the conference realized that race relations in Africa had reached the point of no return and that diehard whites in Africa must realize that unless policies like those of Capricorn win, "they will not last much longer in this land (Africa). Of that there is not the slightest doubt for without a plan of some sort we shall not be in Africa another decade . . . It matters not how you argue, you fail by extremism, white or black."

Strijdom, however, told London and the Empire that he didn't intend to yield an inch and that "in any case at least 90 per cent of the white population of my own country are determined no matter what the consequences to ensure the continued existence of the white race."

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

LONDON—Of all the European lands, the one with the most anti-Americanism is perhaps England. And in the reason for it, there's a thought for foes of the Negro in America. Just as the latter resent seeing Negroes, former slaves, winning equality with them, so the British, a people bound to history and tradition, cannot forget that Americans, former colonials, once took orders from them.

Mr. Rogers

And this feeling towards America didn't begin only since America got on top. Turn to your histories and you'll see that as late as the early nineteenth century Englishmen were saying of white Americas things quite as bad as white Americans say of Negroes. "A race of convicts," the celebrated Dr. Johnson called them.

I FOUND the English reticent on anti-Americanism, but when I said it was well known in America, most of them opened up. One well known writer, in addition to the above-mentioned cause, gave the following other reasons:

1. American has turned England into a permanent air-craft carrier and the fact that the English can't protest openly, makes it all the more galling. "We're an occupied country," he said.

2. American foreign policy is taking them into things they do not know. It is too impulsive, and on top of that, inexperienced.

3. The darker races are becoming increasingly anti-white and when America ill-treats Negroes, they, the English, get the blame for it since they are white. England's future, they say, lies with the darker races, especially Africa. The Till and the Lucy cases, he said, did more harm in West Africa than the visit of Queen Elizabeth there did good.

OTHERS MORE plain-spoken called America a warmonger; that she was provoking a war with Russia in which case they would be the first to get hit. "And we're sick of war. America dragged us into Korea and she will into other wars, too."

Europe is sick of war. Nothing brought it home to me more strongly than the July 14 parade down the Champs-Elysees, Paris. It was like a funeral instead of the once vivacious affair I used to know. When President Coty came by with his imposing escort of Garde Republicaine on magnificent horses, the applause was so faint you could hardly hear it. The great generals and political leaders got even less. When I asked the French friend I was with the reason, he said, "We're sick of war and politics." The jet-black African regiment and the spahis from Morocco got the only real applause. The people felt there are some dark people still with them.

The Italians are even more disillusioned. The left-wing Nennis and the Communists swept the last election. Some sort of revolution is brewing here in Europe. You can almost feel it in the air.

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

THE RACE riots in Tennessee and Kentucky made an even greater stir in Europe than in the USA. The English, French, Italian, German, Scandinavian and other papers had them for days on the front page. In France the riots got much greater publicity than France's two burning questions: Algeria and Suez.

Mr. Rogers

For instance, France-Soir, leading French daily, of Sept. 5, gave five of its eight front-page columns to a picture of Negro school children being rioted against, while it had only a half-column on Algeria and less than a column on Suez on the front page. Below the picture of Negro children was another picture of the riot. This other picture was two columns, and about six inches deep, while the top one was about ten inches deep. The issue of Sept. 6 had another large front page picture, showing a soldier holding a rioter at bay. Other French papers, including Humanite, Communist organ, also had pictures and stories on their front pages while Le Monde, another daily, began a series of articles by Henri Pierre: "The South, No. 1 Problem of the USA."

THE ENGLISH papers as the London Daily Express and the Daily Mail also had it on their front pages for days. None of these papers showed any sympathy for the rioters, while two such widely apart organs as the Osservatore Romano of the Vatican and Pravda, official organ of Communist Russia, denounced the riots in strongest terms. The Vatican paper called them a crime against God, nature and civilization and demanded "full punishment" for the racists. Pravda of Sept. 5 had three news stories and called the riots an "outrage." Tass, Soviet news agency, blamed Eisenhower for pussyfooting at his press conference. While Eisenhower had expressed regret at the violence, he refused to say whether he supported the Supreme Court decision, said Tass. Pravda added: "The sinister events in the United States smack of the most unbridled forces of barbarism."

AN ARAB newspaperman tells me that the Arab press played up the riots with great satisfaction. "We're lucky," he said, "that this happens during the quarrel over Suez as it helps to stiffen the attitude of the East towards the West." I haven't had any report yet from the Indian, Chinese and Indonesian press, but one thing's certain: they, too, made the most of it.

You might wonder why Europe is so concerned over America's race problem—more concerned than America, herself. Remember Lothrop Stoddard's "Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy." Well, the darker races are getting more and more bitter against white people, and should anything happen, the whites here, being near Asia and Africa, will be the first to get it. And don't forget, Russia is behind them. Therefore, any time America has a race riot, ill-feeling for the USA increases all over Europe.

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier P.8

THE Research Institute of America with a membership of 30,000 business firms and a staff of 600 gave an analysis, pro and con, of the cold war between Russia and the United States (N. Y. World-Telegram, March 27), that ought to make Americans think and think hard. Especially on the desegregation issue.

Mr. Rogers

Pointing out the immense role of strategy in the cold war and in which the Soviets are past masters, it declares that their new tactics are "far more subtle and shrewd than Stalin's and have been dramatically effective to date . . . We now face a much more dangerous and wily foe . . ."

Sat. 4-14-56

AND WHAT'S our strategy like? Says the report, "The desegregation crisis in the Southern states has given the world Communist movement a gigantic propoganda handle which it has latched on to with its customary resourcefulness. Every new tension between Negroes and whites in the South is being publicized among the majority of the world's people who are colored. Needless to say the extraordinary progress made by the Negro over the last ninety years and particularly in the most recent past, is virtually unknown among the nations being beset by Soviet propaganda. The result has been a greater and greater hostility to the United States."

And that isn't all. The truth is so fantastic it's hard to believe. Who is doing most to give Russia this mighty weapon? A United States Senator, James Eastland—the same man chosen by the Senate to lead the fight against the Communists. That's the sort of strategy only a hopeless lunatic would be expected to use.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THOSE NINETEEN Senators and eighty-one Congressmen who presented a manifesto against the Supreme Court decision to Congress took care to say they'd use lawful means. But the Soviets and some others played it up as a serious split in the nation.

William Faulkner, world-famed writer, did his bit, too, to help the propaganda against his own country when he said the South would revolt rather than yield and that he, himself, would go out into the streets and shoot down Negroes.

This weapon that Eastland, Faulkner, and their self-deluded kind give so generously to Red strategy, strikes even more at the heart of America. Most of the raw material we need comes from lands of colored peoples, as oil, uranium, bauxite, chrome, tin, diamonds, cobalt, copper, natural rubber. "A fatal weakness . . . the United States and Western's dependence on imported raw materials from Asia, Africa and South America," says the report. The Communists in setting these colored peoples against America look forward to when they will have the monopoly of these necessities.

In short, if color-crazed segregationists persist in feeding Communist propaganda, they might succeed in what their slave-holding ancestors failed to do bac kin 1865—wreck this nation.

Mississippi, the thirty-first state in area and the twenty-sixth in population, according to the 1950 census, was the twentieth state admitted to the Union. Its motto is "By Valor and Arms."

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier P.10

BLUNTLY speaking President Eisenhower's and Attorney General Brownell's proposed civil rights measures are a waste of time. Southern juries would pass on the violators and acquittal would be certain. Eisenhower's plan to call the Governors of the states together if Congress does not give him the law he asks for, is equally futile. What would a Southern Governor do with his political future at stake?

Sat. 2-28-56

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Rogers

I suggest this instead. We have a United Nations for world problems, why not a union of our states for this domestic problem? Let Eisenhower ask the Legislatures of the states to declare on what side they are as was done in 1861. At least thirty-seven of the forty-eight would stand with him and the Supreme Court ruling. If that thirty-seven show some determination, how long would the recalcitrant eleven hold out?

■

WILL THE present generation of Americans get-together and take an effective step to end an evil that has plagued America for 250 years—an evil that has diverted this nation from its proclaimed ideal like a man who sets himself a high goal, but has never been able to reach it because he hasn't the strength of will and the courage to overcome the one defect that keeps him from it.

In spite of the stirring declaration that all men are born free and equal, slavery was written into the Constitution. In Article 1 Negroes are classified as three-fifths of a human being. This starting off on the wrong foot caused innumerable evils, as the great Civil War.

After the Civil War there was a chance for a good start again. But the victorious North fumbled. It chose white unity and trade in the South rather than justice. The Supreme Court with its jim-crow ruling, undid the sacrifices made in the war. And the immense irony of the whole thing was though it was the Negro who had provided the balance of power that saved the Union—Lincoln said so several times: "The colored population is the great available force for saving the Union," he wrote—yet, the very element from whom the Negroes rescued the Union, came back to Congress and were openly permitted to damn them and work against them—among them Benjamin Tillman of most execrable memory.

■

ANOTHER SETBACK occurred in 1913, when the Solid South as the result of cheating the Negro of the vote, triumphed and brought Woodrow Wilson to the White House. The South has been in the saddle since. It is whenever the Democrats are in power in Congress. Here, again, but for the race question there would have been no Wilson to take America into World War I with all the slaughter and mess that has followed since.

In any case, something will have to be done. When Thomas Jefferson saw how Negroes were being treated, he said, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just." Had he lived thirty-five years longer, he would have seen Americans engaged in awful slaughter over it. And those with a sense of justice do tremble today. The peril is no longer national but world-wide — "The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy"—Russia's most effective weapon.

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier P.10

Sat. [illegible]

TO CONTINUE on what I said last week of Soviet strategy and the darker races. Painting Stalin now in his true light is rightly viewed as strategy. But is it not likely, too, that Kruschev, Malenkov, Mikoyan, had to wait till it was safe? Had they done this while Stalin was alive, where would they be now? When you buck the party in a democracy, you only lose your job. In a dictatorship, your head.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Rogers

Stalin was a monster. If he wasn't, he'd never have risen to power. He was born of that spirit of revenge bred in the Russian masses by many centuries of Czarist cruelty. The extreme brutality visited on the Czarists when the masses came to power in 1917 was as inevitable as the massacre of the French whites in Haiti by the slaves. You can't ride roughshod over a people and expect them to be lambs when their day of power comes.

STALIN WAS as shrewd as he was cruel. It's thanks to this that Russia is as powerful as she now is. He had a vision and was merciless to all who stood in his way. And he knew how to win the unwary. Truman was so impressed by his genial front, he called him "Good old Joe." But he took from Truman everything but his shirt. And how he outsmarted Roosevelt at Yalta and Teheran is common knowledge.

Russia is out for supreme power. This struggle between her and the United States will go on like that between Rome and Carthage; England and France, until one wins. And unless America learns some of that Russian shrewdness, she is doomed. McArthur sees this clearly.

As a student of history, I'm appalled at the simple simon nature of America's handling of world affairs. Woodrow Wilson allowed Britain to talk him into World War I, and Churchill did Roosevelt into World War II. Remember how Churchill said he had worked and prayed for it? Entry in those wars made things worse for America. She downed the Kaiser and got Hitler; Hitler and then got Satin. Truman's Korean war made Russia stronger by driving China into her arms. Today America finds herself in a hopeless international bog which gets worse the more she tries to struggle out of it.

■

AMERICA'S CHANCE of remaining in Asia is slim indeed. She has now the merest toehold there. Look at the map of Asia! The far greater part of it is Russian. And with China and Indo-China, she dominates nearly all of it. Britain, France, Germany, Holland, who were once strongly entrenched there, were pushed out.

Russia is more than three times the size of the United States. She stretches from the Elbe, Germany, to within a few miles of Alaska, over 7,000 miles. And what's more important; she's as rich (or richer) in natural resources as the USA. Now what will happen if Russia ever opens her territory to the teeming millions of China and India as America did to Europe in the 1850's.

One hope from the eventual supremacy of Russia is the falling apart of her union of republics. Still more promising is for America to find some way to convince the darker races she isn't the enemy she is said to be. The first step towards this must be the ending of racial injustice.

History Shows . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier 8/10

AS A STUDENT of American history I find, running through its entire length, the tendency of some one strong group to persecute and harass weaker groups and individuals. And the methods used are the same. For instance, when I read recently that a moving man in Detroit whispered to a neighbor that parently white, a family, apparently white, he had just moved in, was Negro and that some 500 whites had gathered at the house in angry protest, my mind went right back to New England of 1692. Someone then would whisper that this group or neighbor practiced witchcraft and he'd be lucky to escape hanging or imprisonment. In Salem, Mass., hundreds were arrested; 19 hanged, and one pressed to death. Of course, all were guiltless. Witchcraft was purest delusion. These victims were white.

Mr. Rogers

Pittsburgh Pa.

NOW I find an exact parallel between this and attacks on citizens for a condition in which they are equally guiltless—a difference of color in the skin. And the utterly fantastic thing is that though a color-line is written into the laws, colored can become white and white colored. Ray Sprigle, white newspaperman, has been telling how he posed as a Negro in the South for 30 days. Also, the late Prof. H. B. Moens, a typical blond Nordic, told how he travelled jim crow as a Negro undisturbed through the South.

Sat. 5-12-56

I was also taken back to New England in 1652 by Jim Bishop's "Dynamite in Dixie," recently published in the New York Journal-American. He says of the White Citizens Councils, "They wring fear from the other whites in a town because they have the power to hurt by tongue and by boycott. The average family can win the grudging approval of the Citizens Council by being merciless to Negroes at all times.

"Up in Holmes County, Miss., two white men are still fighting desperately to save their farm by denying again and again that they let Negroes use their swimming pools."

■

NOW THIS is the exact tactic used against Quakers 300 years ago. And Quakers were white. Entertain a Quaker in your home and you were an outcast, not to mention the heavy fine against it. You could not even sell or hire him a horse. As for marriage with one, it was viewed with horror.

Much the same was once true of the Irish. There were heavy fines against their living in certain areas. Their churches and convents were burned in Boston. The first St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York was set afire; and once for days mobs raged against them in New York and Philadelphia.

Since the Civil War, the whites have become more united. The heat once playing on Quakers, Catholics, Jews, Italians and others, is now turned on the Negro. But it is safe to say that with our penchant for persecution, were there no Negroes, some white group, most likely Jews, would be it. The Ku Klux Klan which, as seen in a recent television appearance, is very much alive, also includes Jews, Catholics and foreign-born whites.

History Shows . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier 8/10

MANY who attack jim crow in the South talk as if jim crow in the North is just as bad. The U. S. News and World Report even finds a similarity between New York's Puerto Rican problem and Southern jim crow. It says, "Trouble over segregation is not now limited to the South. Look at New York City. The problem arises from the 103,000 Puerto Ricans and the 109,000 Negroes in the school population.

Mr. Rogers

Pittsburgh Pa.

It adds, "Puerto Rican pupils, because of difference in language and background are placed in separate 'orientation' classes. Thus, classes operate side by side, one room filled with Puerto Rican children, the second with other students from whom they are segregated during school hours . . . Puerto Rican pupils are giving New York its toughest integration problem . . . basically, it's the same question as that facing the South . . ."

Sat. 5-5-56

NOTHING OF the sort. The writer mixes language and so-called race. Puerto Ricans, black and white, are in the same classes in New York. In the South they'd be segregated not only according to language, but to "race" also. In New York, the problem would be the same for any group that didn't speak English—Germans, Danes, or even Africans living among American Negroes.

9.10

The effect of pointing to jim crow in the North when the South is mentioned, is to take guilt off the South and slow-down justice there. See, you are as bad as I am, therefore I'll go on being bad; but jim-crow practice is punishable in the North; in the South not to practice it, is punished. In the North Negroes are urged to vote. In parts of the South some have lost their lives when they tried to.

The New York Post in a series of articles, "Jim Crow in New York," by Ted Poston goes into the difference between the two sections thoroughly. He quotes a truck driver, "I'd rather be a lamp-post in Harlem than mayor of Brunswick, Ga., where I came from. I wouldn't take no part of Georgia if you gave it to me—and that goes for Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama . . ."

■

IN SHORT, if the South right now was to have the same degree of jim crow as the North, the tension there would be immensely lessened. However, the use of Southern jim crow to attack Northern one is having a good effect. It's making Northerners look to their own dirty linen. The churches are awakening. Negro and white pastors are exchanging pulpits. Desegregation in public housing is increasing. And Hulan Jack, a Negro, Borough President of Manhattan, America's richest district, recently announced a plan for desegregating Harlem.

However, the Northern Negro with his greater freedom, had better not be too smug. It's to his interest to help fight jim crow in the South because as long as it exists there, he, himself, will never be entirely free from it.

Pittsburgh Pa.

pages.

As I read these and other items, I keep asking myself, "Why, why, why, do the folks here seem so unconcerned about color; and in America it's almost a monomania?" Those here are quite as white as in America. In the Latin Quarter are scores of African students who are as dark as it is possible for any human to be. They can be seen on the boulevard or at sidewalk cafes with very blond girls and no one seems to take any notice unless Americans. One of them who saw an African on a scooter with a blonde, her arms about his waist, burst out with a remark that can't be repeated here. He must have thought that no one about understood English.

Sat. 7-7-56

SO FAR as I've seen the American invasion has not increased color prejudice here. As I see these whites and blacks harmonizing I feel that the whites must regard the blacks only as human beings. They seem quite unconscious of racial differences. Everywhere I see Negroes being treated with perfect courtesy. The other day I saw a very dark African enter a high-class cafe with a strikingly beautiful blond and the headwaiter greeted them smiling. In Amer-

weren't to be taught trades.

■

FURTHERMORE, the first American colonists were much less prejudiced at a time (as in 1790) when the colonies, especially Virginia, had a higher percentage of Negroes than now. Real color prejudice didn't start until after the Civil War. Negroes bought white people and marriage of black and white was forbidden in few states. In Tennessee, mixed couples had to pay an extra tax. There are those still alive who remember when the South hadn't a jim-crow car. In short, color prejudice is cultivated in America because it's profitable. Also it can be used to make persons of wretched mentality feel they're somebody.

In short, it's the duty of every Negro and right thinking white American never to yield an inch to racists.

History Shows . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier 9/8

I HAVEN'T seen a Negro newspaper since I've left but am keeping up with race happenings from the papers here. In one day I read of the big race riot near Detroit; the bus boycott that has started in Tallahassee, Fla.; and James F. Byrnes' childish blast against the Supreme Court. In the London Express I saw the picture of Mrs. Roosevelt and Miss Lucy at the big Madison Square Garden meeting on the front

Mr. Rogers

ica, I'm sure she wouldn't appear with him in public. Now and again I see a white man with a black girl. Colored women are as scare here as white women in Negro Africa. One Montmartre night club has all black girls and it's very popular.

Of course, I know many will say that if the whites had the same percentage of blacks as the States there'd be prejudice. Entirely false. Whites and blacks have beeen meeting and mating in Europe long before Rome with no prejudice. And most of the countries, including Holland, had Negro slaves at some time. Descendants of the latter rose at times to be kings and generals. Even in England the Negro slaves were well treated though in 1730, London had a law that black

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

"THERE'S a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune," says Shakespeare. The Negro in America is at just such a tide now.

He is the most talked of group in the world today as I pointed out recently. And the publicity increases daily. Carl Rowan in his new book, "The Pitiful and the Proud," tells of the immense interest about him in India. Similar reports come from China, Japan, Africa, Europe, South America. He is featured in almost every American daily. In addition to its eight-page supplement on the South, the New York Times has had four features on the Negro in the North; and the New York Daily News carried the wedding of Autherine Lucy on its front page beside that of Margaret Truman.

Mr. Rogers

NOW THE question is, What are Negroes doing to benefit b yall this publicity, most of which is in their favor. Beside, their position is strategic, especially in politics, where they could hold the balance of power. This is a crucial election year. And both parties are courting them. As Drew Pearson said, "Intense political jockeying has broken out with Democrats fighting Republicans and vice versa to win the favor of Negro voters."

Let's suppose Negroes were united under a single leader, as say, Montgomery is under the Rev. M. L. King, and this leader had behind him the votes of the three million or more Negroes of voting age and were to say that these votes would go in a block to either party that would end this insanity about color. Why, such a leader would steal the limelight at the convention of both parties. The vote and the dollar are the two mightiest forces in American life. And they know no race. The surrender of the bus company in Montgomery is but a small token of what would happen were Negroes to unite.

BUT, ALAS, while there are many, many leaders, there is no leader. And most of these leaders are leading for themselves. Most of Negro leadership strays away from the main highway—the winning of first-class citizenship—into a thousand and one little tracks that end up in a blind alley. Things that ought to be put first are put last, if not ignored altogether. And this when everything has to be fought for every step of the way. Not one single item of civil rights has come as a gift. Everything has been won the hard way. Would you realize what an intense struggle it has been? Look through the Crisis, organ of the NAACP, since its publication in 1910.

Let's hope that the younger generation of Negroes will awake to what really counts. And they must know the history of their group. I'm sure that if Negroes knew what they have contributed towards making America the greatest nation on earth today, they'd unite to end their second-class status.

History Shows . . . . . .

ROME . . . In comfort, convenience, quality of food, Europe is far behind the United States. The cost of living, too, is nearly as high; and if you're a visitor, higher than New York. But the change is worth it. Seeing these places again is a tonic. And besides one is far, far away from the eternal color question. I met a colored American, who said that while she longed for home sometimes, it was a relief to be here. She lives in a very fine new apartment in one of the choicest residential sections. I can say she absolutely wouldn't get such a place in any white building anywhere in America. She is quite dark but she had no trouble getting it and no one has ever complained.

Mr. Rogers

AS A TOURIST CITY, Rome is becoming more than ever a rival of Paris. I came as I thought ahead of the tourist season, but it was impossible to get a hotel—all already filled. I had finally to take a pension at $8 a day, with food that kept me rushing for bicarbonate of soda. I would have had better in New York for $4. Most of the tourists I talked with are sore the way they're being gypped. It was even worse in Sicily. I took some friends from the boat to see Palermo. What was the first thing the taxi driver did? Put his cap over the meter. I go now by bus. One can travel miles that way for less than three cents.

MUCH, OF COURSE, is due to the tourist trade. People from as far as Norway flock here in great palatial buses. And what brings them? The historical sights. Which reminds me of the wail against history a writer made in The Courier the other day. Historical sights are pulling Italy and especially Rome out of the barrel. One sees the history of the Caesars before his eyes and the sight is thrilling. If you've never seen the Coliseum, the Foro Romano, the Baths of Caracalla, St. Peter's Cathedral, the Vatican Museum, you're missing a lot.

Those earlier Romans built on an overwhelmingly grand and magnificent scale. And from where did they get the vision? Egypt. Rome, today, must thank a black woman—Cleopatra. When she came to Rome with Julius Caesar, she brought hundreds of Egyptian architects, artists, astronomers and scientists, who reformed the Roman calendar, raised the standard of culture, and started Rome on the great city it was to be. These scientists were probably black or dark, too.

Yes, Cleopatra was black and was known as such until white racists, mostly American, began stealing the black man's history. Shakespeare called her "black" in Antony and Cleopatra. Ripley, in his "Believe It or Not," says she was "fat and black." It's quite likely she was fat.

Naples without Pompeii and Rome without her grand historical sights would hardly draw more tourists than Liverpool, England. Italians of the past left a legacy that those of today are cashing in on. And how!

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

LISBON. This is one of the most beautiful cities in the world and for scenic beauty eclipses even Paris. It is hilly, rising in some places to 700 feet. One is struck first of all, by the extreme cleanliness. Not a piece of litter even in the poorest neighborhoods. Quite a contrast to New York or Chicago.

Mr. Rogers

Everywhere beauty greets the eye. The sidewalks are mosaic and so are the public squares with their magnificent monuments of great men. Even the jail is of striking architectural beauty. The public housing is a delight to the eye, looking more like artistic private residences and quite unlike the overgrown, monstrous piles in New York. While we have attained the highest standard of living and personal comfort in America, we have neglected beauty and our cities are drab and uninspiring compared with a small and poor country like Portugal.

THE PARKS of the city are surpassingly lovely. I have seen lovely parks and gardens in Miami, Mobile and Pasadena, but the Edward VII Park here eclipses them all. Nowhere else in Europe or America have I seen any place more enchanting than the botanical garden, called the Winter Garden.

At a time when Eastland and other racists are claiming that a Negro admixture brings ruin and degeneracy, it is important to remember that Portugal at the height of its power had a large percentage of Negro strain. Its most ancient inhabitants were of African stock; then came Hannibal with his black soldiers; then the Moors from Africa in the eighth century, who dominated it for the next 500 years. In 1440, what was later to be the great slave-trade to the New World originated there. Azurara in his "Conquest of Guinea" describes the arrival of the first batch of 250.

They came in such numbers that in time blacks outrumbered whites in Lisbon, and Southern Portugal was largely Negro. Blacks and whites, who were of Germanic stock, mixed so freely that in time the ruling family of Portugal was Negroid. We have the clearest proof of this fr visitors of that time, as e Duchess d'Abrantes, wife c Napoleon's ambassador, who rrote how surprised she was a seeing the ruler, John VI, "wi enormous head with its ro hair, which, moreover, was quite in harmony with his thick lips, his African nose and the color of his skin." Though we have here the words of an eyewitness, the tendency is to deny it now. One white professor at City College, New York, once contradicted me flatly on this. John VI, he said, had "adenoids," that is why his portraits look so Negroid. Among other great Portuguese of Negro ancestry were the Marquis de Pombal, Antonio Vieira, and Sousa Martins. I've given other details in the chapter on Portugal in my "Sex and Race."

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Roge

Courier P.10 — Sat. 6-16-56 — Pittsburgh, Pa.

NICE—Are Americans the most disliked people on earth? Raymond Cartiers in "Why the Americans Are Detested Today in the Whole World," says they are in Match, leading French magazine. One can make the tour of the whole world, he says, and he will find anti-Americanism frequently the single trait common to nations and groups, even among people violently opposed to each other as the South African whites and the South African blacks. The whites hate Americans for their anti-colonialism, and the blacks because the Americans practice segregation like their whites.

Mr. Rogers

Yet, he says, America has been most generous to the rest of the world. "Since the war she has distributed $52,287,000,000, of which $45,107,000,000 was in outright gifts. With this sum America could have built all its roads and created a super-nation surpassing all possibilities of the Russians.

"Europe has received most of this generosity, but these billions, as well as the millions given by private individuals, have not made Europeans like Americans any better than do South Americans and Asians.

■

HE GIVES several reasons for this dislike as that the Americans transport America with them and try to change the world to their way. They have a deadly fear of contagion and now 11 years after the war some bring sterilized food with them. (N. B.: In this they are justified, because in France and Southern Europe, glasses and dishes are washed in cold water and often without soap, thus increasing infection from typhoid and tuberculosis.)

The USA, to combat, anti-Americanism "covers or furrows the whole world with centers of information—libraries, exhibits, movie projections, broadcasts, etc., etc.—in all the capitals of the world. The list of such places is as long as your arm—a formidable bureaucratic activity all done at terrifying cost," he says.

He quotes one American official as saying the chief cause for dislike is, "We're too rich and we hold now too great a place in the world. Our unpopularity, therefore, is inevitable."

■

I HAVE come to the conclusion, however, that the dislike for Americans is not for the individual, but for their foreign policy, which to my thinking is a mess since Woodrow Wilson. One does not hear of Americans being attacked or insulted anywhere. My general impression is that the American tourist here is fine and friendly. In Rome when I entered an "American" bar, a man with his wife hailed me and answered with some hesitation that he was from Florida.

The strongest anti-Americans in Europe are American Negroes who come here to escape jim crow. Some here for 30 years or more are very bitter.

As regards the treatment of the Negro, M. Cartier thinks it is a very powerful and long-lasting anti-American weapon. I will give this next week with impressions I've gathered here.

History Shows

Courier P.10 — Pittsburgh, Pa. — Sat. 6-23-56

LAST week I mentioned Raymond Cartier's article, "Why Americans Are the Most Detested People in the Whole World Today" and gave some of his reasons. One of the foremost of these, he says, is our race question. "The condition of the Negro in America is an anti-American weapon more lasting than McCarthy. It offsets the official reports and all the propaganda efforts made among foreign colored peoples.

Mr. Rogers

In Europe it is the answer of the white nations angry at American pronouncements against colonialism. It is flagrant hypocrisy to advocate the emancipation of Bantus of the African equatorial forests while Negroes are killed in Alabama and Mississippi simply because they look at a white woman . . .," he says.

■

NOW THAT I am on this side of the Atlantic, I'm seeing that the treatment of the Negro is a greater anti-American weapon that I even thought. I conclude now it's the greatest, the most used. I was told that in Rome, a huge picture of Autherine Lucy was hung across Via Nazionale, the principal street, praising her bravery. And it wasn't done by the Communists, either. This, together with the murder of Emmitt Till, greatly embarrassed the American embassy.

The Voice of America and the U. S. Information Service in the different countries do their best to combat this, but while a comparative few know of them, millions read the newspapers, which play up even the most trivial incidents. For instance, French and Italian papers of May 21, took seriously what a Ku Klux leader in Florida said, namely, that America was getting ready for another Civil War over the Negro.

■

I HAVE been hearing both in Italy and France from people who ought to know better some of the most fantastic things. One high official said that the feeling between whites and Negroes is so strong in Harlem that no white people are allowed in there. One woman said that in Alabama and Mississippi white people will not sell Negroes a loaf of bread.

And as I said, some of the worst anti-Americans are American-born Negroes who have made their home here. Some have very poorly paid jobs, but they say they have at least peace of mind. One man whom I first met in France in 1925, said, "Since fate threw me at birth among white people, I am going to stay here. The people here dont' know they are white, while in America they never forget it for an instant. My color here is taken quite naturally; in America, it's a crime to be black. Better the hardships of Europe than the contempt of America."

■

THIS VERY bad name that that America has on the treatment of the Negro, could do the same to her as it did to Hitler in his treatment of Jews. While the politicians and the enemies of America use it not so much because they love Negroes, but are jealous of America's power and prosperity, I believe the majority of Europeans are inspired by humanitarian reasons, especially as it is very fantastic to most of them that people should be persecuted for what they positively cannot help—their color.

History Shows

Courier P.10 — Sat. 6-9-56 — Pittsburgh, Pa.

ROME . . . Why do American can flock to Europe? I came because I needed a change and could at the same time do historical research in the libraries and museums and also try to inteerst European publishers in my books—I've never had any luck with American ones. In short, my reasons are largely "racial."

Mr. Rogers

That's not so with the white American tourist. Anxious to know his reason, I asked many on the boat and others I met here. Most said they just wanted to get away; they were glad to go and will be glad to get back. But several were more precise. One insurance executive said emphatically, "I came for a breath of freedom. America is no longer a free country—so many movies you mustn't see; so many pictures, books, plays you mustn't either. In America I feel myself more and more mentally fenced in. I'm not in Europe."

■

HE CITED an Italian movie about some peasant woman who believed she had a virgin birth. "That movie," he said, "was banned in New York through the work of the Legion of Decency, a Catholic organization. It was only after the case was taken to the Supreme Court we were allowed to see it. It was shown entirely in Rome, itself."

That reminded me of "Stromboli," another Italian picture. It was cut up in America. It was uncut in Rome. I saw it uncut in Copenhagen.

I asked him why we have so many restrictions in America. "It's our heritage of puritanism, plus Irish Catholicism," he said. "European Catholics are decidedly more liberal. Irish Catholics are doing their best to make America as colorless and monotonous as they have made Ireland. Big business, too."

A retired college professor who said he came to Europe every year for the same reason, said, "In France I can read 'Humanite,' the Communist newspaper, openly. But in America if I'm seen with the Daily Worker, I'm at once dubbed a Communist, though I'm not, and am merely reading it because I want to know what the Reds are thinking."

■

HE ADDED, "We are permitting our monomania against communism to be used to take away more and more of our freedom. Before you know it, we will be like one of the Latin-American lands. Though some are as potentially rich as the United States, they remain poor and disturbed because they have never had any real freedom of speech."

He went on, "The real trouble is, we, Americans, have too great a passion for reform. We want to make everyone 'good'—48 states grinding out laws, some designed to restrict freedom in even the most ethically inclined. Result, we have the highest murder rate, criminality and juvenile delinquency."

When I told him I was going to quote him, he added, "Don't forget to say that I make these criticisms precisely because I love America. I hope to live there a few years yet, and it pains me to see where we are heading."

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier Sat. 1-7-56 p. 4

THE MOST powerful weapon in the cold war is being neglected here, namely, the encouragement and promotion of knowledge on which all progress is made. The hydrogen bomb, the guided missile, the atomic-powered submarine, are all products of knowledge. Knowledge is not only power, it is the supreme power.

Mr. Rogers

Dean John R. Dunning of Columbia recently pointed out that Soviet Russia has a greater respect for learning than the United States—a fact also true of Germany and the Scandinavian lands, and even of most European countries. In our high schools, said the dean, the one most looked up to is the star football player while the budding scientist is ignored.

IN RUSSIA, the scientist, the inventor, the thinker, come before the prize-fighter, the football and baseball player, the jazz artist. Our heroes are those who create diversion, those who make us laugh. The advance of Russia, especially in science, says Dean Dunning inspires "the utmost respect for the quality of their scientific and engineering achievements . . . Some estimates put us several years behind them in certain areas." He points out "the grave danger" of it.

Pittsburgh Pa.

The Russians, kept for centuries in ignorance, have discovered the power of knowledge and have gone in for it with the appetite of a famished man. Another very important fact: While the American mind continues to be cluttered with a lot of dead racial and religious rubbish (some of the latter is sheer superstition inherited from as far back as the ancient Egyptians), the Soviets have tossed all this impediments out of their brains and are preparing to run the race with what is most effective, what most will put them on top.

* * *

THIS LACK of respect for knowledge applies still more to the Negro in America. His heroes even more are those who divert or amuse him. I'm convinced that the head of the average Negro is filled largely with dead rubbish—in short, a badly cluttered attic. Most of what he holds to just isn't so. Why do I say that? Because that was once true of myself. I was, however, able to throw it out on the junk-heap after years of inward turmoil. It all had been put into my head by my elders and I had come to regard it as truth.

The average Negro is on a sidetrack so far as what is most fitted for success in the struggle of life. The other day I went to hear a Negro woman leader speak to a large audience. Her topic was "Unsung Women." I had expected to hear about women like Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth. But all her heroines were Deborah, Ruth, Miriam, and other oversung figures, with the remotest relation to her present struggle for freedom.

History Shows . . . .

Courier Sat. 1-21-56 p. 9

I FEEL rather optimistic about 1956. Three events in the holiday season have contributed largely to this: The superb performance of William Warfield in Handel's "Messiah" with the Schola Cantorum; the Sugar Bowl game in New Orleans, which was a distinct defeat for Governor Griffin of Georgia, made all the more so by Georgia Tech's smashing victory—Tech students had made it clear to Griffin that they were much more interested in sports than his jim-crow program, and Dr. Carol M. Leevy in "Medical Horizons" on television.

Mr. Rogers

Dr. Leevy, who wore a U. S. Navy uniform (and of whom I must learn more), is one of America's greatest authorities on diseases of the liver, and as I understood it, is head of the Liver Department of a medical centre in Jersey City, N. J. The fluency with which he spoke during the half-hour interview; his demonstration of the use of delicate instruments, and his questions to his white assistants, show that he is a master in his field.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

MANY, MANY millions saw these three programs and I'm sure that no one with a brain that wasn't petrified with prejudice could help being convinced that talk of the inferiority of Negroes belong to slave days in Old Virginny.

Another cheering fact for 1956 is that it's election year. Candidates of both parties are going to be forced to come out in the open against White Citizens' Councils and the like. Kefauver and Stevenson, Democratic candidates, have already laid it on the line. Eisenhower, while not as forceful, has urged in his January message that individuals be judged by their worth and not by "color, race or religion." He also promises to recommend to Congress "a program further to advance the efforts of the Government within the area of Federal responsibility to accomplish these objectives."

Of course, candidates are usually more influenced by votes than by what's right. But matters are working up to a climax that will force the two parties to do less shadow-boxing than in the past. And it's up to the Negro voter to see to that. Negroes must fight jim crow as they never did before. Make it clear that those who do the most between now and November will get your vote, regardless of party.

THE PRESSURE of world events, especially Russia's use of our jim crow and racial injustice, in the cold war, is also going to force America's hand even more, so much so that I predict the White Council, Griffin, Talmadge, Byrnes, and their kind are really going to find themselves out on a limb, and that their only hope is to cut themselves off and form another petty and ridiculous Dixiecrat party.

Yes, the pendulum is swinging the other way. And it's up to the Negroes to be ready when greater opportunities come. If jim crow were suddenly to be abolished, the vast majority would find themselves just where they are because they aren't prepared.

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Sat. 1-14-56

HISTORIANS love to cite famous "ifs." IF it hadn't rained before the battle of Waterloo! Or IF Hitler had had better weather in Russia! But the most astounding of all "ifs" one I have never seen anywhere—concerns the Negro and America.

Pittsburgh Pa.

What IF the Africans brought to America were of the same color as the masters?

Mr. Rogers

Now man, regardless of color, had always enslaved his fellowman. In Ancient Egypt, blacks, mulattoes and whites enslaved others of all colors. The same in all the Islamic lands. All Western Europe had white slaves. Prof. E. A. Ross in "Caste and Class," tells how badly these white slaves were treated. When the Normans conquered England in 106, they reduced the white English to cruelest slavery (see Macaulay's History of England). The word, "slave," itself is of white origin.

* * *

MILLIONS OF Negroes came into Europe over the centuries also, but there was no color problem because Pagan, Moslem and Christian placed religion above color.

In the United States the first prejudice was not against Negroes, but against white Irish and white Quaker. (See sources in my "Sex and Race," Vol. 3). There were also white slaves who were cruelly treated (see J. B. McMaster and James O'Neal). But the white slaves' color permitted easy amalgamation while that of the Negroes made it possible to hold him in near-slavery even after emancipation.

If the Negro had been of the same color as the master, there would have been no Civil War. The very light Negro was absorbed socially. There would have been no Ku Klux, no jim crow, no Solid South, no Bilbos, Brynes and Eastlands, and the vast amount of energy used in keeping Negroes down would have been used to better America.

Thinking Americans know that. At a recent international student conference at Athens, Ohio, it was pointed out that color prejudice had started a revolution that could shatter Western civilization. The Rev. Richard Shaull, white American missionary from Brazil, said that thinking Americans "tremble when they see what is happening." He adds that the peoples of Latin-America, Asia and Africa "are against our racial pride and will not tolerate our attitude of racial superiority."

New Jersey is known as the "Garden State."

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier

Sat. 2-4-56

THE REV. S. P. Dixon of Norfolk, Va., asks me to send him facts to refute "A Southern Woman" in the Virginian Pilot (Jan 14, '56), who declares that Negroes are an inferior race. But, in my opinion, what she has said no more deserves a rebuttal than if she had said the earth is flat, a belief once very firmly held.

Mr. Rogers

In 1911, the leading students of race in the world met in a "Universal Races Congress" in London and after long deliberation, declared, "The conclusion, therefore, forces itself upon us that there are no inferior or superior races or people but only races and peoples living outside or within the influence of culture."

Pittsburgh, Pa.

NO SCIENTIST of any standing today holds to the inherent inferiority of any so-called race. The racist ones, that is, those with some knowledge of ethnology, as Henry Fairfield Osborn, J. W. Gregory, William McDougal, Henry Champly, either died off or went out of business soon after World War I. Today the doctrine of alleged inferior races is left to politicians of South Africa and our South.

Besides what she said is just a jumble of nonsense. And she got nearly a column for it. She says she is "weary of the sloppy sentimentality in the assertion that God created man equal. Such an assertion denotes ignorance of ancient history and the Bible as well," then goes on to prove from the Bible that there are "three well-defined races" whose ancestors are Shem, Hem and Japheth, of which those of Ham were doomed to slavery.

* * *

NOW THE above is only Jewish folklore. All peoples have their folklore. Theer's a huge thirteen-volume work, "Mythology of All Races," including the African peoples, telling how these ancients thought man originated. With no facts to go on, they spun these things out of their imagination like fairy-tales. But archaeological remains in natural history museums refute ALL these early tales of the origin of man and the earth.

Christians, due to their belief in the Bible, hold on to the Jewish myths and reject all the others, including the one from which the Jews borrowed theirs—the Hindu one. In Southern India are the supposed graves of Adam and Eva (Adama and Ava) and in Ceylon, Adam's Peak with a supposed footprint of Adam. Colored peoples have had their say, too, about the origin of white people (See my "Nature Knows No Color Line").

As regards the supposed curse on Ham. Well, that was one that worked just the other way. The Egyptians were supposed to be descendants of Ham; and the Jews of Shem—Semites. But the children of Shem, supposedly white, were slaves to the children of Ham, supposedly black, for 430 years. (See Genesis, 12:40). But these Bible quoters never mention this.

For people like "Southern Woman" you can't do anything, Reverend. Their brains died a century ago.

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier P.9

A VERY popular statement is that the South should be left to handle the so-called race problem free from Northern interference. Philip M. Brown, former professor of International Law, now resident in the South, virtually says this in the N. Y. Times. "This point of view known historically as States Rights, is still of deep significance to all Americans," he says.

Sat. 2-11-56

Mr. Rogers

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Now while there are many Southerners who, though they live in jim crow as a fish in water, are as free of color prejudice as the freest European, the fact remains that the South is one of the two most backward regions in the world today on so-called race. The other is South Africa. The South is the only area in the New World with jim-crow cars and jim-crow schools. No other land in the two Americas has laws forcing whites and Negroes apart.

* * *

LET'S SEE what would have happened to America if the South had been left alone to solve the problem. Slavery might have still existed. It was Northern arms that got rid of it. And after the Civil War, the South tried to restore slavery as much as possible with its Ku Kluxers, black laws, jim-crow cars, grandfather clauses, and other injustices. The North again had to step in to enforce American citizenship. Of the 3,384 lynchings of Negroes (1882-1936), 3,312 were in the South. It was Northern opposition to lynching that largely brought its decline.

The simple truth is that the more liberal North has been battling with the South ever since the calling of the first Federal Convention in 1787 when the South forced slavery into the Constitution.

And the North, in its own defense, will have to keep up that fight. The South's treatment of the Negro has stalked today into the arena of world affairs. It is no longer a sectional affair. More than two-thirds of the world's population is dark-skinned and the enemies of America, Communist and non-Communist, are using injustice to dark-skinned folk here as a powerful weapon. The Communists are making terrific use of it in India, China, Japan and Africa.

* * *

MISSISSIPPI, with its Till murder,d id incalculable harm to America, of which the South, wily-nilly, is a part. And a radio broadcast said that the Milam brothers got $10,000 for that story in Look. That murder shocked the world. Think what it means when it is said abroad that the murderers "confessed," got cash and go free!

Today, America is involved in world affairs from Patagonia to Khamkatschka. American troops are stationed in forty-six countries of the world. We have a finger in every pie. How then can the North, which is more of America than the South, be silent about great and harmful evils in a part of its own country while it attacks those in other lands?

History Shows

Courier P.10

WHEN William Faulkner, Nobel prize novelist, declares that the South "will accept another Civil War" rather than yield to desegregation, and that it is "armed for revolt," it's clear he's trying to redeem himself in the eyes of his fellow-Mississippians for his terrific blast against them in the Till murder. He says he would "fight for Mississippi against the United States even if it meant going out into the streets and shooting Negroes" though he believed the South is wrong on segregation and the Negroes right.

Mr. Rogers

Sheer bravado. The New York Times in an eight-page report prepared by ten correspondents who traveled for a month over the South found that only five states were dead set against integration—Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia. Some like Texas, Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma, and border ones like Missouri and West Virginia, were actually integrating. The remainder were either divided or were delaying.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

RACE TENSION is hurting Southern business, too. Northern firms who were moving South because of cheaper labor, cheaper power, lower taxes and the like, are hesitating. They find themselves caught up in the squabble. In some areas the unions demand integration which makes such firms unpopular there. Some like the Northern company that owns the Montgomery buses are operating at a loss.

It is to be doubted whether the majority of those in the hostile states above-mentioned would support open revolt. The danger lies the type of hoodlum Faulkner speaks for, and if his word is to be taken, is one himself. Ought not his defi to be sufficient to the Federal Government to be prepared against such mob action?

President Eisenhower has said that "extremists on neither side" will help. Compare what Faulkner advocates with the lawful processes being followed by the Negroes. On the Negro side almost everything is considered extreme such as calling Autherine Lucy, "Miss." One very serious charge against her is that she appeared for registration well dressed, came in a Cadillac, and paid her tuition in hundred dollar bills! The President also proposes a conference of white and colored leaders. What good would it do with die-hards like Faulkner?

Sat. 3-31-56

ONE THING is very clear: Neither the regular Democrats nor the Republicans have any chance of winning that element this year. Those nineteen Senators and eighty-one Representatives from the Deep South with their manifesto to Congress against the Supreme Court ruling have seen the writing on the wall. They know their only hope for reelection is another Dixiecrat party. So pussyfooting isn't going to help any of the regular candidates.

History Shows . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier 1/11

THE AUTHERINE LUCY case is causing a greater national and world-wide stir than even the Till one. In the Till case an element of provocation was alleged, while Miss Lucy is only trying to get education in library science in her state. Then, too, except for South Africa, the South is the only place in the whole world where students of any color may not study together.

Mr. Rogers

For days the Northern dailies have had it on their front pages. So far the New York Post has used it as headline for four days, and the New York Times on its front page every day. Editorials condemning the mob at the University of Alabama have been written galore; likewise radio and television broadcasts.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE N. Y. DAILY NEWS asks what has become of the boasted Southern chivalry towards women. Walter Lippman in the N. Y. Herald-Tribune declares that the sovereign state of Alabama has yielded to mob rule. "The state government connived at mob rule, which is what Governor Folsom did," he charges.

Sat. 2-25-56

Open letters to the dailies have been equally strong. One man in the N. Y. Daily News says, "How can we let a small segment of the nation make fools of us in the eyes of the world? Such Southerners are sick, sick people and ought to be put out of their misery, either by enforced education, or euthanasia before they corrupt other minds." One woman writes, "We, whites, call ourselves civilized. Yet a whole college of so-called highly educated men and women persecute a Negro girl for being born a Negro."

OTHER WRITERS point out what good propaganda it is for the Communists. Which it is. A Moscow broadcast beamed to America used it to attack the joint declaration recently made by Eisenhower and Eden. "It illustrates," it says, "most opportunely and felicitously all the hypocrisy in the joint declaration about the equal rights of peoples of different races, religions and traditions which allegedly exist in the United States." The Boston Post rightly says, "We have handed the Communist conspiracy a weapon to divide the nation."

Universities in England, Scandinavia, France, Germany, it is said, have offered free scholarships to courageous Miss Lucy. One woman writing to the N. Y. Times from Copenhagen tells of the great stir the case "makes in Denmark as well as other European countries." Adding that it is being read by millions, she asks, "Do the students of Alabama realize how much harm they are doing to America seen with European eyes . . . it is a disgusting example of race discrimination and persecution."

* * *

THE PUBLICITY given this case is another nail in the coffin of segregation. While the mob held sway in Alabama, in Philadelphia a Negro woman, Dr. Ruth Hayre, was appointed principal of an unsegregated girls' school.

History Shows

Courier P. 9

WHEN Candidate Adlai Stevenson suggests that desegregation be left out of the coming campaign, he shows how much he's out of touch with the actual situation. Here's an issue that has been appearing for weeks on the front pages of the nation's leading dailies. For instance, the New York Times, America's leading daily, gave nearly three columns to the indictment of the 115 boycotters with picture on the center front page. The New York Journal-American had the same story as its headline with a four-column picture on the front page, while the Washington Post had six stories with picture, all the above appearing on the same day.

Mr. Rogers

Furthermore, newspapers of Latin-America and Europe, and most certainly of Asia and Africa, have shown as much interest. Ollie Stewart, writing from Europe, says, "It has given Europe one of its biggest news stories since the end of the war. The Lucy case continues to push off the front pages of many papers such things as France's troubles in North Africa, Mid-East squabbles and the death toll of icy weather . . . Her picture has been run so often that everybody knows who she is . . ."

* * *

IF, AFTER this, any candidate can get by without mentioning segregation, he'll take the cake as the world's most artful political dodger. Moreover, the die-hard whites of the South are going to see that it isn't ducked. They aren't going to vote for anyone who isn't 100 per cent for them. So Messrs. Kefauver and Stevenson, as well as the Republican candidate might as well speak up.

Worse, the whole thing is heading towards general bloodshed. The whites have been taught that desegregation means the death of the so-called white race. They have had that so much dinned into them that it's now a matter of life and death. Will the Federal Government take the matter in hand and send troops there now? Or will it let the affair drift into open conflict? The mob is already armed and the Negroes are arming. In any case the so-called sovereign state of Alabama is ruled now by the mob.

* * *

IT SEEMS incredible, as the Washington Star says, that all this is happening in America in 1956. Americans are indicted and fingerprinted because they choose to walk to work or use their own cars instead of jim-crow street cars.

Here's what it all boils down to: These prejudiced whites don't want to see Negroes around; they push them apart. But they want their money. Which means that if they could find some way to siphon off the Negroes' cash without seeing them around, they'd do it.

This is the showdown—the closing scene of a great evil with the whole world looking on. The candidate who pussyfoots is going to find he pleases neither side.

History Shows

Courier

"MEDICAL HORIZONS" (WABC-TV), has given another demonstration of the Negro's ability in medicine and surgery. This time from Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn. Dr. Walker of the staff performed an ovarian operation for cancer and explained the use of radioactive gold in the treatment of cancer.

It was televised directly from the operating room and the whole (at least to a layman) showed superb smoothness and skill. As he operated, Dr. Walker explained all to the students gathered in the room. Later, Dr. Harold West, the president, spoke of the school itself, telling what had been, and is being, done. From the ready answers given by Dr. West, Dr. Walker, and others to questions on the treatment of such diseases as leukemia, it is clear they are experts.

Mr. Rogers

Pittsburgh, Pa.

AS I LOOKED on I couldn't help thinking how much better it would be for America if this terrible handicap of color were abolished. I wager that these expert surgeons while they were students not only had all the difficulties of the average white student, but had to use up a lot of energy meanwhile fighting the monster of prejudice. The Negro has certainly distinguished himself in medicine. How much more might he not have done had he the freedom of a white student! No people, not even the Jews, has experienced the steady weight of oppression the Negroes in America have suffered for the past 300 years. Yet, they march steadily upward. Unless I'm mistaken, they will one day take the palm as the most heroic of all peoples.

Another recent event on the constructive side was the presentation of the Gold Award of the Carver Memorial Institute to Cardinal Spellman for having done the most toward better race relations in 1955. Present at the luncheon at the Waldorf were some 200 guests of many nations, races and creeds, among them Asian and African Ambassadors of the UN, as well as Joseph Lederer, Wall Street broker, recipient of the 1954 award.

Sat. 3-17-56

I UNDERSTAND there was some objection to giving it to the Cardinal because of his faith. But on the look of things, are not the Catholics the most active, most determined, in integration? Cardinal Spellman has always been a leader in that field. It was my first meeting with him, and he impresses me as one who radiates love and kindness for his fellowman, regardless of race or religion.

The luncheon award was a triumph, too, for Dr. Robert D. Hobday, head of the Carver Institute, who got together so many influential persons in the cause of brotherhood. Dr. Hobday is devoted to the eradication of color discrimination. He strikes me as possessing the spirit of the abolitionists of the 1860's. A man of moderate means, he is giving, and has been giving, his all and deserves all the support we can give him. President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon sent him their commendations. Dr. Hobday is white.

History Shows

LINCOLN is being quoted over the South as being in favor of jim crow. It is even said that if he were alive he'd be in the White Council. One New York daily seems to think this use of Lincoln is something new. It isn't. Thomas Dixon used Lincoln with great dramatic conviction in his "The Klansman," (1904 and the great Negrophobes — Tillman, Vardaman, Blease, et al—quoted him often in Congress. He was Bilbo's bible, and R. W. Shufeldt used him with telling effect in his "The Negro a Menace to American Civilization." Cannot Lincoln, reputed savior of the Negro, be relied on as a criterion, they say.

Mr. Rogers

HERE'S WHAT Lincoln did say, "I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races—that I am not, nor ever have been, in making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to intermarry with white people and I wish to say in addition to this, there is a physical difference between the white and black races which, I believe, will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of political and social equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live while they remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race." (Speeches and Letters of Abraham Lincoln, pp. 231, 369. 1920).

* * *

LINCOLN WAS in favor of shipping Negroes out of the United States, anywhere so he could get them out. He shipped 500 of them to a desolate island off the coast of Haiti, and when over 100 died of privation, he brought the survivors back. And even after the war he was still for shipping them out, though he had said five times that it was the Negro that saved the Union. For instance, he wroter J. M. Schermerhorn, Sept. 12, 1864, as regards the help Negroes were giving, "Keep it and you can save the Union. Throw it away and the Union goes with it." General Butler had to remind him that Negro babies were being born faster than ships could be built to take them out.

As regards "physical differences" Lincoln saw around him Negroes whiter than himself. One was his valet, William Slade. How could this have been possible had there any insuperable barriers of race?

Lincoln, in short, was a politician, but one with a stronger humanity than the average.

The Golden Gate Bridge, San Francisco, 4,200 feet long, is the longest single span bridge in the world. The George Washington Bridge over the Hudson (3,500) is the second longest.

History Shows

WILLIAM FAULKNER, Mississippian, and Nobel Prize winner, who denounced so strongly the murder of Emmett Till, now virtually defends the very system that caused that atrocity. He attacks the North, especially for its stand on the Lucy case. Mr. Faulkner fails to see that the North loves Negroes so much, but that being much more American-minded, it sees the harm that is being done to America. And what of the attack of the rest of the world?

Mr. Rogers

Life magazine, while not wholly agreeing with Faulkner, urges Negroes to exercise "patience," and urges one and all "to keep it as graduas as may be necessary to keep it peaceful." Will Life please say what is that "necessary" degree of gradualism? Who's making the trouble? A lone, unarmed Negro girl enters a university, and she is mobbed and the mob takes over the state. The girl is expelled.

WHY SHOULD anyone be so careful about hurting the feeling of those who take the offensive in hurting others, Mr. Faulkner?

Your appeal is to sentiment and prejudice. In fact, most of us view this question as racial, political, religious and of likes and dislikes. There was a time when human maladies were viewed in much the same way. It was God's will, or the evil eye, or a punishment for one's sins. But science finally triumphed. Microbes were finally discovered to be the chief cause and cures were effected by killing the microbes.

It's the same thing with this so-called race question. Before the Montgomery boycott, it was a social question there. Then Negroes stopped riding the buses; the owners lost money; the whites had to pay higher fare, and the real reason for all this bellyaching about the alleged superiority of a so-called white skin stood forth naked, namely, ECONOMIC. Africans were brought to this country for the express purpose of getting as much out of them as possible and giving as little as possible. This after three centuries is fundamentally the same motive.

* * *

ONE THING the Southern whites need to be reminded of is that whites have hated other whites with even greater barbarity than they have black folk. Two world wars have proved that. Furthermore, wherever you go in the world—India, Africa, China—you will find people of the same color who feel their hatred of another group is as sacrosanct as that of the Southern white. In Hitler's Germany I saw Jews as white as any German treated worse than Negroes in the South. I recall, too, in New York when I told one Jew how sorry I was at what Hitler was doing to his people, he replied, "I'm damned glad of it. I'm an Eastern Jew and in Berlin the German Jew treated me like a dog." We'll get nowhere until we view such hatreds for what they are—ECONOMIC.

History Shows

I REMEMBER well when the Negro in America was a very negligible quantity. As late as 1930 features about him in the press were very rare. Today they appear galore in leading newspapers and magazines —New York Times, New York Post, Journal-American, Life, Look, and scores of others. From a nobody he has become the most talked-of group in the world.

Mr. Rogers

It is impossible to overestimate this. I see reports of it in every foreign paper I read of or see. Before me is a large sheaf of clippings sent me from Mexico in which America is scored. In a recent convention against injustice in Geneva, the case of the American Negro overshadowed everything else. A N. Y. Times correspondent wrote that the reporters there concentrated on it. A Venezuelan paper wrote: "The United States is playing a very dangerous card . . . People abroad do not say 'some people of the United States' but 'in the United States they persecute Negroes'."

■

AMERICA'S Ambassador to Sweden sharply attacked the Swedish press on this issue charging 'distortion." In short, it is made to appear as a dreadful quarrel among Americans; and that American Negroes are the worst treated people on earth.

But the truth is far otherwise, which, of course is no palliation whatever. Cruelties in Communist prison camps in Russia and China are far worse; or injustices in Kenya and South Africa. The caste system in India is worse than the color-line in America. But all these have now taken a back seat in the world at large.

Why? American holds herself up as a model for all humanity. Haven't we the most bathtubs, the most autos, telephones, highest standard of living, the truest democracy, etc., etc. Now just as an individual who boasts of all the good things he has to others less fortunate, makes himself odious, so does a nation.

■

ANOTHER FACT: America has the appearance of striving desperately to win friends, abroad, rushing gifts everywhere. But she isn't loved. No nation really ever loves another. Trade is the only true bond and they can't trade with her. So though she is less guilty, other peoples just love to find something against her and rub it in.

To top it all this issue so disturbing in America looks so ridiculous to most of humanity that they view it as near to insanity. Color! Something that everything in the world from microbe to man must have if he is to be visible. Nature—God—or what you will—created it. But in America, the degree of pigment in one's skin becomes, by and large, the measure of the man. A little too much of it and be he ever so gifted, cultured, amiable, he is marked down.

"Color prejudice," said Wendell Phillips, "is rebellion against God." Sane people recognize this; America, the world is taught, does not believe that. And with some justice.

Maryland, the forty-first state in area and the twenty-fourth in population, according to the 1950 census, was the seventh of the original thirteen states. The state motto is "Manly Deeds, Womanly Words," and "With the Shield of Thy Goodwill Thou Hast Covered Us."

CARL T. ROWAN

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier Sat. 6-9-56 P. 10

ONE OF AMERICA'S LEADING NEWSPAPER REPORTERS. WINNER OF 10 AWARDS FOR EXCELLENCE, AMONG THEM THE SIDNEY HILLMAN AWARD OF $500 FOR "THE BEST NEWSPAPER REPORTING IN AMERICA" IN 1951. ACE REPORTER OF THE MINNEAPOLIS MORNING TRIBUNE, WHERE HE STARTED AS A COPY-READER. MADE A 6000-MILE TOUR OF THE SOUTH FOR HIS BEST-SELLING BOOK "SOUTH OF FREEDOM", WHICH BROUGHT HIM A CITATION FOR "SERVICE TO HUMANITY." HIS CURRENT BOOK, "THE PITIFUL AND THE PROUD," DEALS WITH INDIA, WHICH HE RECENTLY VISITED. SERVED IN THE NAVY IN WORLD WAR II.

Rowan Says Bias Hurts All America

Defender P. 2 Sat. 6-2-56 Chicago, Ill.

ST. LOUIS—(INS) — A Minneapolis newspaperman and author has charged that reactionary elements in the United States are txploiting racial fears and passions in an attempt to destroy the freedom of white Americans as well as Negroes.

Carl T. Rowan, reporter for the Minneapolis Tribune, in a speech before the National Conference of Social Workers in St. Louis, asserted:

"The merchants of hatred now have set out to discredit and destroy the United States Supreme Court, and if they succeed they will make this country scarcely worth living in for either a white man or a black man."

Rowan claimed that white men are losing their jobs and suffering other penalities because they "dare to suggest even token compliance" with the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation.

The speaker said it would be tragic for all mankind if Americans "do not take steps that will enable the Negro to keep faith in the processes of democracy."

Honor for Rowan

CHICAGO — Carl T. Rowan, Minneapolis Tribune reporter, was named top foreign correspondent by Sigma Delta Chi professional journalism fraternity.

INTEGRATION URGED FOR WELFARE UNITS

New York Times 5-24-56

Special to The New York Times.

ST. LOUIS, May 23—Social workers were called on today to take an active role in desegregation, within their own agencies and in the community.

Carl T. Rowan, author and a reporter for The Minneapolis Tribune, urged the National Conference of Social Work not to be misled by "clichés" that called for inaction in the name of "moderation."

He said that if segregationists succeeded in their attempts they would create a country "in which life is scarcely worth living for either a white man or a black man."

A "slow but forward movement" toward integrating welfare agencies was reported to the conference by Savilla Millis Simons, general secretary of the Young Women's Christian Association.

Reports showed progress in most of the fifty cities studied, she said. Among the findings she listed were:

¶Negroes have been added to agency boards, committees and staffs.

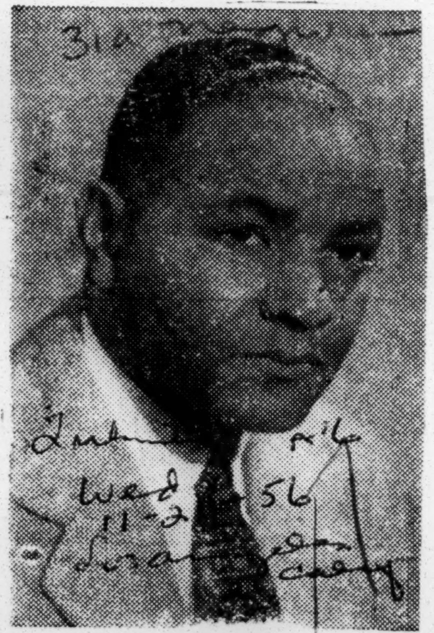
¶Campaigns for welfare funds among Negroes are conducted as part of united drives in thirty-one cities.

Miss Simons said that twenty-five schools of social work agreed that social workers had an obligation to strive for integration in agencies and professional organizations.

White man's "ignorance" deplored

Tribune P. 6 Wed. 11-21-56

ATLANTA — The ignorance of the American white man of the hopes and aspirations of non-whites was deplored by Carl T. Rowan, internationally known newsman and author, speaking at the opening of the Atlanta university Book Fair here.



CARL ROWAN

His recent travels in Asia and Africa supplying the material for his book, "The Pitiful and the Proud", Rowan said he found "millions of human beings who have risen up and said we intend to be free."

Although he saw some Communism, he did not feel that this revolutionary movement is essentially pro-Communist, Rowan said. Instead, it is an expression of a desire for dignity, to be accepted as part of the family of mankind.

The Asians are suspicious that the nations of the West conduct international affairs not on the basis of morality but on the basis of race, Rowan said, citing the statement of Sherman Adams about the Suez crisis — "I am sure the white nations will stick together on foreign affairs."

"I wish Eastland and Talmadge had the job of press officers for the United States in Calcutta or Bombay," the newsman said as he related an anti-American incident occasioned by a widely publicized incident of discrimination against an Indian in the Houston airport.

As for the Russians, Rowan said he feels they are bluffing about going to war. "They feel that they don't have to go to war," he aid. "They can just sit back and let American arrogance do the work for them."

'Freedom, dignity, our goal, Rowan declares

Afro-American P.3
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 3-24-56

NEW YORK — "The colored man wants his children to grow up free from the scourages of illness, ignorance and poverty," declares Carl T. Rowan in the current issue of Look Magazine.

The Minneapolis Tribune staff writer said:

"**PERHAPS MOST** of all, the colored man wants the dignity to which free men are entitled.

"He wants to be judged in his individual merits as a first-class American citizen and not as a savage whose tastes 'remain close to the caterpillar and cock-roach,' as Judge Tom P. Brady of Brookhaven, Miss., put it.

"He is better educated and economically stronger than ever in his history.

"This is all America's problem. We all pay for it in the eyes of a distrustful world.

"All Asia and Africa look at what is happening to the colored man today to see if they can believe you when you say that a place of equality awaits these people under the banner of democracy."

* * *

"**NO INDIAN** is going to believe that you just love him when he sees that Ralph Bunche cannot get a hotel room in Jackson, Miss., or that two decent colored families from Indianapolis cannot get into a resort in Minnesota."

Mr. Rowan said that colored Americans are best able to speak for this country to Asians and Africans.

* * *

"**BUT IF HE CANNOT** get justice through the courts, through logic and reason, through democratic processes, then who is left to look toward Asia and Africa and say with conviction, Keep your faith in Democracy?' "

In saying that the fight for full citizenship would not be abandoned, Mr. Rowan ways that colored people know that "every major force in the world today stands opposed to the idea that one people shall dominate another."

"My only hope," he concluded, "is that enough of you understand this to show the courage necessary to preseve this nation and the good things for which it stands."

Rowan denied South African visa on tour

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 4-14-56

NEW YORK (NNPA) — Carl Rowan returned to America recently from a four-week tour of Africa. He visited every country except Ethiopia and South Africa.

The latter nation ignored his request for a visa although, Mr. Rowan said, it readily issued one to a fellow reporter.

The only reason he could imagine, he said, was the fact that he is colored and would have been subjected to the "apartheid'

Rowan says restrictions on race affect everyone

Afro-American P.12
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 3-24-56

MINNEAPOLIS—"You had better realize now that if there is no freedom for the colored man, there will be no freedom for any American."

This was the statement of Carl T. Rowan, journalist, to a Temple Israel audience recently.

Mr. Rowan decried the "few clever hate merchants and some greedy politicians (who) have pushed the Southland to the brink of chaos."

* * *

IN CRITICISING the stand of southerners who resent injustice in that area being described in ehe northern press, he said:

Carl T. Rowan Wins Prize For Foreign Series

Call P.20
Fri. 4-27-56
Kansas City, Mo.

CHICAGO — (ANP) — Carl T Rowan, prize-winning reporter for the Minneapolis Tribune, has been named winner of Sigma Delta Chi fraternity's 1956 Journalistic Award for foreign correspondence.

Rowan was cited for a series of articles written on Asia, the national journalistic fraternity announced here last week.

Three years ago, Rowan won the fraternity's general reporting award for a series of articles on his tour of the South.

Rowan Says 'Far Too Many Of Us Sit Back, Thinking Time Will Heal Wound'

Bystander P.1
Thurs. 5-10-56
Des Moines, Iowa

Speaking Monday at a Founder's Day Honors Convocation at University Christian Church, Carl T. Rowan, prize-winning reporter of the Minneapolis Tribune, told students and faculty of Drake University that "far too many of us sit back, thinking time will heal all the wounds, and the problems will go away. How foolish we are!"

Using as his subject, "The Challenge of Change," Rowan said, "We think freedoms and liberties were secured by our forefathers. I am convinced that freedoms have to be fought for time and again."

"Today we face a challenge greater than finding out what is in that book. It is the challenge of change.

Greater Danger

"Asia is on the march. There is great danger millions of people will be lost to the west," added Rowan, who spent seven months in Asia during 1954 and 1955.

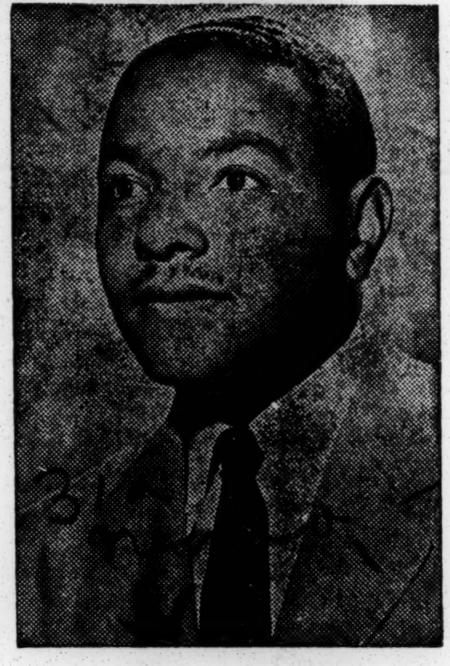
The same sort of strife is going to boil up in Africa, "unless you and I do more than we seem capable of doing." Rowan recently returned from a trip to Africa.

He continued, "When crisis comes to Africa, Americans will have a very simple answer as to the reason —Communism."

Vehicle

He said the Asian crisis is a product of poverty, misery and oppression. It is not a product of Communism, but the vehicle for Communism.

"Communism," he said, "capitalizes on two explosive ingredients: Anti-colonialism and anti-racism."



CARL T. ROWAN

Rowan said, "We won't be able to do anything in Africa and Asia until we do something about our own people." This demands "that you and I reach down inside ourselves and tear out our prejudices."

He said it is too easy to sit back and let it take 19,000 years for Mississippi to work out its own problems. "We love peace more than we love justice."

31a 1956

NEGRO (GEORGE S. SCHUYLER)

Views and Reviews .....

Courier P.9

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THERE is, of course, no sen[illegible]son why any Afra-merican should hesitate next week to vote for the entire Republican ticket from Eisenhower down if he is going to go by the record and not by fantasy and wishful thinking. Nevertheless, prominent Negro Democrats have been brainwashing their misguided followers with specious reasons (?) why they should goof again with the Donkey Party. The Chicago Defender has done its best to present this viewpoint, but to any informed person it was a sad performance. I am afraid that with these sepia Democratic spokesman principle took an awful beating from principal. One can understand the position of those who owe their livelihood to the machine that bankrupted the country with three wars in a generation and history's most outrageous global boondoggling, but what is one to think of those who say they're sincere?

Mr. Schuyler

Sat. 11-3-56

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THE BLACK Democratic partisans with tongue in cheek and fingering political loot have the effrontery to tell Negroes that the party of Lehman, Harriman and Stevenson is the party of the poor, implying that it has done and will do something for the poor, especially poor Negroes. What they sedulously refrain from saying is that the Democratic party is the party of the signers of the Southern Manifesto, the party that scuttled FEPC, the party that defies the Supreme Court's desegregation decree, the party of the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils, the party of discriminatory Southern labor unions, the party which discriminated in public housing and helped perpetuate residential ghettoes, the party which fought every advance for Negroes which the NAACP sought, the party which is trying to destroy both the Urban League and the NAACP in the South, the party responsible for nearly 500 Negro teachers having lost their jobs in the South under what little desegregation of schools there has been.

THESE BLACK Democratic misleaders fattened with the graft from corrupt big city machines say their party "is most worthy of our support," but do not say how nor why. Nor do they tell their gullible followers that all of our outspoken enemies are in the Democratic party, actually control it and will control both Congress and the Administration if elected, and especially the potent Congressional committees. They are still yammering that Roosevelt and the New Deal "saved" them, but not one of them has the courage and character to get up and tell Negroes the shameful story of what really happened, as set down for all to read in the annual reports of the NAACP. With the nation for the first time in a decade enjoying peace and prosperity, with Nixon's Committee on Government Contracts opening industry after industry to Negro workers, and with jim crow vanishing everywhere from Washington, D. C., to the remotest Federal installation, these Democratic mouthpieces urge their dupes to vote for more of Eastland, Talmadge, et al! Well, going by the record, I've got to like Ike and Dick.

Views and Reviews ..... By George S. Schuyler

Courier P.9

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE INDEFATIGABLE Sidney J. Phillips, president of the Congressionally created Booker T. Washington Centennial Commission, has announced as one of its early projects an effort to have the Post Office Department issue a special stamp next year commemorating the 130th anniversary of the founding of the Negro press. The first Negro newspaper, Freedom's Journal, was born at No. 5 Varick St., New York City, on March 16, 1827. It was founded by the Virginia-born Rev. Samuel F. Cornish, a member of the First Presbytery of New York, who studied at Princeton Theological Seminary and was a member of the American Bible Society. In 1821, he established a mission in a small building on Rose St., New York City, later buying the building on Varick St. for $14,000.

Mr. Schuyler

Sat. 11-17-56

His editor and associate was Jamaica-born John B. Russwurm, who was graduated from Bowdoin College with highest honors in 1826. He was the first Negro to graduate from an American college.

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RUSSWURM AND Cornish soon split over the Negro colonization issue. Russwurm joined the Maryland Colonization Society which appointed him Governor of Maryland province in Liberia, where he later died. The Rev. Mr. Cornish started another paper, the Weekly Advocate, which later became the American. It survived for many years. Since then hundreds of Negro-owned and edited newspapers have consistently given encouragement and currency to the concepts of constitutionalism, liberty, racial equality and opportunity for all without racial or religious distinction. Certainly, so great a service to freedom deserves recognition.

■

IF ANYBODY can get this special stamp, Mr. Phillips can. He was responsible for the Booker T. Washington memorial coin (which sold more than any of its kind in history), the Washington Memorial Stamp, the B. T. Washington National Shrine at Booker Washington Birthplace, Va., and the Washington-Carver Memorial coin. When it comes to getting official honors for great Negroes, Phillips has the nation's highest score. Aiding his efforts are such powerful national organizations as the Elks, Baptists, American Teachers Association, National Council of Negro Women and National Federation of Negro Women's Clubs.

Mr. Phillips should have no difficulty in winning the support of Negro publishers for this project, especially when he soon starts his $50,000 advertising campaign in Negro newspapers to educate the colored community on the philosophy and achievements of Booker T. Washington, the greatest man the South has produced. Someday Phillips may even miraculously get the Spingarn Medal

Booker T. Is Hailed Among The Greatest

Weekly, Sat. 11-10-56

New Orleans, La.

BOOKER WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE, VA. P.3 The lowest ebb of race relations in American came in the period following the War Between the States when the Negro 'faced almost complete denial of the great promise of freedom... and seemingly extermination', writes George S. Schuyler, noted traveler and brilliant editorial writer for the PITTSBURGH COURIER in a special article on the Booker T. Washington Centennial which is now appearing in newspapers all over the country.

Schuyler's current appraisal of Booker T. Washington is one of many articles contributed by leading writers which will be published in connection with the Centennial of Washington's birth, it was announced today by Sidney J. Phillips, Commission president.

"What the Negro needed (in the 1890's) was time and weapons to combat the evil influences of his enemies and detractors", said Schuyler, "He needed reassurance of his potentialities, opportunities, and a program for realizing them. Booker T. Washington supplied both."

Schuyler, who has one of the most extensive records for personal investigations of racial disorders in this country and Latin America, and who led in the denuciation of Communism among Negroes, claims that "all friends of the Negro should extend themselves (during this Centennial Year) to publicize the philosophy and programs of this inspired man who did so much to help resolve the racial conflict in America."

With the hope that a return to his sane fundamental teachings may again be shown in present day race relations, President Phillips said that Goodwill Building Christmas Cards containing a special message written by Booker T. Washington may be secured from Booker Washington Birthplace, Virginia. Business firms in communities where race relations are strained and leaders on both sides of racial controversy may use these cards to advantage.

Views and Reviews . . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

WITH unprecedented speed the United States has big-heartedly agreed to accept 10,000 Hungarian refugees but I doubt that "we" would have done so had they not been white. This is my conclusion because no such hospitality has been offered to refugee masses who were not "Aryan," and probably never will be. The inscription on the Statue of Liberty is not addressed to the tar-brushed.

Mr. Schuyler

These Hungarians (a large proportion of them Titoists: i. e., nationalist Communists) revolted against their Kremlin stooges and were suppressed with typical Soviet efficiency and Budapest left a shambles. I do not begrudge them a haven (in Libya, Brazil or Australia) but I think all of the refguees from civil war and aggression everywhere should get the same consideration.

ON THE OTHER hand, how goes it with the Egyptians and other Arabs in Port Said and the Gaza strip? Port Said, at the mouth of the Suez Canal has large areas reduced to heaps of rubble from the guns and bombs of the Anglo-French naval and air bombardment as well as street fighting. Over 5,000 civilians are homeless and destitute. The area of the poorest people is described as "a fire-blackened scar" with uncounted thousands of terrified workers under heaps of twisted, sheet-iron thatch and wooden slabs. Two- and three-story masonry structures are now heaps of rubble 10- and 15-feet high from which bodies have not been removed. Like the people of Budapest, Port Said's 200,000 residents are starving. Innocent Egyptians are being murdered, stores and homes robbed and women violated. In the Gaza strip the 300,000 inhabitants, mostly Palestine Arabs chased out of their homeland years ago by the noble Israelis are as badly off.

THE INNOCENT victims of this "democratic" aggression (which it would be a libel on the animals to call brutal), would love to be snatched from the benevolent clutches of their noble captors. Unfortunately, neither Catholic, Protestant nor Jewish charity will sponsor their coming and the U. S. Government hasn't mentioned it. Budapest is only a few hundred miles north of Port Said and the Gaza strip and all three areas have been devastated, with thousands homeless, but Christian charity is not extended to Moslems, especially tar-brushed ones. Nor has our Administration ever suggested that the 900,000 former Arab residents of Palestine (who have long been vegetating in the surrounding wilderness, living on a handful of UN rice daily and wistfully gazing over at their property on which the Jewish homeland is being erected) be brought over to partake of our hospitality.

Although I do not favor any more immigration, especially from Europe, if refugees from aggression are to be permitted entry here, I think the non-white ones should get a break, too.

Views and Reviews . . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

THE FAILURE of the Republican party to win Congress while its standard-bearer, Eisenhower, received a landslide vote shows what happens when expediency triumphs over principle. Where the Republicans have had any clearly enunciated policy and philosophy at all since the Roosevelt Disaster fastened itself on the land in 1933, it has been apologetic and defeatist rather than aggressively positive and assured.

Mr. Schuyler

To curry votes it has adopted some of the semi-socialism of the New-Fair Deal (which Harold Ickes called "modified communism") and me-tooed the welfarism, deficit financing and international adventurism characterizing the Roosevelt-Truman regimes.

Like the Democrats, it has stressed men rather than measures and tried to ape their demagogy. Thus, there came to be no difference in the public mind between the two major parties, and political contests degenerated into popularity polls dominated by degrading hucksterism depressingly similar to radio-television selling of soaps, drugs, cosmetics and beer.

■

I THINK the Republican party can win without a popular hero at its head if it will aggressively promulgate a program of (a) America First nationalism; (b) repudiation of the international WPA concept of foreign relations; (c) ending of Government subsidies to special groups at taxpayers' expense; (d) withdrawal from the United Nations; (e) sincere implementation and enforcement of the Constitution and its amendments; (f) removal of the Federal Government from all economic enterprise which can be done more efficiently and economically by private contractors; (g) equalization of the tax burden; (h) stiffen instead of modifying the provisions of the National Immigration Law, and (g) urging the curtailment of easy credit which has nine-tenths of the nation in hock. It should strongly stress the interdependence of organized labor and the free enterprise system and the inevitable association of socialism and slavery. It should urge repeal of the amendments which made possible the Federal income tax and popular election of Senators.

■

THERE WOULD then be a clear distinction between the Republican and Democratic parties which the personalities of individual candidates would not alter in the voters' minds. Traditionally, the Republican party is identified with human emancipation, and if it lives up to its traditions, it will keep the Social Democrats out of power.

31a 1956

NEGRO (GEORGE S. SCHUYLER)

Views and Reviews . . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

DEALING further with the fluoridation discussion raised by Dr. Donald J. Kellon of Columbus, Ohio, let's turn to the 1952 Congressional testimony of cancer expert, Dr. Alfred Taylor of the University of Texas, who said: "The death rate was higher, in (laboratory) mice receiving the fluoridated water, in every one of the 12 months in which death occurred.

Mr. Schuyler

There was no change in the incidence of cancer, but that this condition developed earlier in those receiving fluoridated water." Exactly what Dr. Leo Spira said in his "Drama of Fluorine."

Currently, there are over 1100 U. S. communities seduced or hornswoggled into fluoridating drinking water. But Dr. J. R. Blayney, professor of dental surgery and director of the Walter G. Zoller Memorial Dental Clinic of Chicago, warned: "If municipalities wish to add fluoride to their water supplies for the reduction of tooth decay, they should thoroughly understand that the investigative work on the problem has not been completed." So, like Joe—they just don't know!

■

TESTIFIED Dr. Hans H. Neuman of Hewlett, N. Y.: "It cannot be said that fluorine in water is essential for caries prevention. Perfect teeth can occur in areas without any fluorine in the water . . . I believe it is the degree of mastication, that goes with certain diets, that has more correlation with good or bad teeth than any other factor." This conforms with the views of the late Dr. Weston A. Price in "Nutrition and Physical Degeneration" (Harper's) whose book is more revolutionary than "Das Kapital" or "The Origon of the Species."

I recently wrote to the Medical Research Council of New Zealand for a copy of Drs. E. T. Hewat and D. F. Eastcott's just published "Dental Caries in New Zealand." They made an exhaustive study of 12,263 European and Maori children in 184 schools in 143 districts, concluding: "There is insufficient evidence at the present time to establish a relationship between caries and any special chemical characteristic in drinking waters."

■

BEARING OUT the findings of Dr. Price during his world journey, these researchers found that despite much poorer dental hygiene, the urban Maoris generally had less caries than Europeans, the rural Maoris much less than either, and the primitive Maoris in the bushes least of all. Clearly this wide variation suggests that caries are more due to degenerative nutrition than the amount of fluorine in drinking water, since all the children drank the same water, since the Maoris generally had better teeth than the Europeans, this was supposed to be due to some racial factor. Actually the cause was the longer exposure of the whites to devitalized foods (tea, white flour, white rice, pastry, over-cooked dishes, etc.).

Finally, here's what the U. S. Department of Agriculture's 1939 Yearbook said, long before the U. S. Public Health Service started promoting fluoridation: "It is especially important that flourine be avoided from birth to the age of 12 years." Doxology!

Views and Reviews . . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

RECENTLY several newspaper and magazine writers hoping to serve one purpose or another have dwelt on the fact that there is a grossly disproportionate number of illegitimate Negro children being born in big cities outside the South, that the incidence of juvenile delinquency and crime is high, and that the Negro arrests and prison population is far above what it should be.

Mr. Schuyler

This, of course, is not original with these Southern and Northern white commentators. While the Negro press and leadership generally have been surprisingly silent about the matter, I have never felt that these unsavory facts should be concealed but publicized for our own good. We ought to know at all times what exactly our situation is if we are going to do anything about it.

■

HOWEVER, some of the white brethren are taking too much comfort from these figures and implying too much. These unfavorable social phenomena occur among all people in similar circumstances, and their presence warrants no invidious racial conclusion.

Each racial or national element that is torn from one environment and set down in another usually adds much to the prison population. When poor Germans, Irish, Italian, Polish, Russians and Jews streamed into the country successively from the 1830's onwards, they each in turn filled the jails, the slums and charity institutions, and their illegitimacy rate soared. It is now the same with the Mexicans in the southwest and the Puerto Ricans in the East. When my grandmother was a girl in New York City, the low class Irish were so loathed that signs all over town warned "No Irish Need Apply" either for lodging or jobs. In the South they were used on particularly arduous and dangerous tasks instead of Negro slaves because the latter had monetary value as property and the "free" whites had none. Poles on construction jobs and in sweatshops were exploited and despised worse than Negroes until recent times.

THE HIGH illegitimacy rate among Negroes in the North (and South) is deplorable, but "friends" should be reminded that it is not as high as among such "pure" whites as the Swedes, Norwegians and Icelanders. Nor is the alleged "looseness" of Negro womanhood (which is cited as "reason" for retaining segregated schools) comparable to that existing, say, in Denmark or Great Britain where promiscuity is the fashion. The "Founding Fathers" of a great country like Australia were criminals and prostitutes transported from the British Isles to the Land Down Under, as they had previously been sent to Georgia or sold on the docks at New York and Philadelphia. In ancient Rome the term Briton was an opprobrious one.

Saying this, however, is not giving the final answer. There is definitely not enough coordinated effort in our colored communities to cope with these problems. There is a lack of guiding philosophy reflecting the social disorganization which obtains, and too much of a disposition to blame everything on the white folks—as if that solved anything.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

AS I VIEW again the ignoble and revolting spectacle of choosing our nation's rulers, with all the vulgarity, lying, cant, hypocrisy, trimming and bribery that involves, I grow more dubious about the delights of democracy and wonder if the monarchists don't have a point.

Mr. Schuyler

Every honest man with a modicum of intelligence and the ability to observe the life around him knows that it is only by circumventing the processes of democracy that the state can function at all. Thus, he is convinced that it is pointless waste of time to read or listen to political speeches or place any credence in official party platforms. If the elected politicians did all they promises, we would never recover from it! Those who think overwise believe in loas, ectoplasm and Santa Claus. Talk of the virtues of democracy is simply wishful thinking.

I CONTEND that an absolute monarchy would be much more fitting economically, socially and spiritually. I am convinced that the majority of people everywhere want some betters to worship whether it be a Prophet Flatfoot, a balloon-breasted Hollywood beaut with blondined bangs, the strongarm president of a labor union racket or some cow-voiced politician promising everybody a ranch house and a runabout.

Since the mass taste is always as low as its intelligence, any fairly decent royal family, ruling through able appointed ministers and descended from good stock, would lift standards of honesty, conduct and patriotism immensely. If the king got too bad, he could be given the black bottle or a dirk in the back. The conspirators would rush the oldest son to the balcony shouting, "The King is dead. Long live the King!" roll out some casks of brandy or bourbon and order a holiday. We are spending $100 million for the same result!

■

DID THE old absolute monarchs squander money, support toothsome mistresses and occasionally lead their nations into war? Well, what about the $60 billion squandered bolstering up decrepit and bankrupt governments since 1945, most of which are inimical to freedom, being either Socialist or Communist?

Under democracy mistresses never had it so good (which is a point in its favor!). If every politician with what used to be called a morganatic wife dropped dead tomorrow, there wouldn't be enough flags to hand at half-mast!

Has astronomical stealing ever reached the plane established by the New-Fair Deal? Has subversion and treason ever flourished in any monarchy as it did from 1933 to 1952? And did any king ever berate and denounce those who exposed it?

As for war, there were more people killed in the invasion of Italy, France and Germany in World War II than perished in all of the kingly inspired conflicts since the boys stopped whipping heads with stone clubs. Indeed, wholesale war is a concomitant of democracy. The people always vote for it, as in 1940 when they knew FDR was panting for gore.

Views and Reviews . . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier P. 9 Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 9-22-56

THE GREATEST indictment of the "civilization" of Dixie has been written by Southerners themselves. Briefly, the case for Southern civilization has been its claim of a tradition of grace and chivalry, of inherent Anglo-Saxon justice and fairplay, of inborn superiority of race, of a God-given mission to Christianize the benighted blacks snatched from the depths of barbarism, and to remake them into a sepia image of their self-proclaimed superiors, separate but equal. The two "races" would live in juxtaposition, cooperating economically, but divided socially, with the white folks, of course, always in the lead, arrogantly accepting the genuflections of the grateful "spooks." This was the South's "unique" contribution to the world.

Mr. Schuyler

ASIDE FROM the amenities of the rum-guzzling, brawling, mulatto-producing Tidewater planter society of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia, the rest of what is now the South consisted of Indian nations, mountain poor whites but recently escaped from servitude and more savage than the aborigines. The Spanish territories of Florida and all the rest of the country to the Pacific, except the Northwest, were not yet American.

From all accounts I have read or heard about, the level of civilization therein was about that of Borneo and Dutch New Guinea, with justice and fairplay determined by force of arms and frontier guile. What affluence, architecture and artistry existed was imported from England or the Eastern Seaboard. Nothing original came out of it except the Bowie knife and lynching. It was then, as now, just what H. L. Mencken called it, "The Sahara of the Bozart," a polygamous, incestuous society where kicking, shooting and eye-gouging contests competed with the selling of bastard offspring and moonshining as public pastimes. Doubting Thomases may consult the record.

THE SOUTH prospered through the cotton gin (a Yankee invention), clearing out of the Indians, cotton culture, illegal importation of African slaves, plus purchases of native chattels (black and white) from the breeding pens of Virginia and Kentucky or kidnapped off the Bowery. This continued up until Appomattox when the "aristocracy" was succeeded in power by piney woods folk, mountain boys and urban slum proletariat who were ignorant, corrupt, ruthless and barbarous—and still are. They could not Christianize the blacks, not being Christians themselves, so it took the much-maligned carpetbaggers to do it. In the 80 years since this "superior" race has been in power (1877-1956) they have lynched officially over 4,000 Negroes, taken billions of profits in black forced labor and swindled billions more, thriven on peonage and prison labor, intentionally kept millions of Negroes ignorant, degraded and depraved. And now they base their opposition to desegregation and enfranchisement on the ground that the Negroes are backward and unready, and equality of opportunity would drag down the whites—as if that were possible! They fool only themselves, and no. all of them.

Views and Reviews . . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier P. 9 Sat. 9-29-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE COUNTER-ATTACK of the segregationist forces against the NAACP and the Urban League has exposed the weakness of their position and the inadequacy of their policies. The Urban League's weakness has been its dependability upon white-controlled agencies for its livelihood, and he who pays the fiddler calls the tune. When Urban League officials take a strong stand for full integration in a critical time like the present, their whole work is imperilled, as indicated by the recent Jacksonville action of the militant White Citizens Council element which removed them from the Community Chest list. Their position is similarly threatened in other Southern communities for the same reason and by the same people.

Mr. Schuyler

THE NAACP, as I have monotonously reiterated through Court decision outlawing the Grandfather Clause gimmick for restricting Negro suffrage to the latest rulings on government-supported parks, playgrounds and colleges. All well and good, but obviously not enough.

The NAACP, because of its rather large membership, is not as financially vulnerable as the Urban League which has little mass following, but the association has failed to get Negro mass backing largely because it insisted on being **only** a civil rights organization instead of providing a year-around program of advancement on many fronts. Such would have attracted and held not just 300,000, but three million or more paying members. No people can stand a steady diet of strife and grief, but the NAACP has given them nothing else, save an occasional dance.

MONEY HAS never been plentiful in the NAACP coffers the years, has increasingly narrowed its operations to mere legalism. It has chalked up some notable victories beginning with the 1915 Supreme for the reason stated and most of it has been devoted to agitation which is nourished by grief and dearth. It is a sort of vicious circle. So far as I know the NAACP has never concerned itself with promotion of sports, health, business promotion, agriculture, labor organization, music, art, theatre, home beautification or a score of other facets of life in which people are interested and where Negroes need leadership. They would be infinitely stronger if they had it, and better able to resist and defeat the opposition.

The NAACP and the Urban League, having the same goals, should join forces so that one could strengthen the other for the betterment of all. Considering the nature of their opposition, they should be organized on a state basis with state names, but strongly affiliated with a national headquarters. There is enough Negro brains within the two organizations to run a combined group under completely Negro leadership and directorship for the purpose of giving united direction to American Negro life which is now woefully disorganized. Such an organization would be in a position to liberate the Urban League financially and to get larger mass support for NAACP work.

Views and Reviews . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Mr. Schuyler

FOR SOME years the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been increasingly under fire as an organization allegedly under Communist influence or control. This campaign of vilification has been strengthened by the fact that several individuals of politically dubious background have been high in its councils and in a number of instances people of Leftist tendencies or outright fellow-travelers have directed or controlled branches. The same thing is true, incidentally, of Protestant church organizations where, as Dr. J. B. Matthews has accurately pointed out, the incidence of fellow-travelerism has been alarmingly high.

While a few Socialists yclept Communists, "Progressives," "Liberals" and assorted good-willers with a penchant for plans to make over humanity wholesale may and often do give Leftist direction to an organization's policies, there has been little indication of any such direction in NAACP policies. Nevertheless, the Red accusation has been and is being used against the NAACP and calls for a straight-forward answer to its membership and to its friends and well-wishers.

CONFRONTED WITH this problem, Mr. Roy Wilkins, the secretary, and Mr. Henry Lee Moon, its public relations director, decided to publish a pamphlet which would answer its enemies. It is entitled "NAACP: An American Organization" and was printed in an edition of 80,000 copies for wide distribution. In its 12 pages it points out that the NAACP has never been listed anywhere as subversive; that its basic philosophy and program were established before the U. S. Communist party was born; that it has never been dominated by the CPUSA; that it has a long record of fighting communism; that it has fought efforts of Commies to control it; that it has always been supported by distinguished Americans of all colors and creeds; that the nation's press had exonerated it of the pro-Red smear. Although this veteran Red-baiter might take exception on some points, the pamphlet is an effective piece of counter-propaganda.

WERE THE directors appropriately enthusiastic and congratulatory when Mr. Wilkins unveiled this public relations masterpiece? Not at all!

One fellow-traveler with a Communist-front listing as long as a giraffe's neck screamed like a stuck hog and got off a tirade hysterical enough to concern a psychiatrist. The pamphlet, said he and others, was putting the NAACP on the defensive—as if it weren't already there! It was argued that the timing was wrong. I am reliably informed that only about six directors defended it. Then, with a timidity incongruous in a fighting organization, the board decreed that the pamphlet should be distributed only in the South—as if the association were not being hurt everywhere in the nation by the anti-American smear!

This board action limelights the lack of realism which has too frequently marked its decisions (as in the later reversed vote against cooperating with civil defense and the shortsighted opposition to the McCarran-Walter Immigration Law).

Where wisdom is bliss 'tis folly to be ignorant!

Views and Reviews . . . . By George S. Schuy

THE NAACP delegates at San Francisco showed wisdom is deciding that so far as bus boycotters were concerned, they were "not ready to take a position on this as a national project." Any boycott is a time- and money-waster, a dead-end street, a demagogue's device, historically sterile and often a boomerang.

Everyone admires, of course, the determination of boycotters and the righteousness of their cause, but unless it achieves some material gain, it should be abandoned. Since our leaders are always using military expressions in their exhortations, I suggest that they begin to do some military thinking. Talk of passive resistance and Gandhian principles is so much bushwah. They are almost never successful against a determined army and probably never will be. Had Gandhi been up against ruthless rogues like Hitler and Stalin, India would still be a colony like the once-powerful Siberian kingdoms now dubbed "Soviet Republics." Happily for the Indian Congress party, the British went soft. The recent passive resistance attempt in South Africa was a painful flop in the face of Boer willingness to beat and jail anybody. The big world boycott of the Jews against Nazi Germany (organized internationally by the late Samuel Untermeyer) was an awful boomerang.

Mr. Schuyler

THE ULTIMATE object of every tactic or strategy should be success. The Negro nor any other group can afford magnificent defeats. Recall how the recent Egyptian beating by the Israelis forced an agonizing reappraisal of the whole structure of Egyptian life and government? Well, when any group has reached an impasse, it is time to pause, take stock, withdraw, reform lines, revamp strategy, revise tactics, perhaps change leaders and recast logistics. You can't fight a war without ammunition, arms, food and equipment. Even Napoleon couldn't.

Victories in the courts do not soon become realities, if at all (without power to enforce them) because too many and too powerful people have a vested interest in preserving the color line. Frankly (to resume the military parlance), we are outgunned. In the face of superior fire-power, one either retreats, entrenches or seeks an armistice until powerful enough to renew hostilities.

I SUGGEST a period of outer calm and quiet stocktaking minus mass meetings, headlines and waving empty guns. I suggest as an immediate target the establishment of a savings and loan bank in every Negro community of more than 5,000, a commercial bank in every Negro ghetto of 50,000, and the local control of all business in every Negro community of over 2,000. I suggest thereafter the setting up of wholesales to supply these concerns. I suggest we set a goal of registering to vote every adult U. S. Negro. I suggest that all Negro organizations hereafter be headed, directed and financed by Negroes who will keep their group business to themselves. And I suggest meanwhile that we have less whining and more fundamental planned action. It might get us a lot farther, a lot faster.

The Week's Books Edited by George S. Schuyler

Cancer as It Is

"The Truth About Cancer," by Charles S. Cameron, M.D. (Prentice-Hall, $4.95), offers a complete survey of this dreaded disease. Some of the misconceptions about cancer are: Is it contagious? No. Is it hereditary? The susceptibility to it seems sometimes to be hereditary. Can it be cured? Often, if discovered early enough.

Some kinds of cancer are easily curable, other kinds incurable. Cancer of the skin, especially that resulting from excessive sunburn, is 100 per cent curable. On the other hand, cancer of the blood, leukemia, lymphosarcoma, Hodgkin's disease, are generally incurable.

Some of the proven causes of cancer are: cigarette smoking. (Heavy cigarette smoking more than doubles the general death rate. Lung cancer is five times higher in heavy smokers. Smokers of any general age are actually five times older than nonsmokers. Cigar and pipe smokers do not run such a risk especially in lung cancer. Though in excessive pipe and cigar smoking lip and mouth cancer are likely).

Absorption of radium rays. (Pitchblende mine workers, scientists who work with radium, workers in radium or other strong chemicals.) Excessive heat directed on one part of the body for long periods. (In this category can also fall the inhaling of hot smoke. Also hot tea drinking by Chinese. Basket stoves worn by some Hindus against the stomach on cold nights which brings on skin cancer.) Cold tar rubbed on the skin, or chimney soot becoming imbedded in the skin or petroleum oil left on the skin too long, are among the chemicals known to cause cancer.

It is suspected that a lack of Vitamin B in the diet brings on a high frequency of cancer of the throat, especially in Northern Europe. A high coloric diet (starches) increases the susceptibility to cancer in rats. Among the African Bantus there is an unusually high rate of liver cancer thought to be connected with dietary defects.

—J. SCHUYLER,
New York City.

Psychological Approach

This small, 233-page book, "Power to Become," by Lewis L. Dunnington (The Macmillan Company, $2.50) has 18 chapters with titles such as "Living Without Strain, Faith and Power and Poise Is an Achievement."

The author uses these little essays in suggesting various techniques for spiritual improvement. This psychological approach to Christian practices shows you how to effectively use those great unused powers that lie buried in the souls of men. The book is easy to read and is both practical and helpful.

HANDSEL G. BELL
Berkeley, Calif.

Views and R

THE FLIGHT operations of all the scheduled and unscheduled airlines entering or operating in this country are rigidly lily-white. The heads of those companies seem determined to keep it that way.

Despite the hundreds of available qualified Negroes who could serve as co-pilots, navigators, stewards and stewardesses, the airline companies tell them "Nothing doing!" Our pilots could fly freight through the skies during the late war and protect our bombers en route through the flak with deadly cargoes for Nazi targets, but they can't fly passenger planes. Navigation is navigation, but those who could navigate during war cannot do so in peacetime—if they are colored.

Mr. Schuyler

Stewardesses are required to be either registered nurses or high school graduates with one or two years of college; be in excellent health; have pleasing personalities and appearance; be between the ages of 20-28; weigh between 100-135 pounds; be single (not widowed or divorced) and remain unmarried; and for international travel know a foreign language. Hundreds of colored girls could qualify for this job, but the airline bosses say "Nixie!"

Sat. 7-14-56

NEGROES CAN be porters and maids on our Pullman cars and serve food on diners and in club and restaurant cars, but they can't do the very same thing in an airplane aloft! Colored nurses serve all over the country in civilian and military hospitals but there's something wrong when they apply to become an airline stewardess. As soon as it comes to going aloft to serve, "they ain't ready."

Some naive brethren will exclaim that "this don't make sense" but they simply don't know the score. Pull up a chair, pals, and get hep!

These airline pilots, co-pilots and navigators earn as much as most judges and Congressmen. Because their work is exacting, they toil only half the week. They travel to far-off places, parking in the best hotels with living expenses paid by the companies; frequenting the best bistros and beaches abroad, and digging the shapeliest chicks. The stewardesses go right along with them. It becomes a sort of family affair with strong loyalties, snobbery and **esprit de corps.** To crash this charmed circle is like crashing the Almanach de Gotha. In view of the aviation moguls, this is definitely not a Negro job.

■

HOWEVER, (and intending no pun) the situation is not so dark. In the first place the Negro vote is strong and getting stronger, and wields increasing power. In the second place, practically all of these U. S. airlines, domestic and international, get some kind of government contract or enjoy a subsidy which it would be embarrassing to lose. In the third place, we are all getting sick of the run-around the Urban League has been getting from the airline bosses (plus the indifference of the aristocratic, lily-white unions) and are beginning to squawk loudly. I think the boys upstairs will soon develop keener hearing.

Views and Reviews ... By George S. Schu

Courier P. 9

IN HIS recent Courier letter, Dr. Donald J. Kellon of Columbus, Ohio, takes me to task for "viciously" attacking "members of the medical and dental professions for their support of fluoridation of public water supplies," on the ground that I am "not qualified to discuss the pros and cons of fluoridation" since I am only a "layman in possession of a few facts" which I do not know how to interpret."

Mr. Schuyler

Medicine not being an exact science, even the greatest experts can be wrong, and the extent of charlatanry among them is as high as in other professions. This is so well known that Paracelsus aptly remarked, "When one doctor passes another, they always laugh!"

Pittsburgh, Pa.

IN A RECENT report of a Special Subcommittee on Fluridation of the New York Mayor's Advisory Council, signed by Dr. Malcolm W. Carr, an eminent dentist, he says: "The so-called 'scientific' allegation put forward by opponents purporting to show that fluoridation is harmful to general health cannot be substantiated."

Sat. 8-4-56

Is this learned dentist "qualified to discuss the pros and cons of fluoridation"? In "Our Daily Poison" by Leonard Wickenden (Devin-Adair, $3), he cites the findings of a House Investigating Committee chaired by Representative Delany of New York which held a series of hearings on fluorides in drinking water from Feb. 13 to March 6, 1952. I quote:

"On one point, all witnesses were in agreement. It was admitted that when the concentration of fluorides exceeded a very low figure (usually one part per million), a number of the consumers (ranging from 10 per cent upwards) were afflicted with what has come to be called 'fluorosis.' This is a change in the appearance of the teeth ranging from small white spots, or a chalkiness of the whole tooth, to conspicuous brown stains which, when they occur in the front teeth, are highly disfiguring." Mind you, these are dental experts testifying before a Congressional committee!

DR. ROBERT S. HARRIS, Ph. D., Nutritionary Biochemistry Labs., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, apparently an expert, testified that "fluorine in this amount (1 p. M.), or slightly more, interferes with enzyme systems and... these enzymes are involved in the growth of bones, in the functioning of nerve tissues and so forth, and it is difficult, by population surveys, to get any precise evidence on this question." And yet, New York's Dr. Malcolm W. Carr, the dental expert, is cocksure that fluoridation is not harmful!

Asked if he thought experimental studies should first be made with animals in the laboratory, Dr. Harris assented, but added "I have seen nothing on that subject." Neither have the dentists who urge mass medication with fluorinated drinking water, and yet they resent the criticism of opponents, particularly so-called laymen.

Views and Reviews ... By George S. Schuy

Courier P. 9

Sat. 9-15-56

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE UNITED NATIONS is largely a fraud, but it does offer an arena in which to bait and embarrass evil-doers in the family of nations, even if nothing comes of it. Thus, I shall welcome the next session of the General Assembly when recently admitted Portugal's delegates will show up for the first time and questions will undoubtedly be asked about the slave system in its African colonies.

Mr. Schuyler

As imperialists the Portuguese are beyond question the worst of all. The longest of any European nation to rule over large section of Africa, Portugal has done least to advance its hapless black charges. Indeed, wherever the flag of that country flies, there the natives are far worse off than they were before the white man came. The British, French, Belgians and even the South Africans all have aspects of native development to which they can point with pride, but the Portuguese can show nothing but the malnutrition, degradation and enslavement of its blacks for nearly 500 years.

■

PORTUGAL'S EMPIRE in Africa includes Angola, Mozambique, Guinea and the little islands of Principe and Sao Tome. It totals 793,402 square miles and over ten million people. In contrast the Union of South Africa covers 472,494 square miles and has 12 million people, but there all comparison ends. Whereas South Africa has blacks and colored doing all kinds of work (despite apartheid), in the Portuguese colonies they are confined to the unskilled and lowest paid jobs, there is no provision for their professional and higher education, medical and health services are almost unknown in native villages, no native can rise higher than corporal in the Portuguese colonial army, and so-called non-assimilated natives (which means all but about 5,000 out of 10 million) are barred from the best hotels, movies, bars and restaurants, just like in Jackson, Miss. Emigrant poor whites from Portugal get every consideration while blacks get none.

■

THE ADMINISTRATION of justice in Portuguese Africa is worse than any place in the world, even Soviet China. White officials not only flog natives at will and herd them into forced labor in a manner currently unknown outside the Iron Curtain, but the horrible jails are jammed with blacks who are treated like dogs. Worse, it is estimated that no less than 5,000 Angola blacks are sent to the plantations on Principe and Sao Tome each year under conditions indistinguishable from chattle slavery. Scores of thousands are forced to work in the mines of South Africa, living in compounds without women during their whole period, in order to earn money to pay the exorbitant tax levied upon them by the Mozambique officials.

The Portuguese censorship is tighter than Moscow's, so little news of these horrors leaks out. When Portugal was not a member of the United Nations, these outrages against humanity could not be exposed to the world, but now she is a member and we can be rather certain that some of the Arab, Soviet or Latin American bloc will move to have the mess investigated and exposed to the world.

The WORLD ★ TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Courier P. 11

PULLMAN porters' jobs will be less if the trend to more white stewardesses and higher first class fares continues. Maybe we're seeing the end of an era. . . . Airlines, meantime, still can't see hiring colored hostesses although protesting their fairness!

Dulles, trying desperately to serve colonial powers while acclaiming anti-colonialism, would spend $500 million to help bankroll longer journey around Africa for Allied oil tankers to evade Suez. Twice as much would pay for Nasser's pet Aswan Dam and thus tie him to the West. Instead, the whole Arab world will become another Red satellite. This is U. S. diplomacy!

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Now that some white fortune tellers misnamed psychologists are questioning Negroes' capacity to learn, let some of our Brain Trust question Caucasian capacity. They'll have a lot of evidence to work on.

Week's biggest laugh was the wishful thinking that the Egyptians couldn't operate the Suez Canal. Then the Egyptians who were "backward," "inexperienced," etc., piloted all ships through the Big Ditch safely and speedily! What price white supremacy?

Sat. 9-29-56

Gold Coast will be free March 6, making the fourth independent African state since World War I. There are now seven: Ethiopia, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Sudan and Liberia. This makes South Africa more and more nervous. When Nigeria goes free things will really be tough for white Africa.

French Togoland receiving quasi-independence within the French Union last week had to form a cabinet with a white premier because the nationalistic blacks want no part of it. What they want is full freedom, like the Gold Coast. Marcus Garvey would have been delighted at all this.

Now there is a National Association for the Protection of White People! Asiatic and African papers please copy!

The Week's Books

Edited by George S. Schuyler

Courier P. 26

A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES, by Langston Hughes and Milton Meltzer. Crown Publishing Co., 419 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y. Price $5.95.

Sat. 11-24-56
Pittsburgh Pa.

I HAD hardly expected to live to see the day when such a startlingly superlative book as "A Pictorial History of the Negro in the United States," by Langston Hughes and Milton Meltzer, should be researched, planned, written and published. Its publication in itself is an event in Negro history. Other inferior attempts have been made to tell the story of the Negro with words and pictures. This is the first time it has been done with such skill, such artistry, such insight and such genuine craftsmanship.

If this book receives the circulation it deserves, it will, by its own strength and perfection, lift concretely the status of all Negroes. It is the focal point of racial pride, sought by Woodson, Franklin, Rogers, and others, in a strikingly graphic presentation.

Here is the focal point of racial pride in 16 large pages and 1,000 illustrations, superbly reproduced from old prints, engravings, woodcuts, photographs and paintings. The significance of these illustrations boldly captures your interest and attention from each of the printed pages.

Mr. Hughes, it is easy to surmise, has given this history the benefit of his known genius by reading between the lines of the old, old stories and reproducing with his gifted pen (or typewriter) something that makes sense. He writes discerning, sensitive prose. He also writes unassailable logic.

The authors have divided their history into seven parts, somewhat chronological, although the ante-bellum first three periods, or parts, are concurrent. They begin with the Negro's origins in Africa and come up to date with the Supreme Court decision on school segregation.

Their first story covers slavery, from Jamestown to Emancipation. The second covers the same period but is concerned with the Free Negro. Then they weave the thread-like fortunes of slaves and Free Negroes into the fight for freedom or the Anti-Slavery Movement.

The last four sections of the history are aptly and happily captioned:

Up From Slavery: 1863-1900.
Souls of Black Folk: 1900-1920.
The New Negro: 1920-1941.
Toward One World: 1941 . . .

The cause of brotherhood and democracy would be inestimably advanced if copies of this remarkable history could be placed in every public school, college and university in the United States.

And Negro children of today and tomorrow would hold up their heads in pride if Negro parents of today would make "A Pictorial History of the Negro in the United States," a part of the family library.—PLP.

The Negro Potential

What the Negro has accomplished and what he could do if freed from the bonds of racial prejudice, job discrimination, social ostracism based on color and from his uncertainties and fear complexes, is pointed up in "The Negro Potential" by Eli Ginzberg and associates (Columbia U. Press, 144 pages, $3). It is one of the studies in the Columbia University Conservation of Human Resources Project.

This is a sort of balance sheet, not too deep and not too broad, but considerably disturbing. Even today when race relations are better than ever, the discriminations suffered by U. S. Negroes are numerous, frustrating and injurious to the nation. These account largely for their failure on most fronts to measure up to national standards. This country can never make good its boast of freedom and progress until these racial roadblocks are removed. The book has chapter notes but no index.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Views and Reviews . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier 9
Pittsburgh Pa.

Mr. Schuyler

Sat. 11-17-56

VOTE-SPLITTING, supposedly indicative of high citizen intelligence is actually conducive to political pernicious anemia. The so-called independent voter without party affiliation and thus lacking political convictions is a menace to free government. More than any country professing republicanism, the United States is afflicted with this disease, and in consequences we are bedeviled with the recurrent incongruity of the legislature being controlled by the other. So, for the next two years and probably longer, during a crucial period in world affairs, we shall have a Republican Administration and a Democratic Congress.

THE GROWING American custom of voting for this or that "good" man for high office (as if any politician can serve effectively without party backing!) makes for irresponsibility and is a dangerous trend toward one-man rule The cult of the individual has gone much too far. As even the Bolsheviks have discovered in the case of Stalin, this cult leads straight to dictatorship because the voter makes his choice not on the basis of some philosophy of government but on the characteristics of some individual. In short, an election becomes a popularity contest instead of a political one.

PARTY RULE is responsible rule while half-party rule undermines sound government because it lends itself to that coalitionism which is the curse of European politics. A party should stand for a specific program and philosophy of government, and be free to carry these out for the period for which elected. A split government such as we now have is constantly at cross-purposes, and thus ineffective.

WHAT WAS gained by reelecting Eisenhower while the Democrats won Congress (with the same Southern Democrats controlling important committees)? Those numerous Negroes who split tickets simply made it more difficult for Ike's Administration. It was all to the good that an important percentage finally came out of the New-Fair Deal anesthesia, but those people would have done better if they had voted the straight Republican ticket all the way. The results again show that far too many Americans are politically immature.

Both parties, it is true, represent a strange amalgam of contradictory elements and are so similar as to puzzle foreigners studying U. S. political life, let alone run-of-mine U. S. citizens.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

WHAT the outstanding spokesmen of the Superior Race have been trying to prove for over a century at home in Dixie and elsewhere in the Land of the Free is that the Senegambian in their midst is docile, inferior and scarcely a notch above the great ape, hence his social, economic and political suppression is not only desirable, but imperative.

Mr. Schuyler

This was part of the great sectional effort to win by propaganda the victory they had lost on the Civil War battlefields. The halls of Congress rang with the speeches of proud defenders of spotless white womanhood and the "genteel life" that vanished with Appomattox . . . Speakers roamed the country extolling the ante-bellum racial relationships when so-called "darkies" were happy and gay because shiftless, illiterate and amoral. An army of writers burdened none-too-reluctant Northern publishers with book and magazine manuscripts shedding tears over the pathos of the Lost Cause, the "horrors" of Reconstruction and the menace of Ethiopian rule. Medical men predicted with some relish how shortly the Afric would succumb to civilization's diseases. Moreover, others explained to white sceptics, the colored brother could not survive in a complicated industrial civilization because of his inability to master the tools.

■

TO MAKE their predictions stick, these eloquent defenders of Anglo-Saxondom proceeded to handcuff and shackle the black brethren with all sorts of economic, commercial, political, educational, social and health handicaps. But like the late and lamented Houdini, when the "Crackers" threw Mose into the river in a milk can festooned with Yale locks, he always emerged panting and dripping, but still breathing to prove his resourcefulness.

■

TODAY, AFTER doing their damndest to establish their point, the wool-hats, lint-heads, cornpone proletariat and millionaire poor whites are more puzzled than ever. Ole Shiftless Sam who could never save a quarter must now be fought off with fire bombs when he seeks to move into a $20,000 home among white "neighbors." The daughter of Aunt Dinah (who washed all of the clothes, raised the children and cleaned the house when not cooking) is now embarrassing Main Street merchants by seeking rental of store space, thus offering unwanted competition to the devotees of free enterprise. The Negro lawyers who were ridiculed and until recently barred from the American Bar Association suddenly win all of the civil rights cases defended by the best Southern white legal minds. Despised Negro domestics, laborers, preachers and teachers with no opportunity to learn traffic management, operate a city transportation company successfully for five months! The "craven" Negro suddenly develops more ingenuity, courage and stamina against great odds in defending the right than the Kaukasians do in defending the wrong.

■

IT IS all very disheartening just 90 years after the Lost Cause. So, desperate in a losing game, the embattled racists are outlawing the NAACP! Who's superiority does that prove?

The WORLD TODAY

BY GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

SOUTHERN Presbyterian action in unanimously voting against reversal of its two-year stand against segregation cannot be overrated. Whatever may be the reluctance of the Southern church rand-and-file to endorse integration, the leaders of all white Southern religious groups have spoken in its favor. This is simply tremendous.

■

Reportedly most California Negroes supported Stevenson over Kefauver in the primaries despite the former's appeal for gradualism in integration. Evidently they didn't trust Estes . . . Major Democrat dilemma now is writing a civil rights plank that will satisfy both the Eastland and Lehman factions. Bailing out the Gulf of Mexico is easier!

■

Roy Wilkins sapiently observes that "there will be smaller percentages of Negroes voting for the Democrats than last time." If not, we should turn them over to the psychiatrists.

■

Eisenhower told the National Conference of Christians and Jews that racial conflicts can best be combatted "on the moral and spiritual plane." A few more favorable court decrees won't hurt, either!

■

GOP going after Negro city votes in a big way to shift the balance of power away from New-Fair Dealism. It's almost as tough as curing the heroin habit, but the job can be done.

■

Scientists of Cal-Tech predict 7 billion world population in 2056. That should stimulate the desire for interplanetary travel!

■

Amiable Haitian Ambassador Mauclair Zephirin denies his government is torturing three journalists jugged for "trying to overthrow the Government by violence," as reported. Why, of course, they wouldn't do that!

■

Italy tells Somali officials it will liquidate grievances and grant independence by the 1960 date line. It had better, or else the slaughter of Italian officials will be terrific!

■

India trying to free its 52,000,000 outcasts finds the going tougher than the NAACP in Mississippi. It is spending $200 million within the next five years to that end—but the Brahmins are as cold as KKK.

Views and Reviews

RECENTLY some Bishops of all-Negro denominations expressed some doubt about the efficacy and desirability of church integration, racially speaking, and the resultant uproar forced them to hastily reverse themselves. Before that, a Negro school principal somewhere in rural Georgia was forced to hastily resign and take his family out of town because he expressed the obvious fact that there will be no public school integration in Georgia in years. Prior to that I recall that a Negro editor in Jackson, Miss., was widely denounced as an "Uncle Tom" because he was honest enough to warn against the effective Cracker counter-attack which later developed. In Montgomery, Ala., an elderly colored woman was berated and ostracized because she protested that she had not signed a legal paper on which her "signature" appeared, thus causing a setback in the racial fight there.

Mr. Schuyler

■

IT WOULD seem that we are rapidly developing the same sort of intolerant mob-mindedness which has long retarded civilization in the South, which is the bane of American Jewish society bulldozed and traduced by professional fanatics and victimized by periodic exactions, and which was marked during the Roosevelt New Deal when anybody who refused to fall for the nostrums and cant of Franklin, Eleanor, et al, was practically read out of the human race.

This is a dangerous trend. We should encourage difference of opinion on any and everything, giving a hearing to all sides, and permitting people to make up their minds without coercion. The last perfect man having died on the cross, we can safely assume that nobody, but nobody, has the absolutely right answer to any of the group's, nation's or world's multitudinous problems. The more complex is a problem, the more willing should we be to hear dissenting opinion. The people should have the privilege of hearing all sides, popular and unpopular.

■

HERE, IT seems to me, the Negro community has been derelict, especially the Negro press. If we ever needed a true forum, we need it now; but we seem not to want any divergence, any opposition to the majority view (which all too often is the manufacture of a small, loud, influential minority). The prevailing aim seems to be to discourage true discussion and then stampede a lot of unwilling people into swallowing what they regard as distasteful, and all in the name of democracy and liberation.

Personally, I should like to know why some Negro Bishops look upon a racially integrated church with jaundiced eye, and I think they should be invited to set down their views somewhere for all to read. I should like to study the arguments of Negroes dubious about school integration, but I probably never shall. While I do not favor U. S. Negro emigration to Africa, and never have, I should like occasionally to hear the unpopular arguments of those who do. I like to feel that there are others of my brethren who share this view.

Views and Reviews ...... By George S. Schuyler

ONE OF the hoariest of racial fictions still current in the Land of the Free is that having to do with "passing." It is once more trotted out in J. C. Furnas' "Goodbye to Uncle Tom" and wearisomely labored. The author estimates that from 10,000 to 15,000 "Negroes" pass into the so-called white race every year. Walter White used to put the figure higher. How does anybody know? How could one go about getting exact figures. These white "Negroes" vegetating in Crackerdom do not advertise the fact, and it would probably require all of the resources of the FBI to find out. And even if the exact figures were known, so what?

Mr. Schuyler

To be sure there are so-called Negroes who would go unrecognized in a crowd of Klansmen. There are also a sufficient number of "Caucasians" in New York City to support at least two hair straightening parlors in midtown where a black face never enters. When I first went on safari through the jungles of South Carolina, it was often difficult to tell either by appearance or dialect whether the native with whom I was conversing was a "Negro" or a "white." One colored school to which I was taken on the outskirts of Columbia boasted 16 youngsters in one room, and the only recognizable African was the teacher! The number of court houses which have been burned down in Louisiana to get rid of the damning records of tarbrushing is surprisingly large, and in South Texas the "Mexicans" with Spanish names who are indistinguishable from Somalis is surprising.

■

What has escaped the attention of all these zealous scriveners eager to echo the obvious fact that race mixing goes on (as it has since the days of the pterodactyl and tyrannosaurus rex) is that many more thousands of "voluntary Negroes" remain WITHIN "The Race" than infiltrate the Nordic group. I see them every day and have noted them in all parts of the country. They have been prominent in colored society since the Revolution and have contributed much to group progress in numerous ways. Often I have found them to be the most grimly determined "race men" and "race women," as anti-white as Marcus Garvey. They once constituted the elite of the Anglo-African society, albeit they sometimes formed "blue vein" congregations and social clubs wherein the arrival of a black face would cause consternation. One of my pre-Revolutionary ancestors was so white he was nicknamed "Chalk" Schuyler.

It would be easy to take a census of these good folk whereas it is only the wildest speculation to guess the number who have "escaped" to Nordica. I commend such a study to the Ford Foundation or some other such tax-free agency to prove that the pull of Africa is stronger than that of Europe. Maybe there's something to this "one drop" theory of the pigmentarians after all!

Views and Reviews .....

THERE is a largely invisible Government in the United States which too often gets its way regardless of the sentiments of the people. With seemingly unlimited funds to invest and promote fictions or obscure the truth, it seeks to destroy every person with an opposing view who has gained any influence. With depressing frequency it succeeds.

Mr. Schuyler

The majority of the American people did not want this country to enter World War I on either side, and indeed they voted against war in 1916. But Wilson, backed by the Anglophiles and mysterious international bankers and conspirators, got us in. We got nothing out of it but casualties, debts and militant communism, the scourge of the earth. Fortunately, we were able to keep out of the League of Nations. But an ignorant, bullheaded President later recognized that abomination, Soviet Russia.

SIMILARLY, WE had not the slightest inclination to barge into the Hitler-Stalin war, and Roosevelt solemnly pledged that we would not while scheming with the Anglophiles, professional Semites and assorted internationalists to get in as soon as possible. It cost us heaps of dead and a debt exceeding $300 billion, and the end is not yet.

When the exposure of the outrageous Communist infiltration of our most sensitive offices was exposed, the American people wanted drastic action against these subversives and traitors. Amazingly we were confronted with the fantastic spectacle of anti-Communist patriots being baited, denounced, smeared and undermined for doing their duty. Even President Truman sought to whitewash the disgrace, and his Secretary of State vowed he "would not turn his back on Alger Hiss."

Patriots like Senators Jenner and McCarthy were outrageously smeared by the inner clique with their captive and subsidized politicians, bought up by the traitors and conspirators in the plushy offices of the funds and foundations. Not a single public man or woman who has sought to expose the ramifications of this conspiracy has escaped attack although the people wanted, even demanded, the truth.

■

THE CURRENT drive to "drop Nixon" is further evidence of the plot. There is nothing "on" Nixon. Compared to most politicians, he is almost saintly. But he is a militant anti-Communist, a nationalist, an America Firster, and the One Worlders and assorted internationalists eager to save the world at American taxpayers' expense (and ultimately their freedom) are frightened stiff at the possibility of Nixon become President. Hence the Stassen jeremiad against Nixon, concerning which the American public is quite unconcerned and indifferent. They instinctively recognize that Nixon **would** make an excellent President and would work to save them instead of the Pakistanis, British, Indonesians, Filipinos, Zulus, etc., etc. Behind Stassen, of course, is the same group that fought McCarthy, McCarran, et al.

They have never been elected to anything, and the U. S. people scarcely know them, but they've had their way since 1912.

Views and Reviews ...... By George S. Schuyler

AS THE public schools are again inundated by an unprecedented flood of youths, and states, counties and communities are being bankrupted by the burden of education (so-called), it occurs to me that there is a solution to the problem. We can do with both less schools and less teachers with no loss to the nation and a considerable saving to the long-suffering taxpayers. We can do so by halting the education racket, concentrating on rigid training in the fundamental disciplines, getting youngsters out of school as soon as possible and weeding out the halfwit teachers.

Mr. Schuyler

We can no longer afford the country's concept of education. A school should be a place primarily and solely for instruction. I concede the desirability of a playground adjacent or on the roof properly fenced, but I can see no reason for spending fortunes on physical education nor, for that matter on athletic equipment, uniforms and the like. Let the parents buy them. Why pay coaches?

■

KINDERGARTEN is largely a time-wasting hustle. Children should be trained at home until they are six, by which time they should know how to read, write and do simple arithmetic. That's what mothers and fathers are for, and no child should be entered in school until it has had basic training not only in these disciplines, but also in morals and manners. They ought to get some of that in Sunday school.

Once in public school, no time should be wasted on anything but facts. The time and money now squandered on guesswork, speculation and so-called interpretation is appalling. Properly instructed, any normally intelligent child should be ready to enter college in ten years and graduate at 19 or 20. Obviously, however owing to the typically atrocious U. S. diet (which is not helped by the trash served in most school cafeterias), poor home training and a multiplicity of worthless or superfluous courses which confuse more than they instruct, only a third or less students can make the grade. The grade should not be less than 75, and none should be promoted without making it. At about age 14, those who fall by the way should be started to work in factories, shops, stores, etc., on the lowest levels to work their way up through the hierarchy. This would be better than forcing them to attend so-called vocational schools taught by people who mostly would starve to death in business or industry because of incompetence. Many businesses today run free trade schools.

■

THERE IS little I notice in the products of our school system coming under my view which warrants the taxpayers' sacrifices. I see graduates who cannot speak clearly, write legibly or figure accurately; who know little of the facts of geography, geology or history, and have only a slight nodding acquaintance with literature, philosophy and art. Indeed, this is true of many of the teachers! No wonder our intellectual standards are so low and we're almost bankrupt. No wonder the Russians are about to surpass us!

Views and Reviews . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier P. 9

WHEN the newspapers of Jan. 30 reported the death of H. L. Mencken, the sage of Baltimore, I felt a very keen sense of personal loss. Gone from the American scene was a literary giant, a newspaper man's newspaper man, a critic, bibliophile, lexicographer, bon vivant and wit who did so much toward making America a civilized country. Just the other evening I had been chatting with Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge at one of those United Nations cocktail parties about our mutual friend and the tremendous impact he had on American thinking. Upon his poignard he impaled the frauds, demagogues, Kluxers, wowsers and hypocrites who cluttered the national scene then as now. Foe of prohibition, blue laws, evangelical obscenities, communism, color discrimination, New Dealism and similar afflictions to which America seems to be peculiarly heir, he laid about him with energy, ebullience, erudition and delightful mastery of paradox and hyperbole. Almost every editorial, column and literary criticism he wrote was an intellectual treat as heady as a snort of old bonded bourbon or a puff on a pure Havana cigar (both of which he relished).

Mr. Schuyler

I FIRST CAME in contact with Henry L. Mencken through the pages of the raffish magazine The Smart Set, thanks to my good friend Theophilus Lewis, now dramatic critic of America. Along with George Jean Nathan, he made it a "must" for keen young minds and in it he introduced and championed an extraordinary galaxy of writers who later achieved world fame.

In December, 1927, he published as lead article in The American Mercury (designed "for the civilized minority") my hard-hitting piece, "Our White Folks," preceded by a national advertising campaign. Following that he pubished my "Keeping the Negro in His Place" (1929), "A Negro Looks Ahead" (1930), "Traveling Jim Crow" (1930), "Black Warriors" (1930), "Memoirs of a Pearl Diver" (1931), "Black America Begins to Doubt" (1932), "Black Art" (1932), and "Uncle Sam's Black Stepchild" (1933), the year he left. He thought highly of The Pittsburgh Courier and praised it often.

FOR YEARS WE carried on a lively correspondence and I have a large packet of these gems. On several occasions I spent pleasant evenings before his fireplace sharing his hospitality and enjoying his wit and wisdom along with his brother August. I never saw him after 1948 when he was stricken nor did we correspond because he was unable to read or write, but I kept in touch with him through his faithful secretary, Miss Rosalind Lohrifinck.

Her last letter indicated that he probably felt the end was near. On Jan. 3, 1956, she wrote:

"Mr. Mencken sends his very best thanks for your inquiry of his health. He asks me to tell you that he is no better—he can't do anything and sometimes he gets pretty disgusted. But if the sun comes out for a couple of days he'll perk up again and become somewhat optimistic. But these long, dull winter days are depressing for him and he finds it difficult to fill in the hours. He sends his very best wishes and he hopes that you'll be lucky in 1956."

Sat. 2-11-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.

The WORLD TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Courier P. 18 Sat. 2-11-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.

GEORGIA'S newspaper libel law may kill Negro press circulation there. Other Dixie states may follow suit . . . University of Alabama forced to admit Negro woman student. Means other Deep South states will soon have to bow despite bigots. White students apparently don't care . . . General Eugene M. Caffey, Judge Advocate General of the Army, will be reprimanded by his superiors for acclaiming a pro-segregation speech of a Georgia legislator. Georgia-born, he just couldn't hold his tongue . . . Department of Justice embarrassed the Administration by clearing Cobb County, Ga., of discriminating against Negroes in choosing juries. Everybody knows Negroes are barred, except Mr. Brownell . . . South Carolina's Democrat politicians bitterly fighting desegregation decree of Supreme Court. Will Negro Democrats there support them now? Remember, the S. C. Negro vote kept the state out of the GOP column in 1952. How ironical! . . . Negro Democrats also elected New York's Governor Harriman, and now he's sent the third Negro back to a Southern chain gang? He'll be sor-r-ee . . . unless New York Negroes forget!

* * *

Haiti's recent arrest of political opponents and Liberia's denial of civil and human rights has aroused ire of International League for the Rights of Man which will ask United Nations for action. That's where it will end, too! . . . South Africa's ousting of Soviet consulates for subversion among Negroes was expected. Yugoslavs may be the next to go . . . Establishment of diplomatic relations between Sudan and Liberia on one side and Russia on the other has the West worried. So has Sudan's neutral policy in the cold war and its sounding out East and West for arms. Now its demanding (and will get) a UN seat . . . When Nigeria and Gold Coast are free, they'll act likewise . . . African colonial powers are worried but Russia is not. She just shoots the nationalists in HER colonies!

The WORLD TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Courier Sat. 2-25-56 P. 4

WISEST ADVICE last week came from Prof. James T. Taylor of North Carolina College (Durham) to assembled colored students. Calling for "widespread and intelligent use of the ballot," he urged them to "vote up or shut up." The failure of Negro leadership to get their people to solidly register and vote, South and North, is a disgrace . . . Miseducation of the Negro illustrated by inability of National Urban League to fill requests of fifty industrial firms for Negro engineers, scientists and other technical personnel. Just can't find them! When will we learn the score? . . . Federal Court decree invalidating all Louisiana segregation laws is handwriting on the wall to all professional segregationists. The official South, playing for time, knows desegregation in inevitable. Now we must measure up to our opportunities!

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Delaware progress: Wilmington Education Board unanimously votes school desegregation comes September . . . Nashville, Tenn., desegregates its four city-own golf courses, following in the footsteps of Atlanta . . . Florida's Attorney General Ervin warns South against defying U. S. Supreme Court on desegregation as "no answer to the problem," urging "patience and wisdom." All sides could profit from that advice . . . Adlai Stevenson, frantically running for Democrat nomination is wooing Southern white support by preaching gradualism and moderation. Negro Democrats taking due note will **not** support him. Harriman and Kefauver wisely taking different view . . . Bugged by Williams College chapter, venerable Sigma Phi fraternity eliminates color bar on national membership. Just another straw in the wind . . . If all Negroes professedly outraged by Till and Lucy cases would spend $2 for NAACP membership, the association would get a million new members instead of the 400,000 it seeks. Actions speak louder than words every time. How about it, folks?

The WORLD TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Courier P. 15 Sat. 2-18-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.

Look for Richard M. Nixon to be boss of the White House before spring!. It won't suit the Citizens-for-Eisenhower wing of the GOP but that's the way it's likely to be . . . Ike's plea for "liberalizing the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act with 65,000 more aliens admitted will die aborning in Congress, and a good riddance too, so far as we are concerned . . . One little courageous colored woman set Alabama, the South and the whole world agog. She'll win, too. Alabama University students have more guts than the president and faculty . . . Southern Kefauver making Northern Stevenson look very bad on civil rights issue. The latter can kiss the Negro Democrat vote goodbye . . . N. Y. Assemblyman Bertram Baker fighting against more bars and liquor stores in Brooklyn's Negro area.. This protest should spread from coast to coast. Liquor interests are concentrating on colored districts — as if we didn't have enough delinquency now! . . . One little touch of integration makes all the South akin. Still, colored and white youths are going to college together in all Dixie states except South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. That's progress! And so far there've been no intermarriages, so Senator Eastland can relax.

* * *

Federation in the offing for the British West Indies. Premiership a toss-up between Gomes of Trinidad, Adams of Barbados and Manley of Jamaica. Independence will come later. Then citizens of the new state will be non-quota under U. S. immigration law like all other New World countries. That should lower the population pressure down there! . . . UN Security Council gave Sudan the membership okeh which means she will be in next fall when the UN Assembly meets. Another vote for the colored bloc . . . Red China with 25-million slave laborers (which makes United States slavery seem picayune—we had four million) has a fat chance of getting UN membership . . . Jewish organizations squawking over Arab boycott of Jewish firms. They can give it but they can't take it!

News

Views and Reviews . . . . By George S. Schuyler

UNLESS you peruse the public prints more closely than I, you saw no big headlines nor editorial comment on the lenthy trial of Paul H. Hughes in New York Federal Court. If you are green about the anti-McCarthy conspiracy, this failure to publicize the Hughes case will surprise you. But the reason why most newspapers had little to say about it was because the testimony strongly indicated that Joseph L. Rauh Jr., chairman of the leftist Americans for Democratic Action; Clayton Fritchey, deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee; James Russell Higgins, executive editor of the Washington Post; Arthur Friendly, the Post's managing editor; Gen. Telford Taylor, Nuremburg trials prosecutor; Gen. Cornelius J. Mara, former military aide to President Truman, and James A. Wechsler, editor of the New York Post, were more or less involved in the conspiracy to "get" the dynamic Communist-hunter, Senator McCarthy. Informed people knew that such a conspiracy existed, but they had to wait for this trial for proof.

Mr. Schuyler

HUGHES, A 35-year-old Air Force veteran discharged in July, 1953, was being tried specifically for having allegedly lied to a grand jury in 1955 that he was present at meetings with Messrs, Rauh, Fritchey, Friendly, et al, "at which financial arrangements were made to make Harvey Matusow (the somersaulting informer), change his story." After hearing Hughes' and the prosecution's side, the New York jury acquited him!

What was brought out at the trial, however, was that Hughes, taking advantage of the leftist crowd's eagerness to pin something on McCarthy, went to them with a fantastic story that he was a McCarthy undercover agent. Playing on their hatred and credulity, he gave them admittedly forged credentials and documents "proving" McCarthy was engaged in illegal activities. They paid off like a slot machine and in a short time he had hooked them for $10,800 "for expenses." Meantime the Washington Post boys had twelve articles prepared based on Hughes' lies and were ready to publish them when they found out they had been "had." The defendant charged that the conspirators knew all along the stuff was phony, but insisted that he prepare more. This they piously denied.

When Hughes had milked the suckers dry, he went over to the Justice Department and spilled the beans on the crowd's successful efforts to get Harvey Matusow to recant, and how he was just a tool in their hands. Of course, the lads indignantly denied any part in that; especially did the editor of the New York Post, Mr. Wechsler.

WELL, FOLKS, there y'are! Mr. Hughes doubtless agrees with the late W. C. Fields to "Never give a sucker an even break"; even big suckers in high places like the A. D. A., the Democratic National Committee, the Committee for a More Effective Congress (which wrote the speech Senator Flanders delivered against McCarthy which precipitated the famous hearings) and the editors of two of our largest dailies!

After the jurors heard of it for about ten days, they unanimously acquitted Paul H. Hughes! So where does that leave the anti-McCarthy conspirators? This affair should help you to understand a lot about the uproar over Senator McCarthy's "methods"!

Views and Reviews . . . . By George S. Schuyl

THE SILENT counter-boycott by Negroes against business adherents of white citizens' councils who are boycotting pro-integrationists among Negroes, and the militant action of Montgomery (Ala.) colored folk in boycotting the local bus company [redacted] have aroused nation-wide interest. Practically nothing has been said, however, about the long-existing Negro boycott against Negroes. This is a shameful situation which should have frequent exposure. Negro business and professional folk have been long-suffering in this connection. Nobody forces large numbers of Negroes to prefer spending their money with the other group, and many of them are the same people who scream for FEPC. Why do they discriminate against their own professional and business folk who live in the community, are identified with the community, rear families in the community and whose success aids the community?

Mr. Schuyler

* * *

THESE REFLECTIONS were stimulated by a director's report made by Atty. Lawrence E. Bailey of New York City at the convention of the National Bar Association in September, 1955, at Washington, D. C.

Among Attorney Bailey's suggestions was the creation of a Committee on Psychology and the Law to study and make inquiry into the factors and forces at work which make so many Negroes retain only non-Negro counsel despite the demonstrated capacity of Negro lawyers.

Attorney Bailey points out the sad truth that "even the most dedicated of Negro enterprises rely heavily on white counsel. For example the majority of the Negro publishers . . . and many of our insurance companies use white counsel exclusively."

"Many large firms (legal) represent unions with large or major-Negro membership. Something should be done by the NBA toward insisting that those firms employ the young Negro law graduate." Very few, if any do, but I have yet to hear of Negro membership insisting that it be done. A tenth of U. S. union membership is colored!

* * *

MR. BAILEY charges that "Negro stars in the field of entertainment are almost wholly represented by a few white firms. Even so race-conscious a performer as Paul Robeson seems not to be embarrassed by his employment of white counsel, exclusively." Hah! (Editor Note—Robeson's first counsel was George E. C. Hayes, Negro.)

If Attorney Bailey's charges are untrue, I should like to know what proportion of Negro artists have colored lawyers, what labor unions employ them in any capacity and what Senegambian socialites and business enterprises "see white" when they seek legal counsel.

All of these people belong to the NAACP, back the Urban League, perhaps contribute to the United Negro College Fund, were duly exercised over the Till case and other atrocities, and proclaim very loudly their interest in Negro progress—but they don't put their money where their mouths are.

The World Today

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

ROMAN Catholic educators flatly on record for full integration. That takes care of one in five Americans . . . Significantly, twenty-eight leading ministers of the Southern Baptist Convention take an equally strong position. Methodists and others have taken a similar step . . . Unfortunately White Citizens Councils haven't yet heard of it! . . . "Liberal" North Carolina's Governor Hodges bent on evading the law is calling the legislature together to make legally possible the evasion . . . Meanwhile, Hillsboro, Ohio, decides to throw in the sponge on its defiance. Others will follow. You'll see!

■

France using black African troops to suppress Algerian revolt . . . President Magloire of Haiti bugging his political henchmen by refusing to say whether he will retire or have the constitution amended so he can succeed himself. He's tired of the job but his boys are loath to jump off the gravy train—no other jobs being available . . . Liberia's President Tubman knows what side his bread is buttered on. He's turned down Soviet bids for "help" saying, "This nation has never been for sale, neither will the Liberian people ever barter their integrity" . . . It's good to see one nation we've helped, stay loyal . . . Zionists getting more frightened as Nasser forges the ring tighter around Israel. Latest to join is Yemen with Libya going along. Russia is singing, "We Can't Give You Anything but Guns, Baby!" . . . With a left-wing regime in Ceylon, British are worrying about Singapore and Hong Kong.

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NASSER jiving Hammerskjold about "peaceful co-existence" with Israel while Kremlinites replenish his air force . . . In the old days the UN would have sent Dr. Bunche. will just about blind the stewardesses. They plan to take movies all along the way, conduct taped interviews, serve refreshing drinks of one kind or another.

■

Soon after arriving, they are supposed to take off in a body to the fight which Ray has already said he's going to win because "I've got something on this guy." Win, lose or draw, Ray will take the gang to a party on the movie set where Frank Sinatra is making a picture. Seems Mr. Sinatra, a wild Robinson fan, wants to entertain the excursionists personally.

Father of this high-class type excursion is a fellow with the unlikely name of Lexy Hanford. Everybody in Harlem

Views and Reviews . . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

THE CURRENT attacks on Vice President Richard M. Nixon were to be expected by everyone aware of the great anti-anti-Communist conspiracy to halt all exposure of those who willingly participated, directly or indirectly, in the Moscow-managed plot against human freedom.

Mr. Schuyler

The Vice President's crime is that he was instrumental in laying Alger Hiss by the heels and thus becoming a prime factor in turning the spotlight on a whole generation of "liberals" and "intellectuals" who almost destroyed America—and may do so yet.

The surest way for a man or woman in this country to be attacked, undermined, harassed and handicapped is to expose this conspiracy. Representative Martin Dies, Representative Wood, Representative Thomas, Dr. J. B. Matthews, Representative Walter and scores of others who have been in the forefront of this exposure, have all suffered.

SO LONG as President Eisenhower seemed to be in good health, the sniping at Nixon was tame and sporadic; but when Ike was stricken, a tremendous wave of fear swept over the official and "intellectual" ranks at the possibility that a real anti-Communist might enter the White House for the first time since Herbert Hoover. Now that the President has elected to run again, the Nixon opposition has become loud and shrill because only a heart beat (of a Chief Executive who has already been stricken) separates the Californian from the White House. So we get attacks, brash and subtle, from all sides; from the Pinkish New York Post and Washington Post to the "independent" New York Times. It is significant that all of these attackers once shouted to high heaven against what was dubbed "McCarthyism (a term first used, of course, by the Daily Worker). The last man they want in the White House is one who would not permit himself to be Red brainwashed and who would fight the Reds at home more vigorously than those abroad (who are less dangerous!).

THE NIXON-HATERS are severely handicapped because they have "nothing on" the brilliant, young Vice President. They can only say that he's "too young" (which they didn't say of Teddy Roosevelt or Tom Dewey) or that he is "opportunistic" (which is true of all other politicians).

Nixon never belonged to the "Twenty Years of Treason" gang which misruled the U. S. A. under Roosevelt and Truman. Nor is he persona grata with the Parlor Socialist-Internationalist wing of the GOP which is now busy trying to plant a time bomb under him, in the hope of getting into the No. 2 spot somebody more agreeable to the One World-Rockefeller-Ford interests that bankrolled the Republicans to victory in 1952.

In my opinion this youngster would make the best President for the American people that we have had since the days of Coolidge and Hoover. I am glad to see that my friend, Ralph de Toledano, author of the new biography, "Nixon" (Holt, $3), shares this view.

The WORLD TODAY
By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

SUPREME COURT has made things tougher by its decision on previously lily-white colleges admitting Negroes. What will the Negrophobes do now? . . . NAACP facing unprecedented opposition in the South. Only way to offset it is for every U. S. Negro to take out a year's membership. What are YOU waiting for? . . . Loud outcry of South against integration can be taken with grain of salt. It can't win because the law, the Supreme Court and most public opinion is against it . . . Tragedy of the boycott propaganda in Montgomery and elsewhere is that it is so limited. Real boycott has to be based on Negro business—and we have too little of that . . . Dr. T. M. Howard, Mississippi leader, talking too much. He doesn't understand that the U. S. will never again send troops down South to enforce civil rights. Negroes will have to do that themselves.

EISENHOWER must be brainwashed if he plans to dump Nixon, the ablest man in Government. Nixon is in the New Deal GOP "doghouse" because he is anti-Communist. The attacks on him show how strong is the Red opposition . . . Senate Internal Security Committee digging deep into the left-wing background of many Negro leaders, just in case they get too active in the civil rights fight. Many of them are very vulnerable . . . Scuttlebut is that Miss Lucy will never go back to the University of Alabama. However, others will follow and be admitted without difficulty. Just watch and see! . . . Congressman Adam Powell of New York again fluttering the dovecotes, by threatening to resign from his church and his seat. Adam, some say, is just jiving . . . Alabama White Citizens Councils split over anti-Semitism. This is the beginning of the big break . . . Henry Winston, Negro Communist leader, surrendered after four years. He'll be sorr-ee!

The WORLD TODAY
By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

ANTI-INTEGRATION Democrat Congressional declaration is for the birds—simply a delaying action, but it may sink Democrat prospects for 1956. Is that bad? . . . Like Custer at Little Big Horn, the lily-white Southrons are surrounded and can't escape. We've been assured that the white masses are resigned to integration, but those who profit from separatism are panicky for fear of losing their racket . . . Only gimmick the woolhats have is claim of protecting white womanhood . . . and the way most of them look down there they don't need protecting! . . . White Council merchants are deeply concerned about rise in Negro purchases from Chicago mail order houses. Seems like "The Brother" has decided that same stuff from the Windy City is cheaper than in hometown stores . . . and who is going to interfere with the U. S. mails? As Bert Williams would say, "Nobody!" . . . Biggest headache of far-sighted white Southern businessmen (many White Council members) is that race tension they have aggravated may scare off Northern industrialists planning to set up factories in Dixie. It is already doing so. Migrating businesses want profits not problems. Southern dailies, please copy!

University of Alabama, in expelling and penalizing student agitators against integration, is laying the groundwork for admission of future Negro applicants who will soon be rapping on the doors —and will be admitted . . . Amidst other troubles of Southern lily-whites, came Supreme Court decision desegregating all tax-supported colleges. Ku Klux Southern anthem is now "No Hidin' Place," because private colleges are voluntarily desegregating . . . Florida University gagged over accepting colored Virgil D. Hawkins via U. S. Supreme Court decision, but they had to swallow him . . . True to tradition, Sumner, Miss. jury acquitted a white man who slew an unarmed Negro garage attendant—and we're worrying about problems in the Middle East!

The WORLD TODAY
By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

POLITICIANS' HOPES of keeping desegregation out of the campaign have already gone glimmering, Messrs. Eisenhower and Stevenson notwithstanding . . . Kefauver "leveled" on the issue and captured New Hampshire and Minnesota primaries, to the distress of Democratic bosses.

Foreign press and radio enjoying field day on Lucy and Montgomery cases to the distress of U. S. Information Agency which must answer those $64 questions . . . It's tough to be a pro-American propagandist these days, even though the U. S. record is much better than most . . . South Carolina defends its "honor" by barring NAACP members from public employment. Another evidence of Southern chivalry and fairplay.

The South, avid for industrialization, is worried for fear outside business will bypass it because of racial troubles. Many who planned to shift to Dixie, now have their eyes fixed on Puerto Rico and other non-Southern locations.

The lure of cheap labor fades in the face of possible racial strife. Jim crow in many ways is an expensive luxury.

BEST THING coming out of the Montgomery trials was putting into the record how bus drivers insulted and abused Negroes because they were Negroes . . . Sadder, but wiser man is Atty. Henry Arrington of Miami who was suspended as first Negro assistant state attorney because he boasted that his office was integrated. 'Tis true that silence is golden.

Despite all the uproar for and against desegregation, the fact remains that in compliance the South has shrunk. This is a major NAACP achievement. If only 265,000 Negro pupils are integrated, that's that many more than were . . . Latin-American press playing up U. S. racial difficulties, but of course not mentioning their own which are multitudinous.

Views and Reviews . . . . By George S. Schuyler

THE EXTENT to which Americans have been brainwashed in the past thirty-odd years is scarcely less than the Red hypnosis to which the hapless Russians have been subjected. Millions have been led to believe that collectivism is synonymous with freedom, that free enterprise is worse socialism, that liberalism means statism, that reactionism is progress. They have come to think that it makes no difference whether the country is solvent or insolvent; that we should bankrupt ourselves to bail out every improvident nation; that national sovereignty is old-fashioned; that it is progressive to have the state controlling industry, commerce, education and health.

Mr. Schuyler

They have come to believe this because the nation's opinion-makers (editors, preachers, teachers, writers, etc.) have come to believe it and have taught it through the various media by which people are reached and their minds influenced. In consequence the country is speeding downhill to the same communism which our spokesmen denounce and revile behind the Iron Curtain. On the face of it, the boast of Red leaders that their slave system will ultimately prevail here is far from an idle one.

* * *

SINCE IT is impossible to reach the brainwashed masses with the truth about economics and government as long as those who brainwashed them are themselves hypnotized by collectivist heresies, the only way to save the country from catastrophe is to re-educate the brainwashed opinion formers. For several years this has been the self-appointed task of the Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y. Its program is one of adut education on a grand and fundamental scale. Thoroughly grounded in the libertarian philosophy which made this nation great before the "liberals" got the upper hand, the Foundation (set up in 1946 by its president, Leonard E. Read) has enlisted the services of outstanding thinkers on the subject of freedom. It has issued over 200 pamphlets and books, its libertarian monthly, "The Freeman," reaches over 60,000 persons regularly, it mails information to thousands of teachers, publicists and politicians; does a prodigious job of research, has organized high school and college programs, publishes a five-times-yearly pocket book, "Ideas on Liberty," and currently is engaged in a nation-wide project of study groups on the U. S. Constitution and what it means. Each year it provides "Fellowships in Business" for college professors seeking a six-week on-the-spot study of business firms. It also holds summer seminars of two-week duration addressed by experts from many countries. Then it has the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists which seeks to change the nation's intellectual and political climate. Its program is a "must" for the civilized minority.

* * *

FACTS ARE weapons against collectivist propaganda — the only effective weapons. The foundation has greatly aided my education on freedom and individualism, and I cannot too highly recommend it to others eager to think clearly about the major problems of our times. A letter to the foundation will get a prompt and fruitful reply.

The WORLD ★ TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

UNITED Negro College Fund seeking $2 million this year for thirty-one private Negro colleges, and hoping colored folk will give at least half of it . . . NAACP launching drive for 400,000 members at $2 each, or more, is optimistic, wishing it had one-tenth of what we spend annually on beer . . . National Deliverance Day coast-to-coast prayers for souls of white folks went off big, for which Cong. Adam Powell deserves credit . . . What we now need is a national deliverance day from the loan sharks, sellers of rotten food and shoddy clothing infesting our districts . . . New York City Puerto Ricans hunting the answer have organized an association of 1,000 grocery stores they operate, for community action and cooperative advertising and marketing. "Smart" Negro grocers have not worked up to that yet . . . National Urban League, which has done more than any agency to solve Negroes' urban problems of housing, health and jobs, is seeking $100,000 to modernize its new headquarters at 14 East Forty-eighth Street, New York. Any donations sent there will be appreciated . . . Kefauver will continue to worry Stevenson. Negroes like the Tennesseean's stand on integration.

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Orchids to the City Council of San Antonio for unanimously abolishing racial segregation at all municipal facilities. Other Southern cities please copy . . . French have completely freed Tunis. Algeria will follow after a little more blood-letting. Morocco is showing how it can be done . . . Biggest African news comes from Southern Rhodesia where a new, and interracial university opens a year hence, with black and white students studying side by side. Central African Federation has 300,000 whites but 7,000,000 blacks. And yet the University of Alabama (a state-owned college) is afraid to let in a few black students because its Negroes constitute two-fifths of the population! Maybe the South can learn something from Africa.

Views and Reviews

THE ACHILLES heel of the non-Southern white "liberals," both Christian and Jew, is the colored brethren. Whatever its editorial motives may be, that excellent newspaper, the Montgomery Advertiser, deserves applause for exposing the Northern (and Eastern and Western) hypocrisy, and impaling Yankee sham on the poignard of ridicule, in a series of articles by staff member Tom Johnson. I hope the Advertiser publishers imitate the sanctimonious New York Times and publish a special supplement on Brother Johnson's findings for nation-wide distribution. As one who was born, reared and live in the Northeast (and have been everywhere in the U. S.), I can attest to the accuracy of the Montgomery Advertiser's series. For my sixty years I have been sickened by the self-righteous squawks of professional white liberals and do-gooders moaning lugubriously over Southern Negrophobia, racial prejudice and discrimination, and have done my utmost to expose it. I certainly detest these practices and prejudices in the South, but I hate them no less in the rest of the country. The Southerners at least are frank and forthright, which is more than I can say for their Yankee brethren.

Mr. Schuyler

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THE CITIES outside the South where a decent Negro family can move out of the black ghetto without great difficulty are as rare as an Arab official in Tel Aviv. Frequently the white neighbors opposing the 'invasion' have said it with violence, and, that failing, have fled elsewhere to avoid social contamination. Is this not true?

Prior to 1945, the number of hotels, restaurants, motels and such establishments that solicited or welcomed Negro patronage outside the South was infinitesimal. I exposed this situation in "Traveling Jim Crow" (American Mercury, August 1930), "Vacation Daze" (Common Ground, Spring 1943), and "Jim Crow in the North" (American Mercury, June 1949). **Before me is a report made last year by Andrew F. Jackson and Associates of Washington, D. C., showing that Negro travelers are 'welcome in not more than 6 per cent of the nation's better hotels and motels.' Jackson surveyed 2,500 of the best such establishments,** mostly non-Southern.

The Montgomery Advertiser series exposes the Color Curtain on social news about Negroes maintained by all daily newspapers in the U. S., including the 'liberal' ones. It is true and disgraceful.

The National Bar Association has exposed the racial exclusion prevalent throughout the West from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Coast and sought vainly to do something about it.

Pious disavowals of Negrophobia by distinguished white politicians, publicists, clergymen, pedagogues, etc., mean nothing when jim crowism and racial exclusion is nation-wide. So I'm glad that the Montgomery Advertiser has exposed this shameless hypocrisy no matter what its intentions. Let's have the truth from whatever source.

Views and Reviews .... By George S. Schuyler

Courier P. 9

MY GOOD friend, the devoted and indefatigable S. J. Phillips, reminded me the other day that April 5 was the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Booker T. Washington, one of America's famous sons. It was fitting and timely that on that date the Post Office Department released a three-cent Booker T. Washington centennial stamp through its 15,000 post offices. Prior to that date the Congress of the United States unanimously had voted that the plantation on which Booker T. Washington was born would become a national monument maintained by the Department of the Interior. All this is fitting tribute to a great educator and statesman who came along at the right time with the right program. It is against the background of his time that Booker T. Washington is to be judged in the court of history. Mr. Phillips has done more than anbody else in the country to preserve the memory of what Washington accomplished. Phillips restored the birthplace and has now made it a national shrine. Sat. 4-14-56

Mr. Schuyler

Pittsburgh, Pa.

AMAZINGLY, HE did it with almost no assistance from Negro leaders or the Negro press (aside from the pioneering support of the Pittsburgh Courier). Thirty years after Washington's death when he was almost about to be forgotten, Phillips got busy, purchased the old plantation, restored the cabin in which Washington was born, established a trade school in nearby Roanoke in the Washington tradition, and succeeded in getting Congress to mint a B. T. Washington memorial half-dollar which has sold more than any similar coin in history. The highway passing the old plantation was renamed after the ambitious slave boy who was born there one hundred years ago.

■

WASHINGTON IS important to us and to our civilization because he zoomed into the national spotlight at a time when the poor white class in the South had come into the ascendancy and was set to destroy what it regarded as its traditional economic enemies by disfranchisement, humiliation, discrimination, segregation and ostracism. Worse, the "liberal" North, which had deserted the Negro in the Compromise of 1876, had turned a deaf ear to his cries for succor. In Negro history it was what my friend, Dr. Rayford Logan, has accurately termed "The Nadir."

Washington was severely criticized for making a compromise with the bloodthirsty South in his famous Atlanta speech, but clearly there was then no alternative. Compromise is the essence of statesmanship. Persons and peoples compromise because they have to, and the art consists in being able to do it with grace and without humiliation. Vicious jim crowism was a glaring fact and power was in the hands of those that imposed it. What Negroes needed then was training, organization and . . . time. Washington filled the leadership bill. Besides he helped to popularize a system of mass education which has been widely copied here and abroad and is essential to true democratic development.

No American citizen is more due a national monument than he. Too bad so few of us helped Phillips to get it!

Views and Reviews .... By George S. Schuyler

Courier P. 11

KEEPING up with the Joneses is no less difficult for poor nations than it is for poor individuals. National independence involves more than internal administration, development and defense. There are also external relations to maintain which call for greater expenditure than many poor nations can afford, but which they cannot avoid. Legations, embassies and consulates have to be staffed and maintained, expensive communications have to be kept up and good public relations established.

Sat. 4-28-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.

This runs into big money and, in the case of a country like Liberia, may run to 15 or 20 per cent of its budget. With expansion of industry, agriculture, trade and commerce, the Government apparatus inevitably requires more employes in order to function efficiently and measure up to the standards of larger and richer countries.

Small nations like Haiti, Panama, Yemen, Jordan, Libya, Syria, Ceylon and Bolivia are similarly bedeviled by the burden of statecraft. In this country they have to maintain two embassies (Washington and New York). Aside from administration costs, they have to hold five or six entertainments yearly with a couple hundred guests at each drawn from the diplomatic, press and social elite.

Mr. Schuyler

There is also the considerable cost of public relations. Multiply this by the number of diplomatic and consular officers required to be maintained (Washington, Paris, London, New York, etc.) and you get the general idea.

AN EMBASSY may get along with reasonable expenditure until something happens which requires stepped-up activity. Take the recent complaint by the International League for the Rights of Man against the Republic of Liberia for alleged violation of human rights. The league charged to the United Nations that a member of Liberia's opposition party (Independent True Whig) had been dragged through the streets of Monrovia at the end of a chain fixed to a jeep; that election ballots were pre-marked and small boys were permitted to vote in the last Presidential election when troops were concentrated in the capital, and that editors of opposition newspapers had been jailed.

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SUCH CHARGES have to be answered before the U. N. Commission on Human Rights by the Hon. C. T. O. King, Liberian Permanent Delegate, even though he has branded them as false and "unrealistic." It is an unanticipated and burdensome expense. It would mean little to a rich country, but a great deal to a small, poor one. It involves, if properly done, releases to all press wire services, radio and TV news bureaus and key columnists. It calls for considerable lobbying which can run into money, what with the cost of elaborate luncheons, preceded by dry martinis. Maybe, all this was not in the small budget, but it has to be done. Many a diplomatic battle has been lost for want of good public relations men who know the ropes and do not toil for peanuts.

All of this can make a big dent in a national budget of only three or four million dollars.

There is more to being an independent nation than most people imagine.

Views and Reviews

Courier

LAST week I mentioned the current controversy in New York City over the proposal to fluoridate the 1,135,000,000 gallons of water used daily by the 8,000,000 Gothamites, with Arthur C. Ford, Commissioner of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity, heading the antis, and Dr. Leona Baumgartner, Commissioner of Health (ironically enough) leading the pros. As an alternative to this wholesale poisoning of the water with sodium fluoride designed to lower the incidence of dental caries among children up to mid-teens, Commissioner Ford has recommended the alternative of free issue of fluoride tablets to parents through health stations. Not only would this assure accurate dosage, but it would spare tens of thousands from injury.

Mr. Schuyler

Sat. Pittsburgh, Pa.

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ACTUALLY CHILDREN can be assured sound teeth and strong, well-formed bodies by The overwhelming majority which doesn't "need" fluoride would not have to risk impairment of health every time a glass of water was drunk. Scientists of New York's Water Supply Department laboratories support Commissioner Ford. So do numerous local physicians and dentists, although the dental brass seems generally for it.

■

DENTAL CARIES not being connected with water, it is not the vehicle with which to treat it. Sodium fluoride often causes chronic fluorosis affecting the spine, impairment of hearing, gastro-intestinal attacks, anemia, mouth ulcers, mental sluggishness, weak fingers, le buckling, loss of memory an ambition. That some 300 U. S towns have fallen for this dangerous fraud simply proves the gullibility of Homo Americanus. Since New York City is the U. S. capital of collectivism, there is danger of its succumbing to the specious arguments of the "experts," who would make guinea pigs of everybody.

Dental caries can be prevented without sodium fluoride or any other poison, and next week I'll tell you how. (Just call me Professor!)

The WORLD TODAY

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Sat. 5-5-56

SUPREME COURT'S bus decision forced White Councils to sing, "We aint gonna reign no mo'!" . . . Rumor is Eleanor Roosevelt threatens to resign from NAACP following Roy Wilkins' alleged pro-GOP remarks. Well, some people have all the luck! . . . Detroit raises $31,000 for NAACP at $100-a-plate dinner. That's putting the money where the mouth is. Other communities, please copy! P. 9 . . . Southern chivalry took another beating when veteran civil rights gadfly John L. LeFlore, Mr. NAACP in Mobile, got a 21-day payless suspension from the local post office allegedly because of his work record, which suddenly became "bad" after 35 years. How low can they get? . . . Southern Democrats delay action in Congress on civil rights measure, says headline. Is that news? . . . Southern Assembly at Biloxi, Miss. meeting finds goal of vigorous two-party system in South set back by racial controversies. Next thing they'll be blaming desegregation for rheumatism, cholera, hook worm, dermatitis, bunions and other ills!

Algerian nationalists declaring total war on French, and vice versa. Other African Moslems supporting North African brethren—and Moslems are all over Africa. Looks bad for the French empire. So who cares? . . . South African Nationalists

The

WORLD TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

UNHAPPIEST college president is Dr. Benner C. Turner, president of South Carolina State College, who had to expel student council president Fred Moore at the behest of the white board of trustees because of student boycott he allegedly inspired.

Attorney General Brownell has come up with an injunctive gimmick which is going to make it tougher to disfranchise colored voters. Why is it no Democrat Attorney General thought of that?

Toughest job U. S. spokesmen have abroad is trying to explain to foreigners what Lucy, Montgomery, Till and Cole cases mean in our vaunted democracy.

Methodists meeting in Minneapolis faced up to the integration issue forthrightly and will break up their jim-crow Central District.

Guggenheim Memorial Foundation which used to give one or two Negroes fellowships each year has come up with exactly none for the brother in 1956. This is progress?

Mrs. Roosevelt huffed out and huffed back into the NAACP board over the alleged GOP statement of Roy Wilkins which he repudiated. It would have been just fine if she had stayed resigned. NAACP progressed for years without her and could continue.

■

Democrats definitely alarmed by prospects of Negro defection. If true, it proves definitely that Negroes are progressing. Imagine voting to keep in Congressional power the people whom one hates!

Kissin' Jim Folsom, Alabama Governor, gained nothing by telling the modern Kluxers "Me, too." He was soundly beaten for Democratic national committeeman by a candidate who out-Kluxed him. He couldn't have done worse if he'd come out for social equality.

New Yorkers are wondering how Representative Adam Powell can remain a Democrat after Ike's embarrassingly good record.

Headline: "U. S. Communists Shift Party Line." What, again?! Now they're back to Browderism which called the conspiracy "Twentieth Century Americanism!"

(Boers) turn down $290 million proposal for developing native areas designed to make apartheid work. It couldn't anyway. The Boers have a bear by the tail—and know it . . . Big white headache in Africa now is Egypt's recent gift of $1,500,000 worth of tanks, armored cars, field guns, light arms and ammunition to Sudan, its Moslem partner bordering on Kenya, Uganda, French Africa and Belgian Congo. World War III could start on the Equator! Africa was conquered by superior arms and could be reconquered by the same means.

Views and Reviews . . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

THE LATEST battle in the eternal conflict between individualism and collectivism is over the issue of fluoridation of the water supply to allegedly lower the incidence of dental caries in children up to their mid-teens. It is another phase of the warfare between those who follow the collectivist (Socialist-Communist-Fascist) philosophy that the ruling elite should prescribe what it deems best for the lesser orders to do whether the people want it or not, and the individualist concept that choice and decision should be free of government compulsion, and the individual free to act in his own behalf for good or ill.

Mr. Schuyler

Finally, the fluoridation scuffle has reached New York City with the pros headed by Health Commissioner Dr. Leona Baumgartner and the antis headed by Commissioner of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity, Hon Arthur C. Ford (colored). At first this would seem to be a paradox until one recalls that medicine is not an exact science while the water supply is

DR. BAUMGARTNER has indicated her scientific approach by echoing the obvious that sodium fluoride is colorless, odorless and tasteless (and so the people wouldn't know the difference when this poison was added to their drinking water!) and by calling the anti-fluoridationists "lunatic fringe," "ignorant" and "uninformed."

Commissioner Ford has stated that fluoridation of water at one part in a million is unscientific and impossible to accurately regulate; that the number of persons out of an eight million population sensitive to this poison is seriously significant; that individuals drink varying amounts of water and thus it is impossible to regulate the degree of medication; and that giving free flouride tablets, through health stations, to parents desiring to offset incidence of caries in young children would cost one-fifth of the cost of wholesale poisoning of the 1,135,000,000 gallons of water New York uses daily. Voluntary dosage would be accurate and would be taken only by the small minority "needing" it.

their parents' willingness and determination to observe certain dietary rules in the selection and preparation of what they feed their children. A study of the nutritional habits and background of youngsters who do not have carious teeth and those who do, indicates that poor diet is the villain. Is it not singular that children of so-called savages who have escaped store food are almost entirely without caries? I suggest a reading of "Nutrition and Physical Degeneration" by Dr. Weston A. Price (Harper) to interested parents.

Teeth can be no better than what makes them. Careful and intelligent regulation of what children eat and drink from birth can make them perfect. Kids will have a better physical (and mental) start if their mothers avoid all denatured, artificial foods and drinks during gestation; and if they bear them naturally without dubious, though pain-killing, drugs. Also, if possible, they should be breast fed, with later addition of whole certified (raw) milk, freshly made orange, grapefruit or tomato juice, spiked with cod liver oil, raw vegetable juices made in the kitchen—and nothing cooked.

AFTER WEANING, wise mothers will deprive their kids of such deleterious "foods" as white bread, white rice, white sugar, hominy, fried and roasted foods, tea, coffee, hot biscuits, candy, bottled soft drinks and store-bought ice cream. With electric liquidizers, juicers and grinders (costing under $100 for the three) they can makes scores of palatable, tasty ice cream, cakes, candies, shredded raw vegetable, pure fruit desserts, purees, serve broiled meats and fish, using lemon or lime instead of that old enemy, salt, and employing melted butter and olive oil instead of indigestable tinned grease.

Not only worthless but injurious are most preserved foods, whose taste and color are artificial and their vitamins removed by excessive heat and/or preservatives. Unfortunately, the food, drink and drug industries seem to be immune from exposure to spare children's teeth, bone structure, stomachs and hearts. We Americans eat much, but despite our plenty, we don't eat well. The blunt truth is that very few children would have dental caries if properly fed.

Views and Reviews .... By George S. Schuyler

Courier P. 11

BACK in the dear, dead days of the Year 1 A. P. (After Prohibition) when we were struggling through the Depression, paying little or no income tax and suffering the imposition of lamb chops at 35 cents a pound, and when I was working in the NAACP National office, the taking out of a life membership in the Association ($500) was an event. There were scarcely a dozen names of life members on the great bronze plaque in the old office at 69 Fifth Ave., and little real effort to get more. Very few colored folk had availed themselves of this opportunity to obtain a sort of immortality although the material possessions of numerous Senegambians indicated an ability to do so. I felt then that a greater effort should be made to interest them, and I am glad to see that, along with general streamlining of administration and money-raising techniques, this form of solicitation has received more expert attention.

Mr. Schuyler

Sat. 6-2-56

WHERE ONCE these Immortals were few, they are now numerous. From Kivie Kaplan, the Boston merchant, who is co-chairman with Dr. Benjamin E. Mays of the life membership committee, I have learned that in 1954 when it started, 488 life members were enrolled, Last year, 848 were enrolled, and since April of 1956, nearly 150 have been enrolled. Almost every week now we learn that this or that individual or organization or business has either paid for a full life membership or is paying for one in installments. This not only reflects a certain prosperity but, more importantly, a realization of social responsibility on the part of those who have a greater understanding of the vital importance of the contribution the NAACP has made and is making. Since automobiles, television sets, houses, air condidtioners and almost everything else is brought on time, why not an NAACP life membership? Certainly there are hundreds of Negroes in every large community who can afford to pay cash for a life membership, and tens of thousands who can start paying on one. I notice, too, that every person completing such a purchase gets considerable publicity.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

SINCE 1915, the NAACP has won a succession of legal victories which formed the basis for the vast improvement of the Negro's social and economic status. Civil rights are not handed over on a silver platter nor won by shouting for victory. As an army travels on its belly, so a civil rights organization depends upon money. Organizers, lawyers, administrators and office staffs cost money and lots of it, and that money must come largely from those who will enjoy the fruits of victory. Of course, every Negro in the U. S. A. should invest at least two dollars yearly in an NAACP membership, but there must be many big donors to contribute the hard core of income. There's where the life membership come in, proving in a concrete manner the sincerity of their interest in the cause of full American freedom.

Many could start today to become an NAACP life member by sending their check for $500 to the Life Membership Committee of the NAACP, 20 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y., or a substantial amount on a down payment. As I say, it is a form of immortality.

Views and Reviews .....

Courier P. 11

THE RECENT denigration of the American Negro serviceman by those two Dixie ingrates, Generals Clark and Almond, makes timely and pertinent the latest book by veteran journalist Edward Hunter, entitled "Brainwashing: The Story of the Men Who Defied It" (Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, (3.75). His chapter on "The Negro as POW" is a fitting answer to the Negrophobes' charges of cowardice and treason.

Mr. Schuyler

Sat. 5-26-56

"Out of the thousands of Negroes taken prisoner," writes Hunter, "only three were among the 23 cowed and mentally upset lads who said they did not want to return home to America." This, despite the fact that in 1950 when most of the U. S. prisoners were taken, the Negroes were fighting in a jim-crow army under the likes of Clark and Almond, and underwent all sorts of humiliating experiences behind the lines in Korea, in Japan and in the United States.

The Commies did everything possible to brainwash the Negro POW's and win them over, but signally failed.

'How did the colored man come out in comparison with the whites?" Hunter asked a newsman returned from Korea.

"Fine," he replied right off. "Some say he came out better proportionately speaking."

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE COLORED youths "dug" the Reds from the beginning, especially when at first they were more rigidly segregated racially than they ever had been in the American Army. A Chinese Red doctor didn't help matters when he came across a wounded Negro in a field hospital and, trying to be funny, asked "Tell me, are you really black, or is your face just dirty." This fetched a big laugh from the Red hospital assistants but had a different effect on the dark POW's when the "black dispatch" carried the news throughout the camp.

Continues Hunter, commenting on the failure of the Reds to brainwash the Negroes: "What soon became evident to me was that the U. S. had a great deal to learn from its Negro citizens faced by adversity in the POW camps. The colored man was stripped down to his naked character. This was hurled into the hottest crucible that sly, subtle minds could devise, the tortures of hell brought to earth. He came out of this test whole and with plenty to teach others. The Negro retained a far greater capacity than the white man to keep his mind focused on fundamentals. He was far more difficult to lure off the track than his white brethren. The stories of what took place in the Korean POW camps substantiate this generalization."

THESE MEN were beaten, bribed, tortured, starved, flattered and threatened, but they refused to give in. As one Negro said of the Red propaganda, "We learned to listen to the Communists in a way that went in one ear and out the other." They joined together to keep comrades from weakening, knowing they were thus saving themselves. This is an inspiring book about brave men, black and white, patriots all. It should be instructive reading for our Reds and fellow travelers bellowing about McCarthyism.

Views and Reviews .....

Courier P. 11

THE ASSIDUOUS repetition of statistics purporting to prove the great progress of public school desegregation in the South, coupled with the general silence concerning the obvious failure to make any substantial move in that direction, misleads us to our disadvantage. On the whole there has been too much wishful thinking by optimists.

It was to be supposed that the Neanderthal South, long skilled in evasiveness and violation of laws it does not like, would either refuse outright to obey the Supreme Court's decision or to erect more roadblocks than a retreating army seeking to avert envelopment. Eventually success may attend the Court's efforts, but right now there is no justification for optimism. Even worse, there has been too little said about the effectiveness of the retaliatory tactics of the associated elements opposing integration and directed against the vulnerable Negro upper class.

Mr. Schuyler

Sat. 5-19-56

FOR EXAMPLE, a run-down of the number of Negro school teachers who have lost jobs already and those slated to go would be sobering. There have been a few in Kansas, many more in Missouri and a whole lot in Oklahoma. It is said that in the latter state some 175 teachers have lost jobs and nearly a hundred more are slated to go. Several of those fired held master's degrees and have been displaced by white teachers. What has been the fate of some Negro principals in those areas we have not heard but should have heard.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Although Governor Raymand Gary of Oklahoma promises that some means will be devised to find jobs for any displaced Negro teachers, I think this strictly for the birds. If they get work at all, it will probably be outside Oklahoma. So far as I have been able to learn no central job-finding agency has been created for displaced Negro teachers and principals by any Negro organization purportedly interested in their fate. With a national shortage of teachers, jobs could be found for almost all.

IT SEEMS to me that so much time and effort have been expended on attack, that the matter of defense has been slighted, as many of our business and professional people have discovered. For every action there is a reaction, and it is necessary to plan as much for the latter as for the former. There was a failure in Negro leadership in not preparing to meet the anticipated reactions, and not preparing the people for what to expect. It cannot be expected that people will learn new methods of counter-attack overnight. This requires organization training and an **esprit de corps** which is presently negligible. We should never forget that because of this unpreparedness, it was impossible to get as much as $400,000 deposited in the Tri-State Bank in Memphis to help meet the economic pressures of the White Citizens Councils, et al.

More are going to be hit before this thing ends. What are we doing, or even planning to do, for them?

The WORLD ★ TODAY

Sat. 5-19-56

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Pittsburgh, Pa.

UNCLE SAM and a certain Congressman are scheduled for a date with destiny, soon—and it won't be a love feast!

Supreme Court decision on National Lawyers' Guild has many colored leaders scratching their polls and biting their nails who got in early and stayed too late. Saps!

Health Information Foundation tells us Negroes have gained 28 years life expectancy since 1900, and are now only seven years behind whites. If they would stop eating their horrible diet, they would be ahead!

U. S. Senate drops a peg when ex-Governor of Georgia, Herman Talmadge, succeeds retiring Senator George. He's the most dangerous demagogue since Huey Long — and much more vicious. Will Georgia Negro Democrats vote for him?

Bishop H. B. Shaw of the AMEZ conference fluttered the dovecotes by warning that the Negro church must retain its separate identity. He thinks the Negro church "is too essential in this age of civil rights, to be lost in the shuffle of integration." This view, he said, was shared by the other Bishops. He'll be castigated, but I agree with him. Idealism must be balanced by realism. A group without a church of its own is lost.

■

Truth will out. Dr. P. L. Hunt, former white Mississippi county school superintendent, makes study proving that there is more racial mixing in the segregated South than the integrated North. This is ancient history, but it indicates why there is so much opposition to integration in Dixie.

Louisiana's Senator Allen J. Ellender thinks (perhaps wishfully) that bloodshed will result from pushing school integration within the next five or ten years. Of course, he blames the "trouble" on the North. He doesn't know how many NAACP members, open and secret, there are in his state who want integration NOW, and don't need the North to tell them . . . Having won independence, the Moroccans are now butchering each other!

The WORLD TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

NORTHERN "liberals" favoring the school aid bill contend the Powell amendment, which is holding it up is "irrelevant," that children should not be made to suffer. They mean white children, of course.

■

Kefauver refuses to change his stand on civil rights to please Talmadge, who is backing Stevenson. Harriman, who recalls that it was the Negro vote in Harlem that put him where he is, comes out strongly for obeying the desegregation decree. All of which puts Adlai on the spot.

■

Truman, who once said: "Good old Joe (Stalin)" reminded him of Tom Pendergast, and who thought the Hiss case was "just a red herring" (he was right about the color!), is now abroad denouncing Russia. Anti-communism begins at home.

■

University of Alabama learns that it can't get rid of Autherine Lucy. The Supreme Court done tol' 'em.

■

Mississippi's State Sovereignty Commission's vote to hire secret agents to serve as "eyes and ears" in the fight to keep segregation is old stuff. Negroes have had such secret agents (the Black Dispatch) since time immemorial. That's how they know white folks so well!

■

Why not start paying on an NAACP life membership? Fine way to win immortality on that bronze plaque.

■

Zionists up in arms over U. S. arms sale to Saudi Arabia. They should remember that where oil is, there is the fatherland.

After $200,000,000 spent on Iceland bases, Uncle Sam must scram. Another Commie victory.

Ethiopia, our lone friend in its area, has received only $3,000,000 which has mostly gone to pay Southern white officials sent as instructors, who can scarcely hide their bias!

■

Brown Egypt has recognized Red China. Black Sudan will soon follow. White Africa getting jittery . . . Central African Federation business wants 3,000-4,000 young American couples (white, of course) to settle there and help exploit the Negro masses. They'd better take their own arms and ammunition. Mau Mau there, too!

George Schuyler Tells 'Em In Mercury Negroes Do Not Want To Be White Now

NEW YORK -- Negroes don't want to be white, despite all propaganda to the contrary, writes George S. Schuyler in the JUNE issue of the AMERICAN MERCURY.

Mr. Schuyler traces the misconception that Negroes yearn to be white to the period, a generation ago, when advertisements of cosmetic preparations and 'hair straighteners' used to cram the pages of the Negro press. The advertising of these commodities gave many readers the snap impression that the whole Negro race was bent upon changing its color. This was not true then and it is not true now, writes Mr. Schuyler. In fact, he declares, Negroes are moving gradually away from the attitude, once held by a minority, that it is a disadvantage to have a dark skin.

"In Negro society today," the AMERICAN MERCURY article states, "the acquirement of a wife indistinguishable from a Nordic is no longer a mark of social arrival. The black girls at dances are no longer wall flowers and the appearance of an ebon lass in a chorus line no longer fetches gales of derisive Negro laughter.

"There are few, if any, churches remaining where black members are conspicuously absent. However Negro society here has always been ahead of the East Indian, Latin American and Carribean peoples among whom a rigid caste system remains intact."

Mr. Schuyler points out that the white 'one drop' perfectionists, who have always refused to admit color differences among the Negroes, are partially responsible for the current Negro disinterest in light skins.

"Those with light skins, better manners and a little literacy (mostly gained as house servants for white planters who were not infrequently their relatives) could not escape to the white groups, as in Latin America. They were compelled to identify themselves with the swarm of black field hands and proletarains. They supplied the early Negro leadership."

Mr. Schuyler concludes that "for better or for worse, two distinct, centripetal and endogamous societies have evolved in America. They seem to be as mutually exclusive as the Walloons and Flemings in Belgium, the Moslems and Hindus in India and the Jews and Arabs in Morocco. Both now have a vested interest in their integrity. Few whites want to be black and few Negroes yearn to be white. Melting pot is, to say the least, dim and remote."

Famed Negro Newspaper Man Sees Two Distinct And Mutually Exclusive Societies In U. S.

Schuyler Explodes Idea Of An American Melting Pot

NEW YORK, N. Y., May 14—(Special)—Negroes don't want to be white, despite all propaganda to the contrary, writes George S. Schuyler in the June issue of the American Mercury.

Mr. Schuyler traces the misconception that Negroes yearn to be white to the period, a generation ago, when advertisements of cosmetic preparations and 'hair straighteners' used to cram the pages of the Negro press. The advertising of these commodities gave many readers the snap impression that the whole Negro race was bent upon changing its color. This was not true then and it is not true now, writes Mr. Schuyler. In fact, he declares, Negroes are moving gradually away from the attitude, once held by a minority, that it is a disadvantage to have a dark skin.

"In Negro society today," the American Mercury article states, "the acquirement of a wife indistinguishable from a Nordic is no longer a mark of social arrival. The black girls at dances are no longer wall flowers and the appearance of a nebon lass in a chorus line no longer fetches gales of derisive Negro laughter.

"There are few, if any, churches remaining where black members are conspicuously absent. However, Negro society here has always been ahead of the East Indian, Latin American and Caribbean peoples among whom a rigid caste system remains intact."

Mr. Schuyler points out that the white 'one drop' perfectionists, who have always refused to admit color differences among the Negroes, are partially responsible for the current Negro disinterest in light skins.

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The WORLD TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

EISENHOWER'S civil rights bill is annoying the Dems because they are going to have to attack it in an election year when their numerous committee chairmanships are endangered.

■

Certain big Negro Dems leaping on Stevenson bandwagon are going to have a tough time persuading Negroes that Adlai didn't mean what he said about taking the racial issue out of politics . . . If that actually happened it would be the first time in U. S. history.

■

Senators steamed up over the $500,000,000-a-year pornography business allegedly responsible for youthful delinquency and perversion. Greater delinquency has resulted from Constitution-flouting jim-crow laws and customs but few white Southrons want to abolish them. How can an immoral society keep its youth moral? Echo answers, how?

Most diverting spectacle is so-called liberals from the White House down deploring the Powell amendment to the school aid bill and pleading for the "poor children" who need schools but won't get them because the amendment will kill the bill in Congress. This country needs character more than education. Educated bad people are worse than illiterate good people.

■

Is Communist influence nil? The Social Security Administration has just restored old age benefits to 13 former Communist aides, including Red boss William Z. Foster, but the same outfit stopped relief payments to the children of George Hewitt (Tim Holmes), former Negro Red official, who quit the party and battled the conspiracy until his death! Page Senator McCarthy.

Orchids to Gov. Earl K. Long of Louisiana for reinstating Mrs. Winnice Clement of Webster Parish who was ousted because she treated registering white voters as Negro registrants have been treated. Seems the Lintheads can dish it out but they can't take it!

Views and Reviews . . . . By George S. Schuyler

STARTLING and laughable was the recent proposal of "friends" that I run for Congress in my district. The circumstance that I am a registered Republican in a solidly Democrat district did not dissuade me (even though the prospect of winning would be slimmer than Dorothy Dandridge), but rather the revulsion against personal participation in partisan politics. Considering that my views on almost everything are generally at variance with those of the majority, I would be about as popular as an Arab nationalist in Tel Aviv—and the prospect of being popular has always alarmed me. Mob acclamation would distress me almost as much as Charles II, who on one occasion when the crowd yapped tumultuously, turned to his secretary and asked, "What did I say that was wrong!"

Mr. Schuyler

I AM WELL aware that scruple, candor and conscience are fatal handicaps in politics. There are principles and convictions which I would neither conceal nor abandon for personal advantage, so that makes me the worst possible choice for office. Were I, despite disagreement on so many points with the "liberal" wing of the GOP, to miraculously win, I would be the most embarrassing of mugmumps, promptly deprived of the heart's blood of patronage. Again, politics is an addiction like heroin—once you get hooked, it is impossible to quit — and I already have enough vices.

Were I insane enough to run for office, how far could I get with my program? I favor the abolition of all forms of municipal, state and Federal ownership and operation of economic enterprises, (b) the illegalizing of all strikes, with compulsory arbitration of all labor disputes; (c) the substitution of private for public education, with tuition paid directly by parents, as for homes, cars, etc.

* * *

IN ADDITION, I favor ending all foreign aid to anybody and everybody (and using the saving to pay off $280 billion debt); withdrawing our armed forces from abroad and giving these people the opportunity of sinking with the Red tide or fighting for their freedom on their own, while we make the Western Hemisphere impregnable; cutting out all immigration from everywhere (our present rate of increase is sufficient); ending all Federal subsidies to schools, churches and businesses (let them sink or swim on their own); abolition of military draft; drastic reduction of installment buying; public flogging for sex offenders; euthanasia for the incurably ill and insane; abolition of low-rent housing, to discourage migration to (and ruination of) our civilized urban centers; concentration camps in Antarctica for Communists and their ilk (where they could have free sway to brainwash the penguins).

Obviously nobody would wish to elect such a fellow to Congress, and if they did, they would be destined for grave embarrassment, so in the immortal words of movie magnate Sam Goldwyn, they can 'include me out!'

The WORLD TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

MISS LUCY exposed and routed the whole University of Alabama, so never underestimate the power of a woman! . . . Moreover, she and the Montgomery boycotters have forever disproved the fiction of Southern white superiority . . . To paraphrase the Chinese: one Negro is worth ten thousand Dixiecrats! . . . After the Hulan Jack episode, Negro leaders with former Red-front connection will be well advised not to rush down South to speak. The Dixiecrat brass knows the score. I can only say, I told you so! Like Caesar's wife, Negro leaders must be above suspicion! . . . Nobody believes, of course, that Mr. Jack was ever a party member or indorsed its tenets, but one cannot help but be judged by the company one keeps—or has kept . . . White Citizens Councils' spokesmen have gone deep into the gutter in their fight against Negroes, charging inferiority, immorality and ingratitude. Isn't that laughable? . . . Meanwhile, Negroes have shown their superiority by praying for their enemies! When will our Dixiecrat friends reciprocate?

* * *

Egyptian radio broadcasts to Central Africa, Eastern Africa and the Middle East have British and French frantic. Nasser thinks it is unspeakable that five million whites in Africa should rule over 200 million blacks, and his radio stations keep harping on it . . . Sudanese showed their ability for self-government by sentencing four leaders, including a member of Parliament to six months in jail for instigating riots that followed deaths of 194 tenant farmers in the Kosti prison disaster . . . Johannes G. Strijdom, Prime Minister and South Africa's Eastland, won a 5-year Parliamentary fight to remove 45,000 colored voters from the Cape Province electoral rolls. This makes more difficult any rapprochment between South Africa and the increasing number of independent black African countries. A nice future race war is in the office. One can scarcely wait!

Views and Reviews

RETURNING to last week's theme of our almost total neglect of the economic advancement of the Negro community while concentrating on abstract rights and almost meaningless legalism, let us consider our community in Alabama which totals a million souls. What role does it play in the distributive, merchandizing, manufacturing, industrial and financial functions in that state? Practically none. Aside from a few individuals here and there (and excluding the Negro farmers), the colored community might as well be in Kamchatka. The same is true of the Negroes in all of the other states, North and South. There are well over a score of places in Alabama where there is a sufficient number of colored families to maintain a flourishing cooperative society operating distributive enterprises. These could sustain a cooperative wholesale to supply them with every item used and consumed by the community. Each of these communities could have a credit union or a Federal savings and loan bank. How effective would the reprisals of White Citizens Councils be then?

Mr. Schuyler

* * *

CERTAINLY SUCH a program would be regarded as advancement everywhere and by everybody, but there is no such program in Alabama or in any other state. Instead the cry is for integration and the removal of all racial barriers to manhood status. This is all right, but it definitely isn't all. It is fine in its way, but it doesn't weigh much!

Recently the NAACP launched an asinine attack on a soft drink firm because one of its franchise holders was disclosed as a Negrophobe and member of a local White Citizens Council, albeit the parent company had nothing to do with this. Now, how much of this product do you suppose the Alabama Negro community consumes annually? Perhaps several million cases? And don't you think Negroes could make as good a soft drink and sell it to themselves? Once the colored community had consumer outlets, it could decide what it wanted to make and sell to itself. Once it had the credit unions, savings and loan associations and some commercial banks, it could laugh at color bias. Once it had the means of making many of the things the community uses and wears, it would certainly command much more respect. Once it had the means of holding on to its $15 billion income longer, it could come to control some shares in white corporate business and could finance enterprises serving the general public.

* * *

CERTAINLY, this would be advancement of the Negro, but who is preaching it? Certainly not the NAACP. Certainly not the Negro church. Certainly not the Negro so-called educators. Certainly not the Negro press. And certainly not the white "friends" of the Negro who sit on the boards of directors of the NAACP and Urban League and help direct Negro strategy for attainment of salvation (although rarely is a Negro to be found on the boards of their organizations!). Without integration in the economic life the country and some control in its direction, there'll be very little other integration save the token variety.

Views and Reviews . . . . By George S. Schuyler

MY GOOD friend, the irreverent, Argus-eyed and cynical Lee Mortimer, who co-authored the "Confidential" books on New York, Chicago, Washington, and then the whole USA, has just sent me a personally autographed copy of his latest scandalography "Around The World Confidential" (Putnam's $3.50). Disavowing any desire to pen a tourist guide covering cathedrals, castles and sacred crypts, Mortimer roams from London to Honolulu giving you the low-down on all the big towns en route. We learn who controls the rackets, and how; who are the big names in the underworld and what members of the elite rub shoulders with them; how the black markets operate and who gets the big gelt; where the chicks can be found, what they charge and what they look like; where the dubiously sexed person of high and low estate congregate and what is done (or not done, usually) about them; the general standards of morality, if any; the intricacies of the dope traffic which is international in scope and from which all classes profit, including the Communists.

Mr. Schuyler

I HAVE personally read so much tourist "literature" about the wonders of travel, the mystery and romance of far-off places, and the culture obtaining abroad which supposedly has escaped us Americans, that it is a welcome relief to have somebody expose the fraud. Lee does so expertly, especially doing a remarkable job on England, with special reference to London. How he debunks the British in the one-third of the book he devotes to them. It shouldn't happen to Clarksdale, Miss.!

Instead of hearing again about Stradford-on-Avon and Windsor Castle, we get something nearer to the reality. "Today's England is a slap-happy land of rapists, mass murderers and thieves." "Dishonesty is taken for granted in England," "England is the homo's paradise where he-shes are proud and respected members of society" . . ."Third-sexism is no longer even a dirty joke, a medical problem, a moral issue or an accepted way of life. It's a must!" "English women are drab and colorless and built like piano movers." "Prostitution thrives and England is a junkie's paradise" where three-fourths of the world's heroin is manufactured. Newspapers freely use "nigger" in their stories. The fifteen million U. S. Negroes have more people in college than the forty-five million British. Mortimer finds most English incredibly stupid. I'm glad to have my opion confirmed by an expert.

COPENHAGEN is "loaded with hookers and homos," with "male prostitutes recruited by pimps for elderly faggots." "Illegitimacy is so common, it isn't even mentioned."

"If there ever was a G-string manufacturer in Hamburg, he long since died of starvation . . . American Negroes are popular. The young gals love them. They love the young gals." Ditto Brussels.

Paris, says Mortimer, "is rotten to the core," and he proves it. "You can tell the age of a French woman by scraping off the layers of powder and counting the strata of dirt."

In succession Venice, Rome, Athens, Cairo ("maybe Farouk was smart at that when he scrammed!"), Istanbul, Beirut, Karachi, Calcutta, Bangkok, Hong Kong and the rest come in for their lumps, with Honolulu by no means spared . . . Well, thanks for making New York look so good!

Views and Reviews . . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

THE GREAT Montgomery (Ala.) bus boycott goes on without let-up to the surprise of all who had been wont to picture Southern Negroes as meek and terrified. I never fell for this fiction and, indeed, have been occasionally denounced for decrying it. Frequent travels in those regions and close observation convinced me long ago that there was no less courage, determination, ingenuity and organizing ability among Southern Negroes than among Northern ones. It did not surprise me that the NAACP found no difficulty in getting young Negro students to act as guinea pigs by applying for university entrance in various Dixie states and braving initial hostility. Miss Lucy is just one more in a long and distinguished line. This is one of the many things that is good about the South.

Mr. Schuyler

HOWEVER, AS I pointed out in the mid-Thirties when many groups of so-called militant Negroes were seeing salvation in economic boycotts, this is no fundamental solution to the colored brother's illls, however, immediately effective it may be. The same is true of mere legislation, of which some of us also have made a fetish. No law is any better than its enforcement which, to large extent, is dependent upon local mores. Indeed, abolition of every law and regulation establishing racial segregation and discrimination would not materially alter the status of American Negroes, desirable as it may be that such laws be repealed.

This is a truth which the NAACP leaders have never seemed to comprehend as indicated by a study of their strategy of advancement.

AFTER NINETY years during which there has been neither law nor custom preventing the colored community from controlling much of its economic life, we find that it is outrageously weak and dependent. If there were sixteen million Greeks, Chinese or Japanese in this country, they would wield a major influence in its economy. As it is, handicapped by strange language and customs, these three groups totaling less than a half million persons have altogether more business enterprises and banks than all the Negroes. In a civilization where business enterprise and success is honored above all else, we have shown very little advancement, South or North. Worse, the NAACP has never indicated any concern with the matter and certainly has done nothing to further it. Here the Urban League with all its limitations has served the Negro community better by opening job opportunities. The Negro Business League is a joke.

* * *

IF AS much time and effort had been put forth on the economic development of the Negro community as we have spent on anti-lynching, civil rights and FEPC legislation, the status of the colored brethren would have been vastly superior to what it is today, economically and socially. Through cooperative and corporative enterprises Negroes by now would not only control economic life within their neighborhoods, but be operating thousands of businesses serving the general public. Until we amount to something industrially, commercially and financially, we'll never amount to anything else, civil rights or no civil rights, mass meetings or no mass meetings. We need a leadership that will stress these facts of life.

The WORLD TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

ANTEBELLUM South back in business as the "superior" race, unable to win in the courts, resorts to police state methods and openly "anticipates" violence. This is a game two can play, so everybody concerned better keep calm! . . . In desperation the embattled Negrophobes cry that desegregation will lead to intermarriage, which seems to be an obsession with whites but a matter of indifference with Negroes . . . Montgomery grand jury said area had been enjoying "exemplary race relations" prior to the bus boycott. Exemplary to whom? Those people think tension just started. Negroes have been feeling it for years . . . Fingerprinting a few bus boycott leaders and even jailing them will not make 40,000 Negroes use those buses. You can lead a pedestrian to the bus stop but you can't make him ride! . . . Lots of white Southerners have suddenly found out that they don't "know the Negroes" at all! . . . Suggestion: Why not stage a public debate on desegregation between Miss Lucy and the leader of the Alabama U. opposition over a major television network?

Communists announce they are entering the civil rights fight. Roy Wilkins, alarmed, alerts all NAACP branches sending delegates to the National Delegate Assembly for Civil Rights in Washington next week . . . Prediction of things to come: the Louisiana Catholics, warned by Archbishop Joseph Rummel, will cease open opposition to desegregation . . . Sudanese celebrate independence by suffocating 194 prisoners jammed into a single room. Their "crime" was rioting against delivering their cotton crop. Sounds like Soviet Russia or Red China . . . Moroccans wisely telling French, "Give us full rights first, then we'll discuss new relations" . . . Arab slave traders reviving traffic from heart of Africa to Saudi Arabia using pretense of being Moslem missionaries and "helping" their charges to Mecca where they are promptly sold to highest bidders!

Views and Reviews . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier Sat. 1-7-56 P.9 Pittsburgh, Pa.

SINCE it is obvious and axiomatic that we are what we eat, there ought to be a wide sale for a disturbing little book by the noted chemist, Leonard Wickenden, entitled, "Our Daily Poison" (Devin-Adair, $3).

Mr. Schuyler

In eleven hard - hitting chapters fully documented from Government sources and so plainly written that he who runs may read, the author tells you how you are poisoning yourself to death with every mouthful or swallow you take, with every fumigator and pesticide you contact, with every cosmetic you use. It is scarcely to be wondered that despite our plentitude and high standard of living, we are still afflicted with annual epidemics like polio, with cancer, heart disease and tuberculosis which are unknown among so-called primitives.

DID YOU KNOW that the quantity of pesticides produced in the USA in 1951 (calcium and lead arsenate, DDT, etc.) was sufficient to kill fifteen billion people? Homes, restaurants, hotels and food markets use them near food to eliminate pests. Poisonous vapors are used widely to eliminate odors. Tested samples of food exposed to these poisons showed they contained DDT or other deadly poisons. Exposed persons have developed sore throat, tongue spots and bleeding gums, or worse. Animals you eat have developed all sorts of maladies as a result of such exposure. Nor does it matter that the food you eat is canned or frozen. Crops are dusted with these poisons, and even washing fruit and vegetables does not remove the poisons which often penetrate to the core. The viruses from which you suffer are non-living poisons! Even worse, more poisons have to be sprayed on crops and fruit trees each year because insects develop immunity. In consequence the very earth of these farms become soaked with poisons which even frequent rains do not beach out. And you think you're insuring health by eating raw salads, fresh meat and fresh fruit. Hah!

* * *

THREE CHAPTERS are devoted to fluorides with which hundreds of cities are dosing their water supply to lower incidence of caries in children's teeth. Fluorine is a deadly poison. It may halt caries but there is little information about what else it does, especially to the two-thirds of the people who are not children. These chapters are dynamite.

The ladies who rouge their lips, dye their hair and paint their nails will (or should) be interested in the manner in which they are poisoning themselves. No wonder they have so many "troubles."

The WORLD TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Courier Sat. 1-7-56 Pitts P.14 Pittsburgh, Pa.

HEW Department on the spot sending money to aid education to states flouting Supreme Court's desegregation decree. NAACP asking how come . . . Squawks of bigots that Alabama law makes Montgomery Negroes' bus boycott illegal were stifled by charges that White Councils' anti-Negro boycotts are the same. The sword of justice cuts both ways . . . Example of sound help was sending food, clothing and toys from Los Angeles and New York to Dr. T. R. M. Howard at Mound Bayou for distribution to needy victims of White Councils' squeeze. Some victims might desire scooters or helicopters . . . Little publicized was action of Chester, Pa. Housing Authority desegregating four public housing projects by unanimous decision . . . Equally significant was ruling of Federal judge in St. Louis, Mo., making an identical decision . . . Looks like Negrophobes' 1956 theme song will be "No Hidin' Place"!

* * *

SCHEDULED for this year is a new 3-cent centennial U. S. stamp honoring Booker T. Washington. Amusing thought: bigots will have to lick them! . . . American Association for the Advancement of Science at Atlanta meeting asked not to confer in segregated cities any more. There are many non-segregated cities ready and willing to host the group, as the American Medical Association found out . . . Ironical that Senator Eastland of Mississippi who heads the Senate committee investigating subversion (and has urged defiance of Supreme Court's desegregation decree) should be told by New York's Protestant Episcopal Diocese: "This is subversion just as real, and . . . far more dangerous than any perpetrated by the Communist party" . . . Potent Jewish Labor Committee has treed the Department of Justice into promising that activities of Mississippi's White Citizens' Councils "are receiving the department's careful attention." How about some action under the anti-trust law?

Views and Reviews . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Sat. 1-14-56 Courier P.9 Pittsburgh, Pa.

TO WHOM the 1955 Spingarn Medal will be given my crystal ball does not disclose, but I can think of no more likely candidate than Sidney J. Phillips, indefatigable, resourceful and devoted president of the Booker T. Washington National Monument [illegible]

A citizen who does not qualify his patriotism with "buts," Mr. Phillips' organization is the only one controlled by Negroes which has issued a series of hard-hitting pamphlets on "The Negro and Communism," a subject from which the overwhelming majority of our "intellectuals" flee.

Shortly after World War II, Mr. Phillips established the B Foundation, Booker Washington Birthplace, Va.

Mr. Schuyler

What has Mr. Phillips accomplished that would qualify him for this honor? In the past ten years he has obtained control of the plantation on which Booker T. Washington was born, restored the cabin birthplace, had a post office established on the estate and induced the State of Virginia to name a highway after the Great Educator.

Along with all of this, Mr. Phillips almost singlehandedly got Congress to pass unanimously legislation for the coinage of a Booker T. Washington Memorial half-dollar which sold more than any other of its type. He then secured the coinage of a Booker T. Washington-George Washington Carver Memorial half-dollar dispensed by banks all over the country.

IT WAS largely through the efforts of Mr. Phillips that the Government established a George Washington Carver National Park at Diamond, Mo., which is kept up-to-date by the Department of the Interior. He has secured the indorsement of many outstanding persons for a similar national monument at the Booker T. Washington Birthplace, a project which bids fair to be approved in the near future.

T. Washington Trade School at Roanoke, Va., where hundreds of ex-G.I.s received training enabling them to command good jobs.

* * *

NOW IN observance of the one-hundredth anniversary of Booker T. Washington's birthday, Mr. Phillips has secured, with the assistance of Representative William M. Tuck of the Fifth Congressional District of Virginia, the issuance of a three-cent Booker T. Washington Centennial Stamp, 150 million of which will be issued through 42,000 U. S. post offices on April 5, 1956.

In addition, Phillips is publishing a 1956 B. T. W. calendar, 100,000 Centennial Bulletins, abstracts of Washington's outstanding literary contributions, etc., etc.

How is that for a great contribution to Negro advancement? Does it merit a medal? I, for one, think so.

But even if no Spingarn Medal is upcoming for Sidney J. Phillips, I think the NAACP should join in the B. T. W. Centennial celebration, and so should all other groups.

Views and Reviews . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier

TO ALL the "liberals," Egg-heads and New-Fair Dealers who joined the hue and cry against Senator McCarthy because he sought to root out Reds and fellow-travelers from Government, education, journalism and sensitive jobs—Greetings! You have been yammering piffle for months about "Joe Must Go" and gloating that the doughty Senator has been discredited and silenced. So now I would like to know what you have to say about the devastating 100-page report of the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws. The report is entitled "The Communist Party of the United States of America: What It Is. How It Works" and was issued Dec. 27, 1955. In the words of Confucius, Socrates, Shakespeare and Davy Crockett, it is a "killer." It says all that McCarthy said (and is still saying) about this segment of the world-wide Communist conspiracy from September, 1919, to date.

Mr. Schuyler

HERE IS chapter and verse about how the conspiracy works, the leading subversive personalities, the efforts to infiltrate and control organizations and groups through tiny, dedicated cells of fanatics and fellow-travelers, the use of diversion and blackmail, the foreign control of the top echelon from Moscow, the legal fictions used, the employment of dupes and "innocents," the "capture" of unions by a handful of clever Comrades, how the so-called Middle Class from clergymen to professors and housewives are and were used, plus a long list of typical sponsors of Front organizations. It is all very illuminating, and a little frightening, or should be.

When Senator McCarthy sought to expose these people and how they had infiltrated Government bureaus, the Defense Forces, the medical, teaching and other professional groups, it was clear from the screeching of self-proclaimed defenders of freedom that he was striking paydirt. The Hammer and Sickle Brigade mobilized overnight a formidable opposition which traduced the Wisconsin firebrand from Coast to Coast for smelling out the wrecking crew. Even the White House grabbed a sledge hammer and went to work.

BUT IT is evident from these findings that Joe did not labor in vain. More and more of this brood have been separated from their Federal jobs, ousted from sensitive posts, exposed to the glare of pitiless publicity since McCarthy lost the subcommittee chairmanship. Now the Democrats dominate it, but unfortunately for the conspirators and their defenders, the exposure goes on. Will the dupes, Eggheads and conspirators now attack this Democrat subcommittee for doing exactly what McCarthy did? I doubt it, but you can never tell because this report is as hot as radioactive gas. Incidentally, some of the colored brethren and "innocents" are named, along with the Front outfits they joined.

Want a copy? Hurry and write to the subcommittee. Then read the booklet carefully and you will understand why they yelled "Joe Must Go!"

The WORLD ★ TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Courier Sat. 1-21-56

NAACP reporting prosperous year financially paints dark picture due to White Citizens Councils' pressure. Tuskegee's President Foster reports "definite progress." Who's right? . . . Southern Railway and Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac abiding by ICC ruling against jim-crow facilities. Others will follow. Georgia and Mississippi won't go along but will find it difficult . . . Georgia Tech-Pittsburgh Sugar Bowl game saw Negro player Grier wildly applauded by whites supposed to be prejudiced . . . FBI checking Georgia jury exclusion of Negroes, indicating Justice Department early action against outrageous situation . . . Dr. T. R. M. Howard prophesies drive on militant Mississippi blacks by Citizens Councils. It's already going strong . . . New York's Governor Harriman proclaimed Jan. 5 George Washington Carver Day. A deserved posthumous honor . . . Althea Gibson wins Asian tennis championship in Calcutta, defeating Indian and Japanese contestants. More honors for Harlem girl . . . Knoxville's Federal Judge Taylor gives Anderson County, Ky., until next fall to desegregate . . . Progress . . . white and colored ministerial groups in Daytona Beach integrate. Others should follow.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

African-Asian conference scheduled at Cairo in June postponed by Indian and Burman governments. Other conferees may agree. Middle East crisis too acute. They may fight instead of talk. Israel is scared . . . In Western Hemisphere only Paraguay and Haiti now deny women full voting rights, although the latter lets them vote in municipal elections. In fact, one Haitian town has a woman mayor . . . Representative Bolton, returning from 20,000-mile journey, reports finding Communist penetration "everywhere in Africa." When Dr. Max Yergan said it two years ago he was ridiculed. Now the French are blaming last summer's Cameroons riots on Red instigation and financial support . . . Smart British now offering officers' commissions to blacks in East Africa.

Views and Reviews . . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier Sat. 1-28-56

FOR A supposedly scientific people, Americans are constantly embracing superstitions on a level with those practiced in the dankest jungles of New Guinea. Take fluoridation of water supply which is now using twenty-four million Americans as guinea pigs. Hundreds of U. S. cities are pouring the deadly poison flourine into their water in order to prevent caries in children's teeth. It does lower sometimes the incidence of caries, but mottles the teeth and has a cumulative poisonous effect, especially on the older two-thirds of the people who are not children and suffer from liver trouble and allergies.

Mr. Schuyler

With all due respect to the propagandists of the Sugar Trust and the Chemical Trust, aided and abetted by some dentists who should know better (or be more honest), caries can be easily prevented by intelligent dieting, and in no other way. Poisoning drinking water is, in the circumstances, criminal.

* * *

AMERICANS CONSUME an inordinate amount of sugar in soft drinks, liquor, candy, pastry and ice cream, and this is the major cause of tooth decay. Any mother interested in her children not having carious teeth can provide them with the sweets they crave right at home without using any sugar. Moreover, she has great facilities for doing so then ever in history. She has an electric refrigerator. She can cheaply get an electric grinder and an electric liquidizer. She can use pure honey, unsulphured molasses and pure cane syrup. She can have a citrus fruit juicer. She can buy dried olives, unsalted cashew nuts, flaked coconut and pure whole wheat flour (or better get a small electric mill and grind it herself from the whole wheat kernell).

Then, by using ingenuity she can have fresh cold soft drinks, cakes, pies, candies, ice cream and really nutritious bread and biscuits. And except for the latter, these require no cooking at all! By using lemon and lime juice she can dispense with salt or its excessive use which causes so much bodily trouble.

UNSALTED BUTTER is almost everywhere available. So are certified raw milk and cream which have twice the nutritional value of pasteurized milk. Moreover, all these dishes can be made to look attractive to young and old. Where desired, they can be warmed to serving heat.

Injecting children with anti-polio vaccine is a dubious method of doing the job intelligent feeding can do. White bread, white rice, white sugar, chemically prepared soft drinks, canned goods with vitamin-killing chemicals added to "keep," them, rosy red frankfurters six months old, prepared rolls made with flour older than the children—these are what cause our annual epidemics. Even substituting good red and white dry wines for the various colos flooding the markets would lift health standards immensely.

The WORLD ★ TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Courier Sat. 1-28-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.

DR. DuBOIS starting ten-session lecture course on African slave trade at Commies' Jefferson School deplores his ignorance of Marx in his youth. Now he's caught up! . . . Warrant against Rev. J. A. DeLaine dismissed in New York City. This gets Governor Harriman off the hook. Also South Carolina! . . . Eisenhower balances the budget. So Democrat recklessness, prodigality and defeatism is ended. This is really a New Deal! . . . NAACP brass worried by effective Southern anti-desegregation tactics — legal, economic and social Clearly something more than the usual counter-punching is needed. Just singing the blues won't help . . . Texas (which General Sherman said was worse than hell) is putting the rest of Dixie to shame in preparing for desegregation. Oklahoma (whose reputation once was almost as bad) has strictly obeyed the Supreme Court. So, you never can tell! It's old Southern states like Virginia who are retreating into the past! . . . "Progress" report: General Motors, largest employer in Westchester County, N. Y., employs no Negroes as foremen or clerks. What about buying a GM car, chum?

* * *

Reds scaring U. S. by offering freebies to Latin-American countries. Since everybody we bankroll hates us, what about letting Moscow do the giving—if it really has anything to give? . . . Egyptians get new constitution from Nasser but an election is a long way off. Russians once got a new constitution, too! Remember? . . . Like we said last spring, Indonesia is headed for Sovietism, with Leftist President Sukarno calling for a "coalition" government. Any time Reds are called in, that's it! . . . Like we predicted, Sudan has asked to join the Arab League, and is practically accepted. That puts anti-white anti-colonialism right in the heart of Africa. No wonder sane South African politicians are making an "agonizing reappraisal" of apartheid!

Methodist Hospital

Commercial Appeal Sun. 4-15-56 p.2 Memphis, Tenn.

Health Center Considered For Medical Area Here; Appeal Integration Ruling

NAACP Asks Rehearing For Negroes Who Seek Immediate Admission To Memphis State —Parochial Status Remains Same

31a

By LOUIS SILVER

TWO DEVELOPMENTS aimed at improving the health of the Mid-South made the top news here last week.

The city building inspector approved Methodist Hospital for a 10-story, 250-bed addition. The hospital's original proposal for a five-story addition was rejected earlier by the City Board of Adjustment for insufficient offstreet parking.

It also was revealed that the Memphis and Shelby County governments are planning a new health center if the state and Federal governments will help finance the project. The new building would be located in the Medical Center area.

Louis Silver

The building permit for the hospital addition was issued after approval of a plan for a garage at Claybrook and Union. That will give the hospital a total of 500 parking spaces as outlined in the Bartholomew Plan.

Construction of the addition—to cost more than $5,500,000—is expected to begin within 30 days.

On the school segregation front, attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People asked the United States Supreme Court for help in overruling an opinion by Federal Judge Marion S. Boyd of Memphis.

New Trial Requested

The petitioners, including Thurgood Marshall, Negro, asked that Judge Boyd be ordered to convene a three-judge court to retry the suit by five Negroes seeking to enter Memphis State College. The attorneys contend the language of the three-judge court statute does not leave "the slightest question that this is a case which must be heard by three judges."

Judge Boyd turned down that argument last Oct. 18. He declared Tennessee's school segregation laws unconstitutional and authorized a gradual desegregation plan for state colleges. The plan calls for admitting Negroes to Memphis State and other colleges at the graduate level this year, seniors during the coming school year and so on until 1959 when freshmen could be Negroes.

To Retain Segregation

The Most Rev. William L. Adrian, Bishop of Nashville, said the Catholic Church does not intend to integrate the races in parochial schools here next fall. A new Catholic high school for Negroes is planned for South Memphis.

The bishop said integration at three parochial schools in Nashville is "going very well, but we want to see what the public reaction is there before we go ahead in Memphis."

Public Works Commissioner Henry Loeb said the City Commission had instructed him to prosecute property owners who do not build needed sidewalks.

31a 1956 WHITE (HUGH W. SPARROW)

Alabama politics—

Thoro[u]

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News staff writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 4—If inspectors under Agriculture Commissioner A. W. Todd had done a thorough job of checking

Releasing Negroes

SEVERAL WEEKS AGO a letter was smuggled to this column.

It was signed by "Kilby Prison Inmates." The letter stated that the white prisoners would like to register a protest because of the way the State Board of Pardons and Paroles was releasing more Negro prisoners, proportionately, than white.

The letter said that if the column would like to hear what they had to say to indicate it by something written in the column.

About a week ago, a letter was received stating that a prisoner had been selected as "spokesman" for the white prisoners.

In an interview which followed, the prisoner stated in the beginning that he was not speaking for himself because he had been told by parole authorities he had little chance of receiving a parole. He was, he said, speaking for the other prisoners, especially those in his cellblock.

For cheap labor

THE PRISONER charged first that more Negroes were bieng released proportionately than white prisoners.

In addition, he charged that many Negro prisoners with long records as repeaters and others convicted of serious crimes were finding it relatively easy to get paroles.

The prisoner charged, also, that the parole board is releasing many Negro prisoners to go to work on favored farms. In other words, that the board was maikng it relatively easy for some farmers to get willing and low-paid farm hands.

The so-called spokesman was told that his charges would not be published until they had been checked. If they were found to be baseless nothing would be written at all about them.

Prison checked

THE PAST WEEK a check was made.

As of July 15, the prison population, including misdemeanor prisoners, was 5401. Of that total 2204 were white and 3197 Negroes. Approximately 40.6 per cent of the total population were white prisoners and 59.4 per cent Negro.

A count of the number of paroles approved from Oct. 1, 1955, through July 6. 1956, disclosed a total of 474. Of that total 308 were Negroes and 166 were white.

In other words, while 40.6 per cent of all prisoners were white, 34 per cent of the paroles were granted to white prisoners. The Negro prison population being 59.4 per cent of the total, more than 65 per cent of the paroles were granted to Negroes.

Not conclusive

A CHECK TO ASCERTAIN whether too many Negroes were being paroled because they had promises of jobs on farms was not too conclusive.

About one-third of those paroled since Oct. 1 were said to have promises of jobs in rural areas. That was taken to mean jobs on farms.

In quite a few instances more than one Negro had been promised a job by the same individual.

The report disclosed, for instance that four Negroes were released because they had been promised jobs by Mrs. Thomas Samford of Opelika.

Joe Prince of Lacy Springs, it appeared, had promised jobs to three Negro prisoners.

Four Negroes were paroled to take jobs with W. A. Scarbrough, of Rockford.

Three were promised jobs by Ralph Mims of Vida; five by the Rosemont Gardens of Montgomery; three by the Jefferson Davis Hotel, Montgomery; two each by John Dunlap of Hissop; Ed's Ice Factory of Birmingham: Home Ice Co., Anniston: Clem Howard of Pittsview; Dr. Pope of Bessemer; the Bear Lumber Co. of Montgomery and the M. Sabel Co. of Montgomery.

Abuse stopped

IN FORMER years an abuse which flourished for a long time was for the prisons to farm out Negro cooks, servants, etc., for domestic work in the homes of politically influential individuals. That has been stopped.

It is interesting to note, however, that several were paroled because they had been promised jobs by influential figures in the present administration.

One had the promise of a job from Mrs. Roy Grimmett, one of Gov. Folsom's secretaries. Dr. J. F. Sewell, Wetumpka physician and strong Folsom backer, promised a job to another.

Another was promised a job by Ed Pepper, assistant finance director. James H. Lewis, another Finance Department higher-up, promised a job to still another Negro who was paroled.

Another prisoner was paroled largely because of a job offer from Mr. and Mrs. Frank A. Boswell.

O. H. Finney Jr., the governor's executive secretary, promised a job to another Negro released on parole.

Results not certain

IT COULD not be ascertained fully whether more Negroes with bad records were paroled than bad record white prisoners.

At the rate of parole issuance during the Oct. 1-July 6 period the Parole Board is paroling more than 600 prisoners a year. That is about 11 per cent of the total number of prisoners who are eligible to receive paroles.

The misdemeanor prisoners, most of them assigned to road camps, are not eligible for parole.

It was suggested by L. B. Stephens, executive secretary of the parole board, that the records show that more white prisoners are probationed before ever reaching the penitentiaries than Negroes. That is the case, he said, because more white prisoners had influence at the start than Negroes.

What figures show

A BREAKDOWN according to offenses of those released on parole discloses that murderers, robbers forgers, grand larcenists, led the field.

Forty-six burglars were paroled. Forty-one second degree murderers were given paroles.

The list of paroles granted also included 40 convicted of robbery, most of them with life sentences. Ninety-one were convicted of grand larceny; 46 of burglary; 33 of first degree murder, 23 of first degree manslaughter, 37 of forgery, 35 of murderous assault, 11 for assault with attempt to rape, four for rape, six for carnal knowledge of a female child, three of burglary and grand larceny, three for concealing stolen property, 17 for distilling, two for second degree manslaughter, four for transporting liquor, three for perjury, one for arson and two for bigamy.

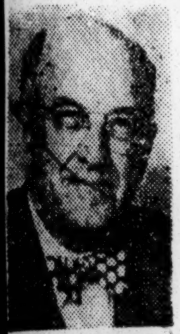
31a 1956 White (C.M. Stanley)

A Hard-Fighting Reconstruction Days Editor

Advertiser P. 3-B

By C. M. Stanley
Editor-in-Chief The Alabama Journal

COLONEL Matthew Gallaway was one of the fighting editors of reconstruction days. Born in Huntsville March 5, 1820 the family moved to Moulton in Lawrence county. He worked for a year for $100 for Thomas M. Peters, a young lawyer who owned the Moulton News.



STANLEY

His father, county clerk Wiley Gallaway, bought the News in 1838 and gave it to his son when he was still under 18 years of age.

Montgomery Ala.

Matthew was a born newspaper man. He went to Tuscumbia in 1840; to Decatur in 1842 where he married Fannie B. Barker "a lovely girl who proved herself in after years a heroic wife."

Gallaway at 24 settled in Florence and for 12 years was editor and owner of the Gazette. In 1856 he established the Sunny South at Aberdeen, Miss., and made a brilliant success. But in 1857 he moved to Memphis, founded the Memphis Avalanche and entered upon a brilliant and sensational editorial career.

Sun. 9-9-56

WHEN the war broke out he became a soldier and served more than two years on the staff of Gen. Forrest. Back in Memphis he faced reconstruction and the carpetbaggers with such vigor that the carpetbag Judge William Hunter cited him to court for contempt and sentenced him to prison. Gallaway appealed and fought on. Hunter put him in jail and Gallaway fought on from his cell.

The editorial for which the first arrest was made appeared Tuesday December 19, 1867.

It recited the case of John Henry a Negro desperado who had burglarized the store of Lyon, Fies & Co. The judge continued his case if he could make $2,000 bail. Henry produced two Negroes George Washington and Tom Smith who signed the bond.

"NOW it is well known," said Gallaway's editorial "to dozens in the court that neither of these men, if both were shook up together, was worth twenty-five cents. Immediately after they had signed the bond an order was issued for Henry's release and his friends started to convey him the glad tidings."

An honest policeman immediately arrested one of the bondsmen on a charge of perjury. The other ran and was pursued and finally dragged from under a bed.

"This is but one sample in a thousand," wrote Gallaway "of the manner in which Hunter turns Negroes loose after they have been arrested for the perpetration of crimes under the code of Tennessee. It has become almost impossible to convict and punish a Negro in this court as Hunter would sooner allow a dozen crimes to go unpunished than one vote should be lost to his party. . ."

THE judge next prohibited any publication in the various papers of the city of the contempt cases then pending.

"We defy the citation of another rule as arbitrary as this." wrote Gallaway "The friend and boon companion of Negro gamblers, he prates of morality, and speaks Puritanical lying words to cover up the festering putrefaction of his acts; this creature William Hunter visits gambling houses, feeds in their keno lunches, drinks their liquors, and becomes hail fellow well met.

"WE have expressed no contempt for the tribunal over which this infamous poacher upon the rights of the people and the liberty of a free press erects his hang-dog countenance.

"But if William Hunter imprisons us in proportion to the contempt we entertain for him, as a corrupt man, our imprisonment will be as long as that which made John Bunyan immortal.

"The old whangdoodle may play upon his harp of a thousand strings, to the full content of his rotten heart without moving us from our purpose.

"We had rather 'be a dog and bay at the moon', a toad feeding on the vapors of a dungeon, than to publish a paper over which William Hunter is to be the censor.

"IF A contemptible judge, a worthless vagabond on society dressed in a little brief authority is permitted to override constitutional law and to muzzle a free and unshackled press, we are fast drifting back into the dark ages when to worship God was to mount from the funeral pile through the flames of martyrdom to Heaven. Our soul is still our own!

"By some strange accident, a bankrupt swindler, a mounte-bank musician who with bleared eyes and inflated cheeks has for twenty years been trying to blow away his worthless life through the mouth of a trombone, has found seat upon the bench like a snail upon the top of an obelisk.

"The contemptible whangdoodle who presides over the criminal court at Memphis. . .

"This bigoted fool. . ." et cetera.

ON Friday Jan 3, 1868, Gallaway wrote:

"But if Hunter expects to keep posted, he must subscribe for the Avalanche, instead of borrowing or stealing it, as he has done heretofore. We give him notice now that for the balance of our natural lives he is ours, wholly and in part, in general and in particular. We shall take it as a particular affront for anybody to kick or cuff him. This is a luxury for which we have a patent right, and nobody shall infringe on our letters without being arrested for 'contempt' of our prerogatives.

"When small matters alone remain for editorial comment we intend to impale him on the point of our pen, and dissect him as the entomologist examines rare bugs and curious insects. Occasionally, we may be tempted to pull off his epidermis, as the butcher does the hide of a fat kid. Then again, we may be forced to drop him into a big mortar, and with our editorial pestle pound him into mincemeat. One thing they may rely on, that William Hunter will be served up to them, most every morning. We intend to cook him in every conceivable way; first, to stew him, then bake him, then fry him, and next toast him upon coals of burning fire."

ON January 28, 1868, Gallaway wrote this editorial:

"The Avalanche editorial rooms in a few days will be temporarily removed to the county jail, on Adams street, where we shall be happy to see our friends. A swindling vagabond, an unprincipled judge, dressed in a little brief authority, may trample upon laws, usurp authority, and incarcerate us in loathesome dungeons; but thank God! he cannot chain the mind, the immortal mind, which scorns fetters, soars above despotism and, since our right arm is not manacled or palsied, we intend with our editorial pincers to make the putrid flesh, which covers the rotten bones of our persecutor, quiver like a worm in hot ashes.

"NO amount of imprisonment can change our opinion of William Hunter. We repeat here all we have said about him. We accused him of taking straw bail, of receiving as security Negroes who had been arrested for vagrancy. We repeat the charge, and what is more, we can prove it.

"The Avalanche for two long years of bitter toil and strife has warred against the plunderers who came into our midst to rob and steal, and to claim rights which they deny to men born and raised on this soil. We have shown that these vagabonds pay no taxes. . . It is not surprising that such a gang of thieves should hate the Avalanche! Hunter is made the contemptible instrument—the puny cats-paw either to muzzle or to crush out this paper. Had he power he would imitate the olden custom by putting a ring into our nose and a bridle into our mouth, and drive us like a wild beast through the streets.

"TYRANTS always hate a free and independent press, but honest men invite its severest and most rigid investigation. The Southern people have no armies to defend them, and voiceless as they are in the councils of the nation, the press is the last bulwark of the people, and while they impart to it the strength to be free, outspoken and brave, there is no need to despair of ultimate redemption."

ON March 11, came Gallaway's last words from prison:

"We learn that Hunter, whose mean heart is festering in malice and uncharitableness, declared that he—yes, he, a poor old bankrupt thief, had sworn in his heart that the Avalanche should be crushed out. We are equally resolved that the Avalanche shall not be crushed out by so small a despot as William Hunter."

COL. Gallaway built the Avalanche to such proportions in popular favor that in 1870 he bought a half interest in the Memphis Appeal for $30,000. And the combined papers had ups and downs but went on to increasing greatness, power and influence.

Col. James E. Saunders of Lawrence county in his book "Early Settlers," tells us that the maternal grandfather of Col. Gallaway was John McDowell from Ireland who fought through the Revolution. He was a hatter and for the first ten years of his residence in Lawrence county made most of the hats worn in Lawrence and Morgan counties. He made old-fashioned fur hats and carried on an extensive trade with Negroes and boys of North Alabama for racoon skins. Col. Saunders writes:

"Col. Gallaway was on confidential terms with his commander who was the greatest military genius this country has ever produced. Gen. Forrest spent several weeks with me at Rocky Hill just before his death, and conversation often turned upon his comrades in arms. He regarded Colonel Gallaway as one of the ablest and bravest of them. . . And well he might so regard him. Gallaway had been a member of his mess and written most of his letters, reports and addresses. He had been at his side, in nearly all the battles during that time.

"The contempt cases were before the court, either every day or at intervals, from the 10th of December to the 25th of March. Finally, the Supreme Court put an end to them by deciding that the whole proceeding was unconstitutional and that no court could punish as a contempt anything which was not done in its presence to hinder its process.

Report From Europe

Afro-American P. 2
Sat. 2-11-56
Baltimore, Md.

By Ollie Stewart

Brains plus luck

PARIS—Some people have luck as well as brains. Or maybe what seems like luck is simply the result of having brains. What started me to thinking like this was my contact a few days ago with a couple of visitors from Atlanta—a man and wife and both of them have a Ph.D. degree. Brains got them a free trip to Paris. The husband answered all the questions on the "Big Payoff," national television show, last August, and in addition to the present trip, which has taken them to Scotland, London, Amsterdam and Paris, the wife received one of the most beautiful mink coats you ever saw.

Mr. Stewart

The lucky—I mean brainy—couple are Dr. and Mrs. William H. Hale, and they brought with them their four-and-a-half-year-old daughter, Janis. Mrs. Hale has her doctorate in accounting from the University of Wisconsin, and is a certified public accountant. She is chairman of the department of business administration at Clark College, Atlanta. William Hale has his doctorate from the University of Chicago, and heads the department of social sciences at Clark College.

Being a winner on the TV show entitled the Hales to airline tickets to any place in the world, but they chose Paris "because it is a city of culture." While here they crammed in sightseeing tours, visits to the Louvre, Sorbonne and Notre Dame —not forgetting the Folies Bergere. The week's stay was too short a time to see all the things and places they had on their list, so just before flying back home they said like MacArthur, "We shall return!" I bet they will, too.

WASHINGTON ATTORNEY Roy Garvin and his beautiful wife took things much more leisurely. After the Tubman inauguration in Monrovia, the Garvins have been working their way back toward the USA in easy stages.

They spent a week of shopping and sightseeing in Rome. Both went overboard when they saw the Italian shoes. Couldn't resist buying several pairs each. Then they came on to Paris, and put up at the same hotel where Maggie Butcher always stays. Dropped in on me for a chat, and had quite a time soaking up some Paris night life. From France they went to London —and should be back in the District by the time this gets into print.

Rhea Jackson, who came over from New York two years ago on a Fulbright grant and hasn't been back since, returned to Paris November 15 with rave notices for her tour of Spain. Appearances in southen France also highly successful ... Vera Little increasing her prestige with an extended series of recitals in Scandanavia. Hopes to invade the USA this winter as a full-fledged artist

Report From Europe

Afro-American P. 4
Sat. 2-25-56

By Ollie Stewart

Fay Hershaw Pauses In Paris

Baltimore, Md.

PARIS—Miss Fay Hershaw, who teaches in Baltimore at P.S. 141, commuting from her home in Washington, D.C. (2215 13th St., NW) every day, will probably not see this right away.

On sabbatical leave a year, Miss Hershaw left Paris the middle of December for Liberia, stopped five days in Lisbon to be joined by Roy Garvin and wife. "Travel is one of my weaknesses," Miss Hershaw told me. She has been in Europe since July, having visited the Isle of Wight, Norway, Germany — and studied French for some time at the Alliance Francaise.

Mr. Stewart

Jay Clifford and Sir Winston Churchill! Think they don't have something in common—besides a loss of hair? Well get a load of the latest communication just received from Monsieur Clifford. "I played roulette recently," says Jay, "with Sir Winston Churchill. He sat next to me at the same table. Had his proverbial long cigar in his mouth—while 200 people crowded around the table watching him. It was an experience I will not soon forget!" Please, Jay, next time don't forget to mention who won or lost and how much.

* * *

REMEMBER SULTRY Nina M. McKinney and Daniel Haynes? Maybe they aren't talked about or in the headlines much these days in the USA, but here in Paris they have been very much in the news for the past two months It all happens because a movie distributor dug up a print of film called "Halellujah!"—made away back in 1929.

The film is now being shown at a local screen palace in Montparnasse, and though I haven't seen it, the papers and almost everybody I know have been urging me to take a look-see before it is too late. Sensational is the word they use.

* * *

LIKE ALL newspapermen, I am always on the lookout for what is known as a human interest story. When I find one that apparently has a happy ending, I am typewriter-happy in no time at all. The recent opening here of "Jazz Train" gave me one or two I'd like to tell you about. First, the case of John Littleton, of Detroit.

John has been in Paris about five years, studying voice and trying to get enough work to keep the wolf from the door. He has a big baritone voice, but being a foreigner and not the aggressive type, he's had it pretty rough at times. So what happened? So when Jazz Train arrived, there was a need for a big, booming voice. John auditioned—and got the part.

And Virginia Capers. She was here singing in a Jewish nightclub, but was not especially happy about it. A product of Juilliard, Virginia auditioned for a part in Jazz Train also, and was hired on the spot. By now she has written her mother in New York to tell her the good news.

Her brother, Pvt. James Capers, has already come in from Germany to see her and congratulate her. He's with a paratroop outfit, and before being grabbed by Uncle Sam was studying music at the Manhattan School of Music. For Virginia, being in the right place at the right time offered the big break that she has been waiting for.

* * *

THERE ARE a lot of French people who read American magazines, and the recent article by Hodding Carter, of Mississippi, which appeared in a national magazine, has certainly caused a lot of heads to be shaken in horror.

After reading the part near the end in which Carter states flatly that integration is not coming to Mississippi, nor will colored citizens be allowed to vote, nor will a law by the Supreme Court conclusively or soon change a whole people's thinking, a French friend said to me: "The people in Mississippi hardly belong to the human race!"

Then she added after a moment's thought: "Well, anyway, that NAACP has certainly got them on the run. That's a good sign."

Report from Europe

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

By Ollie Stewart

Sat. 9-15-56

31a Negro

Americans in Paris

PARIS—To coin a phrase, Dr. Marguerite Cartwright is as busy as two bees. Endowed with beauty and brains, Marguerite not only manages to be a housewife and professor at Hunter College, in NYC, but finds time at frequent intervals to do goodwill work for the State Department. And on these jaunts to various countries and continents, she writes up the sidelights for some newspaper or magazine. If I had to make a complaint, it would be that the things that happen in Paris don't interest her enough to bring her here more often.

For you stay-at-homes, here's a rundown on how this busy person spent the summer — when scads of other people were lazing around at the seashore. Early in June she took off for the Gold Coast, invited by Dr. Nkrumah, the chief minister, and spent some weeks lecturing at colleges and community centers.

The Gold Coast, slated next year to become the first African nation to achieve its independence from the British, was holding elections while Marguerite was there, and she covered the occasion for the Christian Science Monitor.

* * *

HEARING THAT she was in Africa, Dr. Azikiwe, head of the Nigerian government, invited her to Nigeria where she continued her speaking and writing. From Nigeria Marguerite went to Israel as guest of the Israeli government for what she describes as "two glorious red-carpeted weeks."

And adds, "The day I hit Cairo, Col. Nasser made his Suez speech and I hopped down to Alexandria for this!" And to round out a trip that could hardly be said to contain a dull moment, Marguerite managed to show up in London—in Lancaster House—for the opening of the big Suez Conference.

Other than what I've just told you, she didn't do much of anything you might call interesting during her summer holiday.

I am not wearing a sweater while writing this, but I'm certainly not in a nylon sports shirt either. And the windows are not wide open. Which is by way of leading up to the remark that August and the beginning of September bear no resemblance whatever to summertime.

August, as a matter of fact, was about the rainiest and coldest eighth month on record in Paris. Thoughtful people who took out weather insurance this summer in France were paid back about one-half of what they spent on their trip. We've seen the sun—but not for long. Hey, where's my topcoat?

31a 1956

NEGRO (OLLIE STEWART)

Report From Europe

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

By Ollie Stewart

Sat. 3-24-56

Miss Lucy, Till Shame U.S.

PARIS—World leadership? The following sermon in one sentence would seem to prove that Uncle Sam is judged by what he does, rather than by what he says in the Voice of America—at least to one Frenchman in Algeria: "We don't have any lesson to learn from the Americans who killed all the Indians, who lynched Emmett Till, and who molested a colored student in Alabama!"

Mr. Stewart

A pile of money has been spent in the past 10 years—money paid in by U.S. taxpayers—to try to capture the minds of pepole throughout the world. Experts and leaders in various fields are every day being sent to all parts of the globe to work and to speak, with the hope that they may prove one thing: that the way of life in the USA is free, just and fair to every man. But whatever progress is made in this worldwide endeavor, it is quickly nullified by brutalities that shock the world when they read about it, or hear it over the radio. Actions still speak louder than words—or a gift of money.

* * *

THE RUSSIANS have often been charged with distorting the facts, of making propaganda out of what happens to minorities in the United States. But being here in Europe, I can say flatly that the Till case and the Lucy case have had no need to be promoted by the Russians —or by anybody else.

The facts are so plain that millions of people have suffered a revulsion just by hearing them discussed. Britain and France are America's closest allies; but the British press and radio, and the French press and radio, have certainly not clammed up about Emmett Till and Autherine Lucy. They have paraded the shame of America before listeners and readers.

Rotha C. Owens, of Washington, D.C., who worked a year and a half here in the American Embassy (communications), and was transferred last fall to Bangkok, is heading home on leave—but won't get there until May. Recently in Japan, he is now en route to Washington via Manila, Bombay, Cario, Vienna, Frankfurt, Amsterdam and Paris. This will take up most of the month of April, and he sails from Paris on April 25—U Street bound.

* * *

LOST AND FOUND: It is just possible that some woman reader of this space was in Paris during the month of February—and has now returned to the USA bemoaning the loss of a black handbag. The bag contains about $10 worth of French money, but nothing in the way of identification papers. But the trail to the owner led to me, because in the bag was a piece of paper with my name and address on it.

After keeping the bag for two weeks, the owner of the bar where it was left telephoned to me to ask if any of my friends had reported the loss of a bag. When I told him no, he said he would continue to keep it. Name of the bar is La Calavados, not far from the Champs Elysses, and Charlie Beal played the piano there for months. Any of you girls lost a bag?

Report From Europe

Afro-American P. 4

By Ollie Stewart

Josephine Baker To Retire

Sat. 3-31-56

PARIS — Josephine Baker is getting ready to retire! When it happens, you may remember you first heard about it here; but if it doesn't come off as scheduled, forget I ever mentioned it. Retirements from the stage, screen, the boxing ring, and politics are not always as permanent as they sound. The lure of the footlights is particularly strong, and people who have lived and worked for applause find it difficult to resist that "last appearance."

Josephine, opening here at the Olympia Theater March 22 for what is said to be her final engagement, has let it be known that she will henceforth devote her time to her children. But whether she can stick to a secluded life is something that Josephine herself cannot know. Darling of Paris—and known throughout the world — at the top of the ladder of fame for more than two decades—Josephine is now as popular in Europe as at any time in her fabulous career.

Baltimore, Md.

SHE HAS JUST closed a most successful tour of Scandanavia. In Stockholm, her stay at the swankiest club in town was extended three times. They just wouldn't let her go. Outspoken and uncompromising on man's inhumanity to man, Josephine Baker has been more than a friend of mine for the past 15 years: she has also been an inspiration.

If she has finally decided to quit the career that made her a star at the Folies Bergere, the Casino de Paris and the rage of New York a few years ago, the entertainment world will have lost one of its brightest attractions.

I saw Josephine get up from a sick bed in 1943 to sing for American soldiers in Casablanca—because she wanted to do her part in the war effort. I saw the pile of letters and telegrams and newspaper stories that called her everything but a child of God, following her attack on discrimination in the Winchell affair. But I never saw her lose her courage. So if she retires now, I say well done, Jo!

* * *

FRANK DOUGLAS, New York hotel owner, says: "It's awful hard to leave Paris." Douglas should know. He and his wife have been here for several weeks now, and their departure date has been set back twice already. Arriving here during the bitter cold of late February, after working their way through 11 countries, the half frozen couple managed to thaw out a bit the first two weeks in March. But to get some real sunshine, Frank told me he had his mind set on a visit to the Riviera—and a look at the Kelly-Rainer marriage April 18.

Incidentally, the whole town's talking about the possibility that Louis Armstrong may play at the big Monaco wedding. But as this is being written the report is that the trumpet man is ill in New York. But it is a certainty that several big entertainers will be on hand for the wedding festivities.

Report From Europe

Afro-American P. 2

By Ollie Stewart

Sat. 4-21-56

A Rendezvous In Rome

PARIS—Rendezvous in Rome. On April 23 Mrs. Anna L. Wilson meets her husband, Dr. Frank T. Wilson, in the Eternal City—after being separated for several weeks. The Wilsons live at 5033 Blaine St. NE, Washington, D.C., and Dr. Wilson is dean of the school of religion at Howard University. When he reaches Rome for the reunion with his wife, he will be nearing the end of a round-the-world tour for the Presbyterian Church.

The tour started in the Far East, and has taken Dr. Wilson to such places as Bangkok, Burma, India, Lebanon and Jerusalem. While he was thus engaged, Mrs. Wilson was seeing France and surrounding countries. In Paris she visited her niece, Miss Margaret Perry, who is on leave from her New York library job for a year to write some short stories and complete a novel. The Wilsons return to Paris after the meeting in Rome, and will sightsee their way back to the nation's capital.

Baltimore, Md.

GREGORY SIMMS is now living in Vienna—in a comfortable apartment that costs but $40 a month. The ex-University of Kansas baritone, who came over on a fellowship to study two years ago, spent a year in Paris, six months in Italy and finally settled down in the music capital of Europe. Since the first of the year Gregory has been busily engaged with a series of concerts in Spain, Portugal, Belgium, France and Germany.

Visiting friends recently in Paris, he told me: "I expect to remain in Europe for another year. I picked Vienna as a place to live because it is not only centrally located, but is the best place for me to study German music—which is what I plan to sing.

Guests of the week: Airman 1/c Haywood L. Johnson, Roanoke Rapids, N.C., who is a VIP driver at Fontainebleau, sends greetings to his grandmother, Mrs. Katie Ivy. He used to sell the AFRO in his home town. Also M/Sgt. Wilson B Bruc, who hails from Los Angeles. The good sergeant has 13 years of service behind him, and has been on duty in the Pacific, in Europe during the Berlin airlift, and in Korea and Japan prior to returning to Europe last December. He's a specialist in communications.

Report From Europe

Afro-American

Sat. 5-19-56

By Ollie Stewart

Baltimore, Md.

Richard Wright Now a Farmer

P. 2

PARIS—Richard Wright, the author, is now a gentleman farmer—and he works at it. I came by this bit of intelligence a short time ago when I stopped in at the Wright apartment (in Paris) for my annual visit. It was on Sunday, and Dick had come into town after spending the week on his three-acre farm in Normandy. Looking lean and robust, he was full of talk about spring planting. "I'm growing all kinds of things," he told me with enthusiasm. "Fruit trees and the like were already there, but I'm going all out on string-beans, tomatoes, onions and other types of garden produce."

Although he bought the farm primarily as a quiet place to write, Dick soon realized that it could be used to supply his table with many necessary things So now he combines writing with hoeing. He's pleased about the fact that his French neighbors have accepted him in every way, and cooperate. And since he got rid of his American car, and bought a French one, he finds that he gets along better with Parisians as well as the country folk. Dick says his next book will be about Spain; and after that he will write a novel.

* * *

REMEMBER WALTER BRYANT'S aft-

er-hour rendezvous in the hotel des Etats-Unis? Well, it's no more. The place closed recently and Walter announced his intention to return to the USA. But Walter gave the faithful something to remember him by on the night the place was shuttered. Drinks and food were on the house. Nothing was to be left over. Nothing was. And when the last bottle behind the bar had been emptied, a well-oiled crowd stumbled out for the last time into Boulevard Montparnasse.

American invasion: The first of May had Louis Armstrong scheduled for 10 days at the Empress Hall in London. Eartha Kitt booked into the Cafe de Paris for a four-week engagement. The Ink Spots stirring up things in Glasgow. And the two singers with the first name of Billy (Eckstine and Daniels) were also slated for return visits to London and the provinces—leaving British entertainers with little to do but wonder what the Americans have got that they don't have . . . By contrast, the same period in Paris showed the scene absolutely empty, as far as U.S. entertainers were concerned.

* * *

AIRMAN 1/C WARNER C. FULTON of New Orleans, La., was one among the group of Air Force personnel shifted back recently from Germany to France. Fulton is a clerk in the processing section, and was stationed for a year in Wiesbaden. Now he's in Paris. At one time Wiesbaden was the hub of all Air Force activity in Europe, but in line with the new policy of getting important installations as far away from the Russians as possible, everything and everybody (except a small skeleton force) has been shifted to the Paris area.

These changing times: Back 50 years ago when the Olympic Games were held in Athens, Greece, the big winner was France with 23 first prizes! Italy was second with 13, followed by America with 12, Germany with 10 — and Russia with a measly 2. This November, when the 16th Olympics hold sway in Australia, it's a four-acre cinch that the the above order will be reversed. Russia and the USA will be on top—and if France and Italy win even one gold medal it will be a miracle.

Report From Europe

Afro-American
Sat. 6-16-56

By Ollie Stewart

~~Baltimore, Md.~~

He Prefers Fishing To Paris

p.7

PARIS—Recently I met a man who prefers fishing to Paris—and he wasn't kidding when he told me so. He is Anderson Harbin, of 4510 Brown St., West Philadelphia, who came over on the same boat in May with ex-President Harry Truman. Matter of fact, he and the man from Missouri did some reading in the ship's library at the same time. But on arriving in France, it took Harbin but five days to change his mind about spending six weeks in the City of Lights.

"I've been hearing about this place for a long time," he told me in a disappointed voice. "But I can't see what they've been raving about. I've been on a few bus tours, and I can say that Paris is a beautiful city; but I don't like the food and I can't understand a word of what people are saying. I'm going back home and get in some fishing.

* * *

ACTUALLY, THOUGH, Harbin didn't go straight back home. From Paris he went to Munich, Germany, to visit some Army friends and thence into Switzerland. In Philly Harbin is a beer salesman, working for the beer company operated by his daughter, Mrs. Arline Butcher. His daughter, he told me, gave him the trip to Europe.

Miss Marvyne Betsch, on the other hand, arrived here early in the year to stay a long, long time. Five years, she hopes. Marvyne is the granddaughter of one of the men who helped make the Afro-American Life Insurance one of the big business concerns of Jacksonville, Fla. A 1955 graduate of Oberlin College, the slender Miss Betsch is taking private voice lessons here and expects to make the concert stage her career.

Been wondering what happened to Pat Rainey, the glamorous songbird from Boston? Well, she's now holding down the job of vocalist with an Italian band in Milan — and the place where she works is one of the finest dance spots in Italy's industrial city . . . Rhea Jackson, New York soprano who has been studying and singing in Europe for the past few years, was formally presented to Paris in a recital recently by the cultural section of the American Embassy. Rhea doesn't have a big voice, but her warmth and diction brought enthusiastic applause. There were four groups of songs: in Italian, German, French and English.

* * *

PIANIST LIL ARMSTRONG is homeward bound for Chicago after singing and playing for two years in just about every country on the Continent. The one she had missed was Italy, so she went there on a recent sightseeing trip so as to have a perfect score. Lil is writing a book of her life, and has a dozen or more songs she composed due for re-issue as soon as she gets home. Her tape recorder is a treasure strip of some of the most famous voices in Europe and the USA.

Chances good for foreign service job assignments in Europe, Africa, Asia

Afro-American p.13

By OLLIE STEWART

PARIS — Qualified young men and women entering the foreign service today have a better chance of being assigned by the State Department to responsible posts in Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Asia than ever before.

Support for this opinion has come in recent months from several persons who are themselves working in or have been sent on highly responsible missions to sensitive areas of the world.

In confidence, they will tell you that they were selected on the basis of ability, but add frankly that "color didn't hurt."

* * *

THE LATEST CORROBORATION comes from Dr. Francis Hammond, former professor of psychology at Seton Hall College, and now minority affairs advisor for the U.S. Information Administration.

Dr. Hammond, en route home after a two-month fact-finding trip for the State Department, stopped over here just before Easter with his brief case bulging with notes for his report in Washington.

Without divulging anything of secret nature, he did, however, mention a few highlights and observations of the tour which took him to French West Africa, Nigeria, the Belgian Congo, Nairobi, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Cairo and Athens.

* * *

"OF ONE THING I AM NOW SURE," he said in a brief interview. "Colored diplomats and others representing the United States are welome in any part of the world.

"It is a fallacy to say, or suppose, that govenments in Europe, Asia or Africa feel humiliated by the arrival of a colored American diplomat. Nobody could have been better received than I was."

What about Ethiopia — a nation more than once reported to be cool in its enthusiasm for colored American representatives?

"In Ethiopia," said Dr. Hammond, "I had what I consider the most exciting time of my trip. My audience with the Emperor was both informative and enjoyable.

"He presented me with the Lion of Judah medal and the reception—or party—was so down to earth that I couldn't help but feel right at home."

And, Dr. Hammond added, one of the high Ethiopian government officials told him privately that the country would be very happy to see colored persons sent to them on a diplomatic level. There was no question of Ethiopia, being humiliated by such an occurence.

* * *

AND THE STORY WAS THE same in the Sudan.

At Khartoum, where the new

DR. FRANCIS M. HAMMOND

government is flexing its muscles with vigor after gaining independennce from Egypt and Britain, Dr. Hammond conferred with top leaders who said they were not only glad to welcome him, but would be happy to lay out the mat for any person "who looks like us."

Actually, what Dr. Hammond discovered on his tour was what the State Department itself seems to be discovering: That new faces, tan faces, in U.S. embassies and consulates throughout the world can possibly win more friends than a billion-dollar gift.

The success of such people as Cultural Attache Frank Snowden in Rome, First Secretary Rupert Lloyd in Paris and Consul-general Wharton in Marseille has done much to destroy the color bar in European embassies and legations.

BUT THE TENSION AREAS, the touchy spots, are not now to be found in Europe.

These are to be found in Africa the Middle East and Asia.

And, with the U.S. government now fully aware that colored representatives will be greeted with open arms in these potentially explosive places, it seems certain — as well as sensible — that the foreign service will be sending out more colored diplomats than ever before.

Many are now being used for confidential and technical missions; but many more could be assigned for a full tour of duty in countries where they've never been sent before.

31a 1956

WHITE (THOMAS L. STOKES)

THOMAS L. STOKES

Maneuvers on the School Aid Bill

Civil Rights Issue Seen Motivating Shifting Tactics in Campaign Year

A new pattern of alignments in the House of Representatives was revealed in the changed and favorable attitude of the House Rules Committee toward the long-bottled-up school construction and civil rights bills. Election year politics is a factor and what happens from now on may have a significant effect on the presidential and congressional elections.

For many years, ever since 1938 in fact, we have become accustomed to the familiar coalition of Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans which has been so powerful in the House and often blocked New Deal and Fair Deal social and economic reform measures, in which category would be included the school construction and civil rights programs now at issue.

The last citadel of this coalition was the Rules Committee, and its czar for long has been the veteran Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia, a most conservative gentleman of the old school. This committee is charged with fixing precedence for consideration of bills by the House, but long ago it went beyond this traffic cop role and arrogated to itself the power to delay, sidetrack and even pigeonhole measures approved by legislative committees at the whim of the dominant coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans.

But in the last few days a revolution occurred in the committee, and it was organized and led by one of his Democrats, a newcomer to the committee, Representative Dick Bolling of Missouri. To his dismay, Chairman Smith suddenly saw the old coalition break up as young Democrats under Dick Bolling and Republicans on whom the chairman had relied broke away and overrode him 8 to 3, to give a green light to the school construction bill, which probably will go before the House for action next week.

The young Missourian also sparked the revolt for the civil rights bills. So resentful was Chairman Smith that he adjourned a session of the committee Thursday which was supposed to act on the civil rights bill when the absence of some members for a few minutes permitted him to adjourn the session for lack of a quorum. But there are the votes to force the civil rights bills to the floor and Representative Bolling and his supporters will push for a decision next week.

As a result of what is happening, we see a new coalition emerging to replace the old Southern Democrat-Republican combination as a dominant force in the House, at least on the two issues and for the time being. It may be just now and for the election.

The immediate political motivation is obvious. On civil rights and in the school construction bill — which embodies the integration issue —both Northern Democrats and Republicans in the new coalition have their eyes on minorities, including Negroes, who are decisive factors in some big urban areas, and the balance of power in many sections.

Representative Bolling led his revolt for the civil rights bills against the wishes of Speaker Sam Rayburn, who does not want to see them come before the House this session. But both Speaker Rayburn and the Republican leader in the House, Representative Joe Martin of Massachusetts, were instrumental in pushing the $1.6-billion school construction bill out to the floor.

Democrats control this Congress, and in recent weeks the party has come under heavy criticism for not getting action on a school bill. Speaker Rayburn, for just such emergencies, had hand-picked three younger Democrats to fill extra places on the Rules Committee to which Democrats were entitled when they took over control of Congress last year. These members—Representatives Bolling, O'Neill of Massachusetts and Trimble of Arkansas—were joined by two other Democrats, Representatives Madden of Indiana and Delaney of New York, and three Republicans, Representatives Brown of Ohio, Ellsworth of Oregon and Lanham of New York, to clear the bill to the House floor, with Chairman Smith and Representatives Colmer, Democrat of Mississippi, and Leo Allen of Illinois, ranking Republican on the committee, voting in the negative.

As for the civil rights issue, if it is brought to the fore, especially this near the Chicago Democratic convention which opens August 13, that would embarrass Democratic leaders in Congress. Republicans know that full well, and Representative Martin's hand is seen in Republican support for bringing the civil rights bill to the House floor, as that would dramatize the split in the Democratic Party on civil rights between Northern and Southern wings of the party.

If Republicans could get the bills through the House and lay them on the doorstep of the Senate, that would dramatize the Democratic Party split even more, and still closer to the convention. Both Republicans and some Northern Democrats in the Senate would demand Senate action before Congress recessed, which would keep the issue alive; and it would, of course, be dramatized in familiar style if the bills ever got to the floor. For that would provoke a Southern filibuster. That is not good advertising ever for the Democratic Party.

House Leader Martin, in order to keep the school integration issue alive, which also divides the Democrats, is throwing his influence behind an amendment which a Democrat, Representative Adam Clayton Powell, of New York, plans to offer to the school construction bill to withhold funds from school districts which do not integrate. Speaker Rayburn hopes to defeat that amendment. If it is added to the bill, the measure then might be defeated by the House; but, if it passed with the amendment, it would never get through the Senate.

The 'End' Of Integration

News Mon. 9-10-56

The School Drive Is Another Evidence Of Trend To Stamp All With One Die

B'ham News

BY DOROTHY THOMPSON

READING THE newspapers these days fills one with disquiet and shame. The National Guard had to be called into a small Tennessee town to quell mobs preventing the opening of a school ordered by a Federal Court to admit Negroes. Order is restored by sheer force, but peace certainly is not.

P. 10

In another town a plea is entered to withhold a similar court order on the ground that it will result in public riots, but is denied.

The demonstrations of racial hatred are as menacing as they are obtuse.

In the decorous disguise of White Citizens' Councils the spirit of the Ku Klux Klan blazed forth again, going far beyond the desegregation issue.

The white leadership to whom the humblest of the colored have ever turned for protection, knowing and feeling with extraordinary discrimination the difference between a gentleman and a ruffian, between "quality" and "trash," is put to the background by the type ridden by envy of his white betters.

The Supreme Court handed down judgment, the NAACP finds children to run the gantlet into schools, a Federal Court order orders their admittance, white children stay away from schools, mobs take over, the colored schools cannot function in freedom, nor the white either.

Reformers Double Zeal As Aim Is Observed

EVERYONE WITH knowledge of the South could have foreseen this, but there are reformers who double their zeal as they lose sight of their aim, utterly regardless of the human lives and hearts involved. To them even children are only legal entities, whose "equal" position must be established and maintained, even if it kills them, physically, psychologically and morally. They create their counterpart in law-resisting mobs demonstrating their racial superiority by behaving like blind beasts, again utterly regardless of the mental and moral injuries they are inflicting upon white children. Thus each injures what they are pretending to uphold, the one, the right to equality, the other, the right to establish tradition, out of which comes only equality in misery and fear and the murder of all tradition.

This is happening, too, in a region of our country that is undergoing an industrial revolution of far-reaching social consequences, tension and strain. This revolution, opening myriad new economic opportunities, is, in itself, changing the relation between the races and establishing new social classes, as the go-getter, entrepreneur-type, long dominant in the North, becomes ascensive in the South also. The vitality, tensions, and pains of this revolution are reflected in the work of Southern writers, the most significant in America today, and almost the only ones with any tragic (and therefore noble) sense of life, seeking to dig human constancy out of the welter of change, concerned with **the individuality of the ever-lonely human soul.**

All In A Period Of Educational Trouble

THE CRISIS intensified in the South occurs when American education as a whole is in a state of crisis, having evolved in the past 50 years a program for "educating" everybody to the age of 17, not only regardless of race, color and sex, but also regardless of capacity. It is confused in its purposes, weak in its achievements, and so floundering in its principles that it can only call upon pupils to "adjust" (to whatever is) as the highest moral goal, although it must know that no one can achieve freedom by "adjustment" of any equality except the equality of one cog with another—a black cog or a white cog—what does it matter?

Thus the demand for racial integration—a mechanical not a human term, reflects a more generally menacing drift toward a democratism that frowns upon any kind of diversity, insists that everybody be alike, conceived of only one tolerable "way of life," or "cultural pattern," to which all educational ideas, behavior and pursuits of happiness must conform; pushing all towards a standardized "Americanism" in which man as man, with all his infinite variety, will cease to exist—along with all wonders, mystery, pain, and glory of life: the final perfections of "integration."

Difference In Viewpoint

(Lee County Bulletin, Auburn)

Politically speaking, North Alabama and South Alabama are about as different as two far-separated regions of the land. In election after election this fact is reemphasized.

In the last week's amendment election only one county north of Birmingham—Madison—voted for the two segregation amendments. Contrarily, Clay County was the only one south of Birmingham to vote against the proposals.

In most cases strong feeling on matters such as segregation brings out a heavy vote. It is interesting that in 20 North Alabama counties which voted against the segregation amendments the vote was surprisingly light.

We do not mean by this analysis to suggest that North Alabama is anti-segregation. We do suggest, however, that segregation is not the emotional issue in a county like Jackson that it is in one like Dallas. Furthermore, arguments against deleting the public school proviso from the Constitution must have carried more weight in North Alabama.

There must be any number of further factors which account for the "anti" vote in North Alabama—including the small percentage of the population that is Negro. The interesting thing, though, is that, whatever the reasons, there is a marked division in the thinking of Alabamians along north-south lines.

31a 1956

WHITE (RAY TUCKER)

National Whirligig

Advertiser P. 4-A

By Ray Tucker

Thurs. 3-22-56

WASHINGTON.

A UNIQUE challenge that *The New York Evening Post*, an ultraliberal newspaper, aid him in investigating and reporting on racial prejudices and clashes in New York and the North generally has been made by Grover C. Hall Jr., editor of *The Montgomery* (Ala.) *Advertiser.* Montgomery

With scores of Northern and even European reporters scouring Dixie and writing about its difficulties for their millions of readers, Editor Hall believes that such a reportorial exchange would result in a more sensible, balanced and understanding approach to the racial problem.

Ala.

The Montgomery editor addressed his letter to James A. Wechsler, editor of *The Post*, and extreme advocate of overnight implementation of the Supreme Court's decision. With Hall's help, Northern newspapermen have been covering the Negro boycott of buses and business in Montgomery, and the case of Autherine Lucy at the University of Alabama.

★ ★ ★

PLAY POLITICS WITH ISSUE—Hall contends that, while Northern newspapers and magazines publish sensational and colored articles on racial disturbances in the South, they ignore or play down similar instances of anti-Negro discrimination in their own circulation areas. He also suggests that Northern politicians, especially Gov. Averell Harriman of the Empire State, play politics with an issue which they do not understand.

In his letter, Hall cites examples of this kind of mishandling of the news in New York, Minneapolis, Chicago, etc. So, he seeks to prove by his journalistic expedition into the "Deep North" that the Negro problem is an American affair, not simply a Southern question.

He gives proof of this contention, quoting Adlai E. Stevenson as follows:

"(The race problem) is an American, not a Southern dilemma . . . Before we cast a stone at Alabama, it might be well for those of us who live in some of the great Northern states to ask ourselves in candor how the Negro is faring in our own communities."

★ ★ ★

NEW YORK MAYOR'S STATEMENT—Hall reports this statement from Mayor Robert F. Wagner of New York City:

"I have been increasingly concerned with the realistic situation of factual segregation in our elementary and high schools. We cannot oppose segregation only in the South."

The New York Times, which favors integration, and recently published an 8-page report on its progress in the South, recognizes that the North is not blameless on this issue. Hall cites this editorial expression:

"The explosive issue of segregation in New York's own schools has now been put to the test of scientific study . . . Obviously, New Yorkers could more consistently argue for the rights of minorities elsewhere, if such rights were more completely secure here."

★ ★ ★

CAUTION NEEDED—Murray Kempton, *The Post's* reporter on racial relations, helped to inspire Editor Hall's suggestion for a reportorial exchange. In fact, Kempton agreed to dig up facts on residential and educational segregation in New York that had been ignored or neglected by the local press.

"Well," commented Hall, "why don't you go after the New York story the same as you do the Montgomery story?"

"Come on up," replied Kempton, "we'll do the story together."

If Wechsler accepts the challenge, Hall's dispatches from the "Deep North" to what he calls "Confederate Headquarters" at Montgomery might introduce more intelligence and less headline fireworks into discussion of the great American racial problem. At least it might teach Northern candidates for Pulitzer prizes and presidential nominations that they should handle stones less carelessly for fear they might rebound.

(Released by McClure Newspaper Syndicate)

31a 1956

NEGRO (CARTER WESLEY)

How Negroes Won Civil Rights Fight

By CARTER WESLEY

It has been said that experience is the best guide for the future. It might be well here for us to check our experience in the long fight to win the legal right to equal citizenry by taking a quick study of the fights that have gone before, in the hope of aiding ourselves to sustain the impact of the fight that will be made against implementation of the law.

The Civil War was supposed to have reversed the Dred Scott decision, which held that the Negro had no rights that the white man was bound to respect. But the South did not accept the fact that they had lost the Civil War. They sought by every means possible to reduce the Negro to the status in which the Supreme Court decision had left Dred Scott.

WE CAN HASTEN over the era of the Black Shirts, the Night Riders and the Ku Klux Klan, accompanied by unpunished lynchings by ordinary citizens and governmental acts of supression. This spirit of supression became unified and dignified in the decision of the Supreme Court in Plessy vs. Ferguson in 1896.

Plessy vs. Ferguson provided not only the South but the nation with the right to suppress and to discriminate against Negroes, through the dodge of furnishing separate accomodations that were "substantially equal" to those of whites

APPLICATION OF SEGREGATION

With the North having agreed to withdraw the troops from the South and let the South run its section as it would in 1877, in the Hayes-Tilman compromise, the decision of 1896 was all that was necessary to consolidate the pattern of segregation, both by law and tradition.

The application of the principle of segregation moved slowly and tentatively at first. The decision came when Negroes had attained some political standing and had some representatives in Congress, in local state and city government." These political successes were few and scattered throughout the Southern states, with no unity and no volume of strength behind them or above them or beside them.

Now let us move to Texas, which may be counted as typical of other Southern states in the fight of Negroes. In the year of 1903 the Democratic party by law could admit Negroes in their respective communities in Texas, or exclude them on the decision of the respective districts or counties.

BARRED BY STATUTE

From 1903 to 1923, when the Terrell election law was passed, one might find in adjacent counties instances where Negroes were powerful in politics, and totally disfranchised just a few miles away in another county.

It is interesting to note that the primary laws really began in the North and did not get their flowering in the South until about 1910. Before this time the elections were more or less by conventions. The primary became a handy tool for joint action of the states and the local politicians.

In 1923 the Terrell election law was passed, including Article 3107, which provided that primaries in Texas would be limited to white participation.

C. N. LOVE ATTACKS

Up to that point Negroes in Texas, as they had in other states, attempted to better their conditions primarily in politics. In the first election folowing that enactment, C. N. Love sought an injunction against being denied the right to participate in the primary of his party. By the time the action got to the Supreme Court the elections were over, and Justice Holmes, speaking for the court, said the case raised a grave question and if it had been before the court on its merits, they would have given it great consideration.

HERE WAS THE first case that went to the Supreme Court, attacking the primary, carried up by a custom publisher.

In the interim between 1923 and 1927, Texas Negroes filed in the lower courts many mandamus actions and injunctive actions, seeking to break Article 3107.

DR NIXON WINS

In 1927 Dr L. A. Nixon of El Paso carried the next attack against the primary bar to the Supreme Court. The court held that Article 3107 was unconstitutional.

Immediately the governor called a special session of the Legislature, which enacted another statute providing that the Democratic Executive Committee had authority to set qualifications for members of the Democratic party for primaries. This enactment was again attacked in the lower courts through extraordinary remedies of mandumus and injunctions

But it was again Dr L. A. Nixon of El Paso who carried the third case to the Supreme Court, in an attack upon the law making the Executive Committee agent for barring Negroes.

Dr Nixon's contention was that the Executive Committee, which was created by the statutes of Texas, was in fact acting as the state of Texas, and therefore barred by the Constitution from discriminating against citizens.

The Supreme Court agreed with Dr Nixon and knocked out the statute authorizing the Executive Committee to set the qualifications of members.

THWARTED AGAIN

Again the then governor called a special session of the Legislature, on the ground that the decision created an emergency. This time the Legislature provided, from a remark made as a dictum by Justice Cardoza, who had delivered the opinion, that the Democratic Convention should have power to fix the qualifications.

HERE THE theory was that the convention was not created by the statutes, and was a free gathering of people under the constitutional right of free assembly.

This was attacked in the lower courts again by the same extraordinary remedies. Before the could be taken to the upper courts, a Negro plaintiff in Beaumont filed a case in the state court, purporting to challenge this law placing the right to set membership in the Democratic Convention. No one has ever known how or why Mr Bell filed the case, and why he filed it in a state court.

Anyway, the case was rushed up through the lower courts to the Supreme Court, where Chief Justice Cureton rendered a decision of some 17-odd pages, holding that the Democratic Convention was not a creature of state action, but was the result of the free assembly of citizens.

GROVEY GOES UP

Then J. Alston Atkins conceded the idea of attacking the law by avoiding the long trials in the courts, through the simple dodge of suing for the amount of damages in a justice court, from which no appeal is permitted in the state of Texas. That meant a justice's decision would be final, and, therefore, would go directly to the Supreme Court.

This time it was R. R. Grovey who was the plaintiff. The Supreme Court justice delivering decision for the court accepted Justice Cureton's interpretation: that the convention was merely a free assembly of the citizens of Texas and not action by the state, which alone is barred by the 14th Amendment. This was in 1936.

DR SMITH GOES UP

It looked as though the Negro had been finally excluded from participation in the Democratic primary. But Negroes sensed and felt that they had a right to vote in the Democratic primary, which was the only effective election in the state. So in 1943 they were ready to file and go back to the Supreme Court.

This time the plaintiff was Dr L. E. Smith. After the suit was filed, the Supreme Court held in the Classic case, that went up from New Orleans, what the lawyers for the Texas Negroes had been contending over the years, namely, that the Democratic primary was an integral part of the proceeds of election, if not the whole process.

BACKGROUND OF ISSUES

Here maybe an aside will help the reader to understand the importance of the Classic decision. Federal law against interference, or denial of voting, used the words "in election." In 1910 Senator Newberry of Michigan was indicted on the ground of violating the law against over-expenditures in a race for the Senate in Michigan. His lawyers carried up a demurrer to the indictment, on the ground that a primary was not an election.

The Supreme Court sustained the lawyers of Senator Newberry, and thus excluded primaries from the prohibition in the federal law against interference with a man's right to vote in elections.

This interpretation of the court obtained and helped the South for 33 years. Then in the case where certain state officials had improperly diverted state funds to themselves, and used said funds in the Classic case in connection with a primary race, the question again went to the Supreme Court and this time the court held that the **primary was an integral, or an essential part of the total step of voting or selecting one's choice.**

CLASSIC CASE HELPS

The decision came down in the spring, I think, of 1943, and the lawyers for Dr Smith amended their action to add the complaint that Dr Smith had been wronged by being denied the right to vote for federal officers, which were the only ones covered by the federal law against interfering with the right to vote in elections.

THE CASE WAS tried in the court by W. J. Durham, who was joined in the appeal before the Supreme Court by Thurgood Marshall and Bill Hastie, now a judge on the Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia.

The Classic decision practically assurred victory on interference with the right to vote for federal candidates. But in order to win the right to vote throughout the state, where the vote really was important, it was necessary to argue that Grovey vs. Townsend was wrong and should be overruled. Bill Hastie argued this part of the case and told Justice Reed, I think it was, who had written the Grovey decision, that it was wrong.

The court heeded Bill Hastie's argument and overruled Grovey vs. Townsend, as well as applying the Classis decision, which sounded the death knell of the primary bar in the South.

JAY BIRDS KOed

Informer Sat 11-24-56

Houston Texas

Little note has been given to the fact that Negroes of Fort Bend County carried the Jay Bird party of Fort Bend County to the Supreme Court to have the Smith decision apply to the party. In Fort Bend County the party did not comply with the primary laws providing for county primaries, and used that fact to try to prove it was not a creature of the state, and, herefore, the Grovey decision did not apply to it. They folowed the law as to dates and other things, except one particular instance which had violated a provision of the statute, and they were trying to use this violation as an excuse for saying that they were therefore free of the statutes. But their candidates went into the state election and became a part of the state action, and in every other way they conformed to the state laws. Attorney J. Edwin Smith handled this case admirably up to the Supreme Court, where he has joined by J. M. Nabrit. They won.

There was a similar case on the white man's primary at Marshall, Texas, that went up as far as the Court of Civil Appeals, where the white primary was knocked out.

Next week we wil discuss the lawyers in these cases, the significance of the cases, and begin a discussion of the educational cases and the transportation cases

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